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THE CRUSADER

Edited by STANLEY B. JAMES.

Vol. II.

Friday, March 19th, 1920.

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One Penny.



THE OUTLOOK

the time of writing the news which, in importance, obscures everything else, is that of the Revolution in Germany. Our international Wilfred Wellock, has again and again, in his communications from Berlin, warned us that 'something was going to happen. It is too early, and our information is too scanty to allow us to express any opinion of value. But it does look as though the fall of the Ebert Ministry indicated that in Germany, as elsewhere, the middle course is, for governments, the dangerous. The Republic of which Herr Ebert was President, was fashioned on what we here should call advanced radical lines. "It has gone further," says the *Nation*, "in using the current Liberal solution of the social problem than any other non-revolutionary State." Like Kerensky's government it has failed, but, unlike the Russian attempt to enthrone class politics, it has succumbed to the radicals. That, however, is not the end of the matter. One extreme will provoke the other. A reaction to the Left movement is certain.

signs of unrest throughout the world increase rather than decrease. The problem of the Turkish Empire is disturbing the entire East. The Turkish and Mesopotamian Arabs are in revolt

against British and French occupation and have declared for complete independence. The Indian Moslem "Caliphate" demands the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and has proclaimed a boycott of British goods. The report of a Conference and Demonstration in Calcutta says that "Moslems did not make it a secret that their secular loyalty was strained to its breaking point," and that they would be "compelled to cease all relations with Britain" if the Peace with Turkey proved to be against their "religious injunctions." There is something intensely dramatic, not to say serious, in this collision between Western Capitalism and Oriental Religion. Is Palestine once more to be the pivot around which the world's fortune revolves?

* * *

NEITHER the German Revolution, nor the events maturing in the East occupy, in all probability, the foremost place in the popular mind. That place is held by the rising cost of living. Here we are on the rock-bottom problem of physical existence. More disturbing than the actual cost of the necessities of life is the intellectual bankruptcy of those responsible for ordering our affairs. Yet after all it is not an intellectual problem, but a spiritual and moral one. It is the failure to see that the old competitive profit-mongering motives can no longer keep the world going that is the most alarming feature in the situation. If we could once acknowledge that the spirit of our civilization has been fundamentally wrong the intellectual difficulties would vanish.

* * *

THE Trade Union Congress' rejection of the proposal to take Direct Action and the Miners' decision to apply for an increased wage, rather than continue the nationalisation campaign, will rejoice the heart of the government. The two proposals nullify each other. The increased wages, which would speedily be translated into an increased price for coal to the consumer, will prejudice the public against Labour and render effective political action more difficult than ever. However little we may sympathise with some who advocate Direct Action, we cannot fail to recognise that the decisions referred to are the outcome of ignorance and fear rather than of any ethical dislike to use the power of organised Labour for the purpose of bringing about an industrial revolution,

Freedom

It was my lot at one time to live under conditions which most people would describe as being ideally free. Sometimes, when I recall the long summer days on horseback, and the rough meal

at night, cooked over a camp fire or a shack stove, I am inclined to agree. Living primitively, with few comforts, we were unencumbered by the impedimenta of civilisation and could move from one place or occupation to another without trouble. It was a world without trespass boards. Being the first arrivals in that far western land we found no ready made conventions awaiting us. No precedents dictated to us. We were the people who made conventions and precedents. It was for others to follow them. Yet I returned east in order to be free.

Let me explain.

Imagine conditions in which each man must be everything—his own butcher, baker, washer-woman, doctor, parson. "The Captain cook and bo'sun bold" of Gilbert's ballad was a specialist compared with the average rancher. The settlement store was a symbol of the life of each individual in the community. In that store you could purchase anything from barbed wire to molasses. Flannel, rope, sugar and nails were mingled promiscuously on its shelves. Just so, each of us was a world in himself.

But being a world in yourself does not allow you much liberty to be your own particular self. There was no room on those wide prairies to develop your individual gifts and tastes. It was no good declaring that providence had not endowed you with the special abilities of a washerwoman. You had to wash your clothes whether you were fitted for that occupation or not. When a man lives alone he sees very little of himself. Where you have all your time to yourself there is very little time to be yourself.

If a man wants freedom to live his own life—be it that of a blacksmith or a poet—he must seek the society of others. He must form part of a body in which the several functions are performed by different members, and the eye and the ear can devote themselves to their own peculiar duties.

The worst of individualism and sectarianism is that it forbids the cultivation of individual and sectional interests. The reason why I belong to the Church is that I want the assurance that others are looking after the things with which I can't be bothered. I have neither the time nor the grace to be St. Francis and St. Dominic and Hildebrand and Dante all in one. But I know that the provinces in which these men did their work are necessary, and it is a comfort to feel that they are looking after their job while I am free to do mine. It is my fellowship with the whole Body of Christ that sets me free to follow my own vocation.

Of course, there is another way out of the. The man whose calling it is to mend shoes down his conception of what the world needs single requirement which he can supply a "There's nothing like leather." We all exalt our own vocation or "stunt," but the playing the game fairly. There is no specialising, in insisting on some one aspect but, unless you are going to cheat yourself and you must remember that you are part of a collective whole.

There was another way, too, in which I liberty curtailed. My negative freedom was. There were a hundred little conventions with need not bother. Life, in one sense, was simple. A whole load of superfluous old was dispensed with. But on the positive was pitifully narrow. I wanted poetry, the ment of public affairs, opportunities of worship, and there were none among us who to become efficient as poets, politicians or

It is the negative freedom that many conf the real thing. They tell you that their church free and that a man may think what he likes communion. What they really mean is that free to deny what he likes. Let him attempt to an evangelical sermon or wear vestments of tain kind and he will soon discover the value boasted freedom. There are churches in which might hang a portrait of Mazzini without co but where a crucifix would raise a storm.

It is a pity that the great ideal of simplicity h given this negative interpretation. Simplicity mean doing without things. It doesn't mean sense of colour, or song, of plenitude in things. It means, as I understand it, the fit the outer garb to the inner mood or spirit. compared the lilies of the field to the splend Solomon. But the beauty of the lilies is a thing. It is home grown. It is the natu inevitable costume of the flower. A woman dressed when she has misinterpreted or exaggerated her real self. The lives of the luxurious overburdened because they literally do not know to do with their wealth, and their manner of ing it is not prompted by real desire for the purchased, but rather by the love of ostentat the pride of possession. A choral service m simplicity, because it is uninspired by the worship and is not a true act of praise. Bu the morning birds sing together in exultant do not complain of the lack of simplicity. Th times when what is called "a simple form vice" would be a cruel deprivation of libe want to clothe myself in all vestures of the sun crown myself with galaxies of stars. I want and dance, and cry and laugh. The universe too small to be my Temple. The Thunders heavens are too mild to be my choristers. A could unite all the stormy winds and singing one great orchestra and strew the altar with flowers of the spring meadows my worship w be simple.

THE TR



Why bring Christianity into it?

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

My intention had been to devote this article to the expected development of the counter-revolution in Germany, news of which came to hand in scanty grams in last evening's papers. (I write on Sunday). But all that one could write would necessarily be in the strain of "We told you so!" which is not very helpful in these trying times, and so I prefer to leave this subject to Wilfred Wellock, who is now the spot and whose first-hand comments will be more useful than anything I can write. A cynical friend has just made a very expressive comment on the present position, and I pass it on to my readers and leave the subject. He is a member of the local "Hands off Russia" committee, which has been conducting an unwearying campaign with the object of educating public opinion as to the real meaning of the Russian intervention in Russia. He read the telegrams coming to Germany, and, taking his pipe out of his mouth in his usual deliberate fashion, remarked: "There's one thing pretty obvious about this business: there will be no need for a 'Hands off the Russian counter-revolution' campaign!" He is undoubtedly right. Those who sat round the conference table in Paris and made the present position in many inevitable will be the last people to deplore the overthrow of even a "tame" Labour Government such as existed in Germany.

But by the time these lines are read the position in Europe will be clearer than it appears at the moment, and I prefer to talk about something that is no more important than the overthrow of one military Government by another. I have just come away from a Labour meeting at which I was billed to speak "Liberalism and Labour." Now it is significant of the trend of thought in the Labour movement to-day that, no matter what the title of one's address may be, when question time comes—which, of course, is quite the most interesting part of Labour meetings—the inevitable subject of the connection between religion and various elements which go to make up the Labour movement becomes the chief point of discussion. Out of that subject comes the allied question of the use of armed force in bringing about a change in our social system.

At my meeting to-day the principle question put to me by my address was: "In speaking about the future of the Labour movement in its efforts to overthrow the present system, why does the speaker bring Christianity into it?" This question was followed by an attempt to explain how any revolution worth having is brought about other than by taking up arms as the Russians have done. Most Pacifist-Socialist speakers are familiar with this question, and they are familiar, too, with the utter contempt with which they usually put the case against what they call religion—by which they mean the organised churches.

The tragedy of the whole business is that when one explains exactly what one means by Christianity, ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the questioner will say that there is no difference between himself and the speaker. And as one goes on to outline the case

for real fellowship based on a complete recognition of the value of human personality, and to endeavour to lift the whole conception of our scheme of things out of the mere struggle for bread and cheese and "possession" of things, I have invariably noted a wistful expression on the faces of my questioners which says more eloquently than words could convey: "Ah! if only it could come about that way!"

Dr. Horton asks: "Why use the word 'Socialism'?" I will tell him why. It is because the word "Christianity" stinks in the nostrils of thinking people to-day, not only in this country, but the world over. If Dr. Horton doubts that statement, let him make a tour of the country and get in touch with the people who are not content to be spoon-fed. Let him quote the words of Bruce Glasier to a Labour audience and declare, "That is Christianity!" He will get his answer clear and straight from the outraged souls of men: "That is not the Christianity you and your churches have been preaching!"

If Dr. Horton reads this article, I beg him not to think that I write bitterly. I do not. I write what I believe to be the truth. And I say quite frankly that I accept the position as put by my questioner at this morning's meeting, and I pass the question on to Dr. Horton: "Why bring Christianity into it?" The word "Christianity" is spoken to-day with a curl of the lip. Why? Let those who have been responsible for the "Christian" churches, not only in war time, but in the time of "peace and plenty," supply the answer. Since when has orthodox Christianity been concerned to "create an earthly paradise for all?" When Bruce Glasier wrote that, he was simply repeating the words of Christ: "Thy will be done on earth."

When the Socialist asks contemptuously: "Why bring Christianity into it?" he is summing up the verdict of the majority of his fellows on the net result of the efforts of the churches during the past centuries. In many respects he is unjust to individuals who have manifestly served Christ in their day; but will Dr. Horton take the platform in defence of the attitude of the Christian churches to the social question in pre-war days, or of the attitude of the vast majority of those churches during the past five years?

It is a weary business for those of us who believe in the Christianity of the Sermon on the Mount to be forever having to explain our Christianity to others who believe in exactly the same thing and call themselves Agnostics. During the war I found myself instinctively dissociating myself from the word "Christian." My first official description in prison was "No Religion." There are times when I wonder how we are going to restore the name of Christ to its right place in the hearts of men; indeed I wonder whether it will ever be done. Of course, that is sheer pessimism. But looking back over the history of what stands for Christianity to-day, what is one to say in answer to the question of my Socialist friend? Will Dr. Horton tell me why we should bring that kind of Christianity into the question of real social reconstruction?

THE
Crusader.

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"Show me a good opportunity, show me something worth being energetic about, and I'll show you energy!" —Charles Dickens.

On Energy.

We have but to look round the daily and weekly press to discover that there are things in the world about which people feel it worth while to show energy.

If they fear Nationalization, they spend their thousands to block it or to educate the public against it. If they want a new war or to prolong an old war, they understand that an energetic and expensive propaganda is their only hope.

If they wish to crush a nation or sell a reel of cotton they use energy. If they desire to ruin a politician, or subvert the children to Militarism or Imperialism, they use energy.

All these worldly wise persons appreciate that as the vast masses of mankind are lethargic and indifferent, they must take their kingdom by violence.

That which they are out for, they deem to be worth while.

Is Christ's Message worth while?

A man argued with me once on the value of private charity. He instanced an infirm old lady whom he had succoured for many long years.

We rejoice in the comparative comfort of one old lady. But ought we not to vision the bigger thing? The New World inspired by the Christ Message, in which every brother and sister will be placed beyond the reach of private charity?

When will a full and free life for all be the fundamental proof of our faith?

The Moral.

Next week we enter on a new adventure. Our paper will be enlarged, and increased in price. We are advancing together under a strong sense of urgent Call. We believe that THE CRUSADER may be to the strengthening of every progressive Christian Social and International Movement. If days of darkness are to come, let us be there with a Light shining. If the Day is breaking—let us take our share in the joy.

In saying Good-bye to this our last penny issue, we do it under a sense of deep gratitude for all the past, and hope for the future.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION. (London Union.)

THE NEW COMMITTEE.—At the General Meeting on March 6th, the following were elected as officers and members for the coming year: Chairman, The Rev. Stanley B. James; Treasurer, Isaac Goss; Secretary, C. Paul Gliddon. The members elected for the Committee were: C. H. Cunningham, Horace Fuller, Margaret Glasyer, Louie Norman, Ethelwin Quarmby, F. Carlton-Smith, T. Wilson Wilson.

HOSPITALITY FOR CHILDREN FROM THE FAMINE AREAS.—This work has been taken up with great enthusiasm and we are setting up local committees in different parts of London. Meetings of Members have already been held in Golders Green, Lewisham, Streatham, Walthamstow and Willesden, while others will shortly take place. May we hear from all who are ready to help in this work, especially from those who would take the initiative in forming new local committees.

CLOTHES FOR THE CHILDREN.—In many of the offers of hospitality we have received we are asked whether some help can be given in the provision of clothes for our small guests. May we hear from those who can help in this way.

SOUTH-EAST LONDON MEMBERS.—On Tuesday, March 30th, at 8 p.m., there will be a social, arranged by the Lewisham and Catford Branch, at the Lewisham Labour Centre, 229, Stanstead Road, Forest Hill, to which all members in this district are cordially invited.

C. PAUL GLIDDON,
17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

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THE RELIGIOUS PRESS

By Rev. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

The Free Church Council is given some "hints" by the "Methodist Times." Referring to the programme of its 25th Annual Assembly a leading article remarks: "The speakers, with one or two exceptions, belong to the 'Old Guard,' which has developed into a close corporation. The Free Churches must be in a parlous condition if during a quarter of a century they have produced so few younger spirits worthy of a voice in the annual assembly. Actually they have such in their ranks, though the officials of the Council do not seem to have heard of them. With all the red tape of the Army, promotion from ranker to officer is easier than for a new man to speak from the platform of the annual assembly."

* * *

The truth of the matter is the young are often dangerous. They have a habit of blurring out indiscreet things. And, as that excellent little paper, the "Coming Day," puts it: "Those who are 'at ease in Zion' do not like to be disturbed." But the prevailing policy of reserving platform, pulpit, and press for "safe" men is being paid for very heavily in the world of religion. Just at a time when we need to encourage every possibility of new vision we take note of any independent thinker so that we may use means against his being heard. I quote further from the current issue of the "Coming Day":—"The writer has been much impressed of late by a large number of communications received from young ministers, complaining that for their opinions they are black-listed and that the ruling powers in their churches will not recommend them to vacant churches. After all allowances are made there seems to be little doubt that there is ground for complaint, and it is no exaggeration to say that in some of our denominations the unrest among the younger ministers is rising to revolt against their denominational authorities. There is evidence that a similar condition is to be found amongst many of the young men of the Established Church."

* * *

I cull from the "Challenge" a bit of conversation "overheard in a 'bus.'" It throws light on social conditions and the way some humble folk are looking at them. It also throws light on the efficient way in which the English language is taught in England. Here then is what the 'bus listened to: "Hits a shame, I says, says I. Why don't they put up the price of beer, hinstead of touching the children's bread. 'E ought ter be boiled. Why don't 'e pay for it out 'is salary? They're hasking for it. They're hasking for a revolution. I hain't 'ad no fire fer three

The water's pouring through the roof, and the landlord's farver's a millionnaire; yet 'e aint 'ad 'ink done to the oven for three years." The annals of the poor are neither short nor simple, remarks the "Challenge."

* * *

Spiritualism is being discussed now in most religious circles. It is felt that the great interest being taken in the question by the public can no longer be ignored. Dr. Ballard says in a long article in the "Methodist Recorder," "Whether ordinary Christians like it

or not, this wave is upon us; and there is no prospect whatever of its sudden ebb." Dr. Ballard pleads earnestly for fair examination of the whole subject, and warns his readers of the danger and folly of mere denunciation. Besides, says he, it is unchristian and cowardly to indulge in ignorant denunciation and abuse. He warns his readers too against thinking the whole question foreclosed by certain passages in the Old Testament. While not professing to be a spiritualist himself, Dr. Ballard is evidently convinced that there is much besides evil in the present boom in spiritualism. He welcomes the emphasis laid on the essentially spiritual character of existence, and finds in that emphasis a fact favourable to Christian preaching.

* * *

Some folk in Nonconformity are getting stirred up at last about the meaningless and unbeautiful character of Nonconformist church architecture. Says a writer in the "Methodist Times": "I have sometimes wondered whether the architect or the committee of the trustees have laid upon themselves a self-denying ordinance, and said: 'Go to, let us build churches which have neither beauty nor dignity nor suitability. . . . Let the cinema, the public bath, the hippodrome be our pattern; not the cathedral, or even the simple village church. To crown our endeavours let us take unto ourselves a site opposite to one of the glories of English architecture, 'with storied windows richly light,' with beauty indescribable, with a thousand aids to worship, and let us erect upon our site a building which mostly resembles a theatre of varieties, but on nearer approach seemeth to belong unto a bank, and to the patient search of the real seeker reveals itself at last—to its own astonishment one must think—as a place of worship.'"

* * *

In a speech at the Mansion House, the Bishop of London is reported to have said "We must show we are in sympathy with Labour's legitimate aims. There seems to be a sort of idea that the Church is against the aspirations of these men, whereas from beginning to end till now the Church has fought for equality of opportunity, educated the poor, and looked after the under-dog." I am afraid the Bishop will not find Labour very ready to accept his statement! And besides, Labour is not now agitating in order to get the under-dog looked after. The real leaders of Labour see quite beyond that point. It is no longer a question of nineteenth century factory legislation. It is a question of status. It is a question of structure of the present industrial order. Desire is now towards an order of society in which there shall be no under-dog. But would the Bishop call that a "legitimate aim"? Perhaps not.

COTTAGE or ROOMS WANTED.—The Joint Board for the Assistance of C.O.'s is urgently wanting living accommodation for a sick comrade, who at present is living under conditions which are further undermining his health. Will any friend who knows of suitable accommodation please communicate with Lester Smith, 17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

BOOKLAND

"THE LOGIC OF CAPITALISM."

Coming after the Great War and the revelations, afforded by the "Peace," of the sordid aims of those engaged in it, E. D. Morel's last book, "The Black Man's Burden" (National Labour Press, 3/6), is enough to destroy one's faith in human nature. I do not know when I have read a book which so horrified and depressed me. Here is retold the tragedy of Africa from the early days of the slave-trade down to the present time. "The figure on my canvas," says Morel, "is the African, the man of sorrows in the human family." In the first section we are taken from the time when John Hawkins embarked on his career of murder and brigandage in the good ship "Jesus" lent him, for the purpose, by Queen Elizabeth, through the horrors of the middle passage, down to the period of the abolition movement. A curious commentary on the attitude of Christian folk to the trade in flesh and blood is the fact mentioned that the "Society for propagating Christianity," including half the episcopal bench, derived, as masters, from the labour of their slaves in the West Indies, an income which they spent in "teaching the religion of peace and goodwill to men."

Then follows the story of Southern Rhodesia and German South-West Africa. The dealings of Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Beit with Lobengula are described. The charta which Lobengula was induced to sign stated that "the conditions of the natives inhabiting the said territories will be materially improved and their civilization advanced." The net result of what followed the signing of this document is put thus:—"The native population of Southern Rhodesia possesses today no rights in land or water. It is allowed to continue to live upon the land on sufferance and under certain conditions, according to the categories into which the land has been divided. The natives have no secure titles anywhere, not even in the Reserves, which are always liable to be cut up and shifted, and from which they can always be evicted upon 'good cause' being shown the 'good cause' being the Company's good pleasure."

The Chartered Company responsible for this wholesale robbery and for the campaigns by which the native protests were silenced is now sending in a bill to the British Taxpayer for £2,500,000, being the cost of the Company's wars upon the Mahonas and Matabele!

In the section dealing with European diplomacy in Morocco and Tripoli we are shown the events which led up to the Great War. As the writer says, "The historian who, in his survey of the underlying causes of the most terrible catastrophe which has befallen civilisation, concentrates his view upon the rape of Belgium, and omits the precedent rape of North Africa, is dishonest with the generation he professes to enlighten." The French seizure of Morocco and the Italian descent upon Tripoli made havoc of the moral law of Europe.

"The invasion of Belgium was not the inauguration of an era of Treaty-breaking in Europe." It was the culmination of an era."

To some of us the blood lust, the perfidious diplomacy and the vengefulness of the

as a sudden revelation of Hell. We were inclined to regard these things as an uprush of unpremeditated evil from nether regions. As it came with unexpected violence so, we have perhaps hoped, that it would pass away in the same inexplicable manner. E. D. Morel makes our mistake plain. The European nations had been practising upon the natives of Africa the hellish arts they then used against each other. Africa has been the school in which statesmen have learned to silence conscience, to disregard treaties, to treat human life with contempt.

There is not space to retell the story—as these pages retell it—of the Congo Free State, the French Congo, and the Angola and the Coco Islands. But it is perhaps in this part of the book that the meaning of Africa's tragedy become clearest. Here were companies of European financiers pulling the strings of international politics, dispossessing millions of natives of the means of life, and forcing those who had formerly possessed the land to work, without wage, for their distant masters. Force, of course, became necessary.

"You cannot steal the land of the natives of tropical Africa, degrade them from the position of agriculturists and arboriculturists in their own right, lay claim to possession of their actual and potential wealth, destroy their purchasing power, deny them the right to buy and sell by denying their ownership in the natural or cultivated products of their own country, which their labour alone can make accessible to the outer world, and impose upon them the duty of harvesting their products for you as a 'tax.' You cannot do this, and thereby convert them into slaves of European capitalism, without the use of armed force, pitilessly, relentlessly and, above all, continuously applied."

Here is capitalism acting according to its own natural instincts, without the check of public opinion, and without the wholesome fear instilled by organised labour at home. This is the logic of the Capitalist system worked out to its final conclusion. Here in its crudest form is the system which places the land and the means of production in the hands of a few profiteers, and transforms the former owners into slaves. If it does not work out in such extreme forms in older countries it is not because capitalism, as a system, is any better there than in Africa. It is only that in these countries there have grown up a number of checks which prevent this particular economic system working out its own implications.

The latter part of the book is concerned with certain constructive suggestions. In one terrible way the conditions described by E. D. Morel bring about their own overthrow. The methods adopted for obtaining supplies for the European market are calculated in a short while to dry up the source of wealth. The killing off of the population cannot go on endlessly.

As Morel points out: "There is special need to impress upon those who are already won over to the moral side of the question, or whose traditions and outlook would naturally induce them to take that side, that the attack will not be successful in the ultimate resort if it confines itself merely to insistence upon the moral issue. It must face the economic issue."

(Continued on next page.)

The Enlarged "Crusader"

WE are making a special effort next week.

Will you?

We believe that the enlarged "Crusader" will be worthy of an enlarged circulation. Help us to secure it.

(Continued from previous page.)

form a clear conception of what is sound, and is unsound in the methods of economic development in these regions. It must persuade by economic reasoning as well as by appeals to ethical and humanitarian instincts and motives. It must be in a position to demonstrate that what is morally right is also economically sound; that what is morally right is also economically unsound. It must seek to convince the public mind that the economic purpose of Europe in tropical Africa is served by the individual and collective prosperity of the native population, not by its impoverishment; by the existence of the communities of agriculturists and aboriginal producers for their own profit, not for the benefit of the shareholders of white syndicates and concessionaires. It must be at great pains to show that the policy of encouraging forms of European enterprise to convert African labour into a dividend-producing force for the individual European, is sheer economic sense of the potentialities of African labour: whereas the full potentialities of African labour can be secured by the economic purpose of Europe by encouraging forms of European enterprise in which the African is not as a hired servant, but as a co-operator partner."

That lesson applies to bigger problems than even this the African native. It is interesting to find the author declaring that "the form of Socialism which Asia has evolved, and which, I suppose, is the most advanced form of European Socialism now available to study, approximates closely to the social conditions of an advanced tropical African community." The best form of government, he argues, could be applied to Africa without any need to pass through the immediate stage of capitalistic exploitation. The method, demanding disinterestedness and moral courage of no ordinary kind is illustrated by the action of the English cocoa firms on their discovery of the

slave conditions existing on the cocoa plantations from which their raw material came. After telling the story the author says: "I have placed these facts on record here in some detail because they appear to me to have a direct bearing upon one aspect of the whole comprehensive problem with which this volume is concerned: the problem of white responsibility towards the African races. The attitude adopted by Cadbury Brothers, and, subsequently, in co-operation with other firms engaged in the cocoa and chocolate manufacturing industry, typifies what *ought* to be the attitude of public opinion generally on these questions. Although merely purchasers of raw material on the open market, when they found reason to believe that a portion of that raw material represented the output of forced or slave labour, these firms felt their moral responsibility involved. The firms who did not join them took the view that it was not the business of the manufacturer to worry himself about the origin of the stuff he handled. Now the moral responsibility of all these firms *was* involved. But no more and no less than in the case of rubber manufacturers, soap or margarine manufacturers, or cotton spinners under like circumstances—in short, manufacturers of any article whatsoever of which the raw material is produced by coloured labour."

And here is a valuable suggestion as to the possible action of Labour with regard to the industrial conditions of native populations: "Nor is such moral responsibility confined to manufacturers. It is shared by Trade Unions, by Industrial Councils. It is shared to a lesser degree, but distinctly, by the consumer. We hear a great deal about 'missionaries of Empire.' A much-needed missionary work is that of interesting the labouring classes of Europe in the human associations connected with the raw material they handle."

It is a terrible story, this of the "Black Man's Burden," but it is one which everyone ought to read.

Militarism in Germany

A PEACE THAT IS A SWORD

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

Without doubt, although one cannot say to what extent, the militarist spirit in Germany is growing, both in extensibility and intensity. In train and tram and on the street one can frequently hear, these days, militarism defended as the only hope of deliverance from the tyranny of the Allies. Often this talk is quite irrational, and probably springs from an empty stomach; but more often it is accompanied by a definite policy, as e.g., that Germany must cultivate a close friendship with Poland and Russia in order to revenge herself on France and to break the power of England.

The adherents of this view are to be found chiefly in the middle class, particularly among the old official class, including professors and pastors, also students, a certain number of teachers, and, in addition, the uneducated proletariat who still attend church. In other words, they consist, in the main, of people who were nicely off under the old régime, and who have no hope of ever being able to live comfortably apart from a monarchy. They believe in force for the very reason that they are the possessing class, being instinctively conscious that they cannot maintain their privileges by any other means.

But among the great army of intelligent workers a quite different feeling exists. These are experiencing the benefits of freedom from compulsory military service, and in spite of their hunger, which they have sense enough to attribute to the capitalists rather than to the peoples of the Allied nations, they have no desire to return to the old order. Dissatisfied and suffering though they be, they yet look forward, steadfastly believing that freedom will come through the awakening and unification of the workers throughout the world. They now see that war is nothing more than an instrument for increasing the power and privileges of the few, and that by it the workers commit suicide and hurl themselves into ever-increasing slavery. Also, the workers, living more simply, neighbourly and naturally than the rich, possess more true human feeling, and thus find war contrary to their instincts as well as to their reason. These statements find confirmation in a recent event.

On Feb. 20th a meeting was to have been held in Berlin, and addressed by H. Von Gerlach, on the "War Criminals" question. But owing to a disturbance in which much fighting took place and the speaker was badly hurt, the meeting had to be abandoned. That happened in the West End. Undaunted, the Peace Society and the New Fatherland League made arrangements to hold their "abandoned" meeting on March 4th, but this time in the East End. The hall engaged, which is the largest in Berlin, was crowded, and the meeting was a great success. From the evidence of references, it was clear that a very large representation of the Independent Socialist Party was present, and the audience heartily cheered all strong endorsements of the pacifist principle. I was surprised to find the pacifist feeling so strong in the working class.

One could fill pages with accounts of the wild things that have been said and done during recent months by members of the Nationalist Party (which is at the same time the Party of reaction, militarism and anti-Semitism), such, e.g., as the breaking-up of meetings, the refusal of students to attend classes under Pacifist Professors, or to allow plays to proceed in English or written or staged by Jews.

Indeed, so far as outward signs are concerned, the old Order and the old spirit are nowhere so manifest as among the students. These are as narrow as only people with a thorough bourgeois education can be. They meet in their corps, carry proudly their rapier cuts, solemnly parade en masse along Unter den Linden, and generally conduct themselves with corporal-like punctuality. At the same time, a pacifist professor assured me the other day that a large number of students had learnt much in the war, and possessed a healthy horror of all that appertained thereto.

My personal impression is that so far as the general public is concerned militarism is dead. I am convinced that the people will not enter lightly into the old servility. And certainly there is little or no military atmosphere in Berlin. The German soldier, like the British Tommy, is a plain, homely, confidential sort of fellow, while German officers are conspicuous by their scarcity. Also, I must say, the Berlin police are the most unobtrusive set of civil officers I have ever seen. In comparison with Holland, for instance, they seem a homely crowd indeed.

Nevertheless one can never say what may not happen. The people of Germany cannot be expected to bear much longer the burden of suffering that has been placed upon them, and if the workers of the Allied nations do not come to their aid, one cannot guarantee anything. And it so happens that everything the Allies have done since the armistice has played into the hands of the Militarist Party, creating the atmosphere in which militarism thrives. The Peace continued the disastrous work of the Blockade. On the extradition question, for instance, feeling in Germany ran exceedingly high. For days one felt that some sort of outbreak was imminent; yet within twenty-four hours of the receipt of the modified Note from Britain the atmosphere had quite changed. But the harm had been done, the reaction had gained new ground; and what they gain they keep. Moreover, what the Allies did on this occasion in an intensive way is still being done in a more or less desultory way by the continuance of hunger and industrial impotence. On every hand I am told that after the war the great bulk of the German people were ready to accept total disarmament.

Indeed, it is widely believed that if Germany had been given a decent Peace, she would have become the creator of a quite new civilization. But into her midst the Allies threw a sword which wounded the spirit of the people, destroyed their hope and their future. That sword must be withdrawn.

The Chain Forgers

"Only a fool or a blind man can suppose that such a state of things can possibly be lasting."

So says Minnie Forster Bamberger, in an article written in Vienna for "Foreign Affairs," regarding the iniquitous betrayal of the German Tyrol population.

This mountainous people, with their strong patriotism, which tremendous natural forces like the sea and the mountains alone breed, are knit together like a mighty block of granite. Sons of the same hills, tillers of the same soil, speakers of the same tongue. Can it be tolerated that the rude hand of a stranger should fetter them in bondage, with no rights, either racial or historic, to justify this action? What! Sever in twain what God's hand has weaved so firmly together? No one says a word against the Italian-speaking part of the land up to Trient belonging to Italy. There the people speak Italian; they feel Italian, and they are Italian. But towns like Bozen¹ and Meran, and the stretches of country round them, are absolutely German in every shade of tongue, thought, and feeling.

When I go there, this summer, to see my peasant friends again, their mute gaze will meet mine. I shall grasp their strong hands and I shall see the wistful question in their calm eyes. They know of my British descent, and they have met many of my British friends; they have inner-culture enough to respect every man for his real value. Yet they will ask me what sense of justice there is in the present order of

things, and they will wonder whether their faith in human nature is ill-placed after all. What I shall answer will be but to remind them of those words: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." They will not lose many sentences in reply I know; maybe they will press their lips grimly on one another and say nothing at all. I shall watch them, then, as I have so often done, flock into their low panelled room; to stand, bareheaded, beneath the crucifix, around their table with its simple fare, murmuring their grace for food. I shall turn aside, with unshed tears, praying that the choice of my text was the right one.

"Prisoner"—so writes Rabindranath Tagore—"Prisoner, tell me who was it that wrought this unbreakable chain?" "It was I," said the prisoner, "who forged this chain very carefully. I thought my invincible power would hold the world captive leaving me in a freedom undisturbed. Thus night and day I worked at the chain with huge fires and cruel hard strokes. When at last the work was done and the links were complete and unbreakable, I found that it held me in its grip."

The time may come when the men of Versailles will have to apply these words to themselves.

¹In 1910 88 per cent. of the population of Bozen was German, and 5½ per cent. Italian; in the surrounding districts the proportions were virtually similar. The civil population of the whole German Tyrol amounted in 1910 to 537,374, of whom 508,458 were Germans, 19,578 Ladins, and 8,438 Italians. Yet a Treaty, supposedly based upon the rights of nationality, has given this territory to Italy!—Ed. *Foreign Affairs*.

Reaction in America

The Washington Correspondent of *The Observer* reports what is described as a "Set Back to Labour," in the decision to transfer the Railways, which have been controlled by the State during the war, back to their private owners.

It seems, according to this report, that America scared of Progressive development, is turning back to a deliberate Conservatism. The following quotations speak for themselves:—

"What is now happening is a direct negative of everything radical, a step of the most conservative kind: Not only are the railroads being completely restored to their private owners; they are being restored under conditions which take minute care of the property interests involved and show a greater regard for capital invested in the railroads than such capital has had before. Under the Act of Restoration, the rate-making bodies are directed to make such rates as will enable the railroads as a group to earn and keep 5½ per cent. on the value of the property used in railroad transportation. This is, of course, a different thing from 5½ per cent. upon the capital account, but it is well known that the valuation of the railroad properties at the present time is so high that a return of 5½ per cent. on that valuation will give a generous return to railroad securities as a whole.

BLOW TO THE LABOUR ORGANISATIONS.

Not only this, but statutes which for years have prevented railroad consolidation are now repealed, and

consolidation, instead of being restrained, is encouraged, and, even in some cases, commanded. Finally, those parts of the Act of Restoration which deal with railroad labour are so strongly conservative in their direction as to be construed by labour as a blow. The statute provides for the creation of labour boards and adjustment boards to hear disputes between railroad labour and railroad management; and permits a suit before one of these boards to be initiated by the petition of any one hundred employees. The significance of this last is that it not only ignores the powerful existing railroad brotherhoods, but tends to disrupt their solidarity.

All in all, the statute restoring the American railroads to their private owners will stand as an historic landmark, swinging widely away from the radical tendencies of recent years and in the direction of extreme conservatism. The Act was passed by more than a two-thirds majority in the Senate and nearly a two-thirds majority in the Lower House; and, while the attitude of public opinion as a whole on the act necessarily cannot be reduced to figures, every competent observer believes that it represents very much more than two-thirds of the public opinion of the country."

TO CHRISTIAN INVESTORS.—Those desirous of investing in non-industrial concern with security and reasonable interest, and also helping to solve grave social problem should communicate with Frank Griffiths, 54, Alkham Road, N.16.

C.C. Fellowship Introduces Itself.

Readers of THE CRUSADER will have noticed in last week's issue that the Christian Commonwealth Fellowship is to receive hospitality in these pages, from March 26th. In making its bow to CRUSADER readers the Christian Commonwealth Fellowship would like first to say how much it appreciates the warm-hearted kindness with which it has been welcomed by the directors of THE CRUSADER. Nothing could have been more in accord with the spirit of true fellowship than the consideration they have shown in making arrangements for the future of our organisation. We hope that the connection may be a strong and vigorous one, fruitful of much good, both to THE CRUSADER and to the Fellowship.

Who We Are.

A little over eight years ago a little company of readers of *The Christian Commonwealth*, a progressive religious and social journal, began to be powerfully moved by the spirit we have since learned to call the Fellowship spirit. They felt that they had so many things in common and that they were all working for the building of the true Christian Commonwealth on earth; possibly they might do more than simply read the same paper. Thus was born the C.C. Fellowship—its motto *Amor Vincit Omnia* (Love conquers all things). The Editor bade them God-speed and set apart space in the "C.C." to further their desire. Since October 4th, 1911 (now known as Fellowship Day), this space has been used to further the interests of the world-wide Fellowship movement, to link up those who joined the C.C. Fellowship with one another, and to make known the interests, the needs, of our members, and the various opportunities for service that occur. We all have something that we can share, and it is of innumerable small acts of brotherliness and comradeship that the magic web of Fellowship is woven, that shall catch the whole world in its net. The members count it Fellowship to scan the C.C.F. notes promptly each week, watching for the signal that shall summon them to some Fellowship adventure. The starting-point of our Fellowship activities is that of correspondence. Headquarters is a kind of exchange by means of which members are linked up with one another, lonely ones finding friends, shy ones finding those who can "draw them out," and all who have need finding others who can meet their need. Many surprising things have we seen happen during the past eight years, for Fellowship works wonders.

Our Future.

Next week the first Fellowship page in THE CRUSADER will appear, and in this page, week by week, will be told some of the adventures of Fellows who have fared forth, pledged to seek in every man (and woman) a Fellow, a comrade. New members who have joined us since our last notes appeared in the *New Commonwealth* will be introduced, and fresh linking will be made. Will you go with us? Will you take up your daily work, not for yourself only, but for the Fellowship? Will you help us to bring in the City of Friends? If you would like further particulars, please send a stamped envelope to the Fellowship Organiser, 23, Bride Lane, E.C.4.

"Christ's Challenge to Capitalism,"

To some of the people present the Conference was decidedly novel. There were at least two sections who had been attracted by the announcement. "Christ's Challenge" made a special appeal, while the word "Capitalism" was the magnet which attracted the other section. The astounding thing was that a real live Parson should apply the teaching of Christ to the Capitalist system.

The Rev. Stanley B. James said that "Christ's teaching had in the past been regarded as a matter concerning individual salvation—and the Church which ceased to do this would prove itself to be a dead Church. THE CRUSADER was out to produce something bigger—Revolution. Revolution on a large scale—a whole community inspired by a new spirit. In Religion this would be termed Repentance. In Sociology—Revolution.

A more audacious and courageous conception will determine the kind of civilisation we intend to have. It is not sufficient to attempt to make people better in our present system. We must snap the fetters and start to create a new civilisation.

The morality of the 19th and 20th century with regard to private property is a passing phase. There have been and there will be other ideas. We are not to-day inventing a new religion in response to the rapacity of the workers. We are merely reviving Christianity as it was understood 2000 years ago.

For too long wealth has been regarded as a solemn trust and the wealthy as stewards, specially called to dispose of wealth which the community are giving their lives to create. WHY SHOULD THESE PEOPLE HAVE THIS POWER? Of course, it must be remembered that the workers are sometimes allowed to have a back-yard where their washing can hang out and become more dirty. The challenging attitude of Christianity demanded that the community should own and control and distribute.

In family life the strong and healthy did not grab to secure the biggest share. It was a case of "to each according to his need." The delicate members being considered first. In our present civilisation those who cannot or will not grab or scramble go under. We must extend the family idea to the community.

Conferences such as these do much to restore the confidence of the people. It is surely a wonderful thing to have to pass on a message which dispels the bitterness and dis-illusionment which to-day rankles in so many hearts and minds. One felt that some of the people present were on the defensive—possibly waiting for the soothing syrup which had so often been offered to them before, but their attitude gradually relaxed. To some of those present, the lecture was a revelation and opened up new trains of thought. To all it was a real treat.

This Conference chanced to be held at South Norwood, as advertised on page 11. The Crusader Group are hoping that Crusaders will arrange such Conferences locally, up and down the Country, and we shall be glad to hear from Crusaders who can take up the idea, and would like one of the Crusader Group speakers to attend.

"THE PLOUGHMAN."

"THE BISHOP OF FLEET STREET."

(To the Editor of THE CRUSADER.)

Dear Friend,

This article in your issue of the 12th should demand attention. Was it not Mr. Massingham who suggested that the Editor of each newspaper should qualify as a Canon, and thereby made responsible to a higher authority for the morality of the news he published?

If that were an accomplished fact every newspaper would at least be responsible for a better world.

A newspaper would cease to be a newspaper, if it did not have a (modern) Editor, and its existence would thereby become illegal.

The unfortunate part of the whole business is, that every denomination outside the Quakers, has not yet repented of the ruling given during the war, that violence was a regrettable necessity, making the power of Love a second rate power in a crisis.

Under that ruling our War laws are still "legal," for all laws must stand the test of Christian scrutiny.

"PROGRESS."

12/3/20.

:o:

END THE EUROPEAN FAMINE!

We hope all who can will attend the Queen's Hall Meeting on Friday, March 19th, at 8.0 p.m. Lord Parmoor, Lord Buckmaster, Sir George Paish, Rt. Hon. J. F. Clynes, M.P., Mr. Ben Spoor, M.P. and Miss Picton Turberyill, O.B.E., are hoping to be present and to speak.

The object of the meeting is to bring about the restoration of Europe by Peace and Trade all round.

:o:

"DEFEAT."

The Curtain Group, in support of the scheme for a People's Theatre, are to be congratulated on the production by Miles Malleon, of John Galsworthy's "Defeat" at the Lyric Opera House, Hammersmith, March 14th.

The acting of Miss Kathleen Nesbit was fine and realistic, and the sketch brought home very forcibly the tragedy as well as the stupidity and futility of the war.

:o:

CRUSADER "AT HOME."

Our next "at home" will be held the week before Easter, March 24th (Wednesday), at the Minerva Cafe, 144, High Holborn, W.C. Entrance at rear in Silver Street, when we hope to have many with us to tea and talk.

A friend from the Christian Commonwealth Fellowship (who is also a member of the F.O.R.) will tell us something of their work, and we shall have much to discuss regarding the forward movement outlined on Page 4.

This time we shall meet from 6.30 to 8.30 to enable those to be with us, who at an earlier hour would be prevented.

We should be glad to hear from those who are likely to be present, so that we may make arrangements accordingly.

HORNSEY AND DISTRICT BRANCH.

Special meeting on Friday, 23rd inst., at 8 p.m., at The Cottage, Rookfield Avenue, Muswell Hill, to discuss ways and means for helping the scheme for offering hospitality to the suffering children of Central Europe.

C. H. CUNNINGHAM.

:o:

BOY'S SUICIDE THROUGH HUNGER.

He was cursed with a big appetite—a big appetite is an unenviable possession in Austria to-day, and he could never get enough to eat. That was his constant plaint. He was not a greedy boy, but in a land where even the small nominal rations are so scarce that it is a common joke, "To-morrow we must eat our cards," there was no room for a sixteen-year-old appetite that anywhere approached the normal. He was always saying that it made him tired of life and one day, a few weeks ago, he threw himself from the fourth storey of his school. There was one less hungry mouth to feed.

:o:

CHRIST'S CHALLENGE TO CAPITALISM.

Addresses on the above subject are being given by Stanley B. James at the Primitive Methodist Church, Portland Road, South Norwood, as follows:—

Thursday, March 25, 8 p.m.,

CHRIST AND THE WAGE SYSTEM.

Thursday, April 8, 8 p.m.,

CHRIST AND REVOLUTION.

Questions and discussion after each lecture.

:o:

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All advertisements must reach the Office by the Monday before publishing day.

:o:

CHRISNUC'S.—An International Christian, Communist, Vegetarian and Teetotal Colony, to be established in South America. Pioneer party will start next June; all male adults must contribute to the colony funds, minimum £10. All adults must pay own fares. Those who are sympathetic with this scheme, but unable to join, are requested to help by presents, money or kind, or by loans. No more males can be accepted for pioneer party, but there is room for females who can do, and have been used to agricultural work. Second party will start in September next. Third party in December next, and so on, every third month following. Organisers: Germany, Pro. Yoh Frings, Prinz Jeorg Th. 104, Düsseldorf. Holland, W. Adema, Theophile de Bockstraat, 8, Thoten (N.H.) by Amsterdam. Spain, Miguel Riliz de Pina, Komandanto, 10, Ríglimento Artillerie, Huesca, Spain. Switzerland, Ernest T. Hediger, Burgherhaus 111, Berne. British and International, A. Alcock, Sydenham Road, 166, London, S.E.26.

SIDELIGHTS

The Manufacture of "Atrocities."

The *International* (South Africa) for 20th January gives a quotation from an article appearing in the last issue of the *Sunday Times*—we presume the South African *Sunday Times*! The article is headed, "Did Propaganda Win the War?" and is written by Captain Rees, late of the Propaganda Department of the General Army Headquarters in France, and now the assistant editor of the aforesaid *Sunday Times*.

Now listen:—

"I wrote a pathetic story about a poor Scots sergeant who went out on patrol in No Man's Land. He had a Mills' bomb with him. He was collared by two Boches, who took him into their trench and started to conduct him to battalion headquarters. Halfway down the trench they decided that it was rather too much trouble to take him further, so one of them took the pin out of the bomb, dropped it into the Scotsman's pocket, and let him go forward round the next traverse. There was a large bang and no Scotsman.

When the story went in, my chief sent for me. He was in a terrible rage.

'Do you mean to tell me that this is true?' he asked.

I said it was.

'Well,' he said, 'it is too bad to be used in propaganda. If you can give me facts, I will present them to the Secretary of State for War, and representations will at once be made to a neutral Ambassador to have the facts brought home to the War Office at Berlin. It is one of the worst cases of frightfulness I have ever heard of.'

'Well, sir,' I replied, 'I can give you the facts and the evidence, but—it has to be reversed. It was a Scotch sergeant who did it to two Boche prisoners whom he collared.'

'My chief laid back in his chair and roared with laughter.

'That is one of the best jokes I have heard in the war,' he said.—*Forward*

Candid Criticism.

The signatories to the manifesto of the Liberty League would perhaps have done better to leave the Sermon on the Mount out of account, for there is a painful disparity between the counsels of that discourse and the state of the world after "nearly two thousand years of effort" to realise them. Do the meek really inherit the earth? Are the peacemakers really called the children of God? Do we love our enemies? Do we decline to lay up for ourselves treasure upon earth? Do we judge not, that we may not be judged? Do we even agree with the adversary quickly? There are, no doubt, excellent political reasons for not doing any of these things, but we should not make a flourish about the Sermon on the Mount as if it were the basis of our social fabric.—*Observer*.

A Teachers' International.

Commenting on *Der Fohn*, a new Socialist School paper *Foreign Affairs* says.—

"Herr Georg Mayer is to be congratulated on a brave little attempt to hold the red flag high, to start a pedagogic *Vorwaerts*, and an orientation towards the Left. His paper seeks to provide a forum for discussion for the very necessary tasks of unlearning and relearning now before his countrymen. A tribunal is also necessary where, if need be, the counter-revolution may be pilloried. The appeal for a pedagogic international is printed in six languages, from which we copy:

TEACHERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!

In truth, the nations would deserve to perish in and by the great war, if they did not, at length, over death and ruin caused by fratricide, and over the bars of national frontiers, become already prehistoric, shake hands one with another for reconciliation, for peace in eternity!

The 'national' school of former times was the principal spring of poison, was the spring of instigation to hatred from nation to nation!

From the new school, international and social, mutual understanding, mutual toleration, mutual assistance have to rise!

A teachers' international is the indispensable supposition to 'fraternity of all mankind.'

Help us in erecting a pedagogical 'central place' by exchange of experiences, periodicals, and appliances for teaching.

Come, let us found the Teachers' International.

(Our readers may like to send spare copies of education periodicals, etc., to Herr George Mayer, Aussereglattbacherstrasse 41a, Aschaffenburg, Bavaria.)

Lord Daintree Confesses.

Lord Daintree, says the *Daily News* (6/3/20), who served a lifetime at the Foreign Office, thus describes the life there in the "bad times":—

"Men fight shy of you if you tell a certain kind of lie persistently and if you cheat at cards. But I have been all my life lying; it was my profession to lie. I was a diplomatist, you know. Nobody thinks a bit the worse of me. In fact, I have a jewel case full of ribbons and stars and things given me as tokens of respect for my skill as a liar."

A Warning.

"For good, or ill, I know not which, the ideas germinated in trenches and dug-outs, in towns under shell-fire and bomb-fire, in hearts stricken by personal tragedy or world-agony, will prevail over the Old Order which dominated the nations of Europe; and the old philosophy of political and social governance will be challenged and perhaps overthrown. If the new ideas are thwarted by reactionary rulers endeavouring to jerk the world back to its old-fashioned discipline under their authority, there will be anarchy reaching to the heights of terror in more countries than those where anarchy now prevails." (From "Realities of War," the startling new book, which all should read, by Mr. Philip Gibbs, just published by Mr. William Heinemann.)

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THE OUTLOOK

NOT the least serious aspect of the counter-revolution in Germany is that revealed in the statement made by George Lansbury at the Albert Hall. With documents in the possession of the Soviet Government of Russia as his authority he said, "The rising in Berlin has been definitely engineered by people in this country and on the Continent, who are anxious to see restored Kaiserism in Germany and Tsarism in Russia." Reaction is internationally caged together. It is one and the same in Moscow, Berlin, Paris and London. Against this world-wide combine local movements, spasmodic risings are futile. The hour has come for a flash of mutual recognition to use together all who desire to end the reign of Greed and Fear.

* * *

THE political career of Mr. Lloyd George has taken an interesting turn, in this country, Labour is to find, leading the forces of reaction against it, a politician of undoubted courage and definiteness of purpose. Against a man of the Prime Minister's calibre the ordinary Labour leader, conscientious but dull, sincere but lacking the uncompromising vigour of his opponent, is lost. Mr. Lloyd George is defin-

itely against Socialism. Unless Labour is as definitely determined to fall into line with the International Socialist movement, there is little hope of success. We recommend to the notice of the workers the advice tendered them by the man who now openly declares war on their class. This is what Mr. Lloyd George said on the publication of the new programme of the Labour Party: "I am not afraid of the audacity of these proposals. I believe that the settlement after the war will succeed in proportion to its audacity. . . . Therefore, what I should be looking forward to, I am certain, if I could have presumed to have been the adviser of the working classes would be this: I should say to them, audacity is the thing for you. Think out new ways; think out new methods; think out even new ways of dealing with old problems. Don't always be thinking of getting back to where you were before the war: get a really new world."

* * *

THE world is steadily moving Left, which means that it will not settle down until the socialising of wealth is definitely and permanently effected. Momentary reactions, periods of temporary power for parties advocating a middle course there are and will be, but Russia has unsettled the world's mind, and nothing short of what Russia has achieved will now satisfy.

* * *

THE murder of Cork's Lord Mayor, a prominent Sinn Féiner, has a sinister appearance. It has aroused intense feeling, and it will be little wonder if reprisals follow. Government by assassination is a new weapon, even in Ireland. The responsibility, whoever be the perpetrators, rests with those who inaugurated the regime of coercion. The Bolshevik government has done its best to put down the unofficial "Terror" to which its own example incited its followers, and, of course, the English government will punish the murderers in this case if they can be found. Once begin the game of "Terror" and you release forces you may not be able to control. If you fling a match into a powder magazine it is useless to complain that it was only a match.



The New Puritanism

There are times when, looking at the unblushing paganism of our age, it seems as though morality as we have known it was sick unto death. It is needless to recapitu-

late the things which we accept to-day in glaring inconsistency with the standards recognised in our youth. The war has destroyed the Nonconformist conscience and much else besides. It may be that that type of conscience was not worth preserving, but the point is that it has now gone and nothing else seems to have taken its place. The old fashioned strictness that so severely limited our pleasures has vanished. The class that stood for sobriety, thrift, chastity and the like have proved as unavailing in the deluge which has overtaken us as President Wilson at the Peace Conference. The morality of the Middle Class has succumbed to the forces of the time.

The outlook would be black indeed if we were not able to realise that the ideals now seemingly lost were those of a class and were thrown up by the special conditions of that class. Among people whose chief aim was to make money by industry and commerce, sobriety, punctuality, thrift, steady application to work were necessarily regarded as the ideals of conduct. Any undue indulgence was "bad for business." The Sunday must be spent in a simple, serious way which would not unfit one for the duties of the shop and the factory on the Monday. The acquisition of "useful knowledge," especially science, because it equipped men for the growingly complex character of our productive processes, was to be encouraged. Peace was necessary in the interests of international commerce, and went hand in hand with Free Trade as a condition of building up our business prosperity.

Has the class which is emerging anything by which life may be again moralised? At first sight it would seem as though the position was hopeless. Thrift is openly laughed at, for thrift only decreases the cost of living and it is on the cost of living that Capitalism confessedly bases its wage-standards. The more the worker pulls in his belt, the more he will be expected to do so. Industry likewise does not benefit him and he adopts the ca' canny device without a scruple. While the wars engineered by financiers make little appeal to the class conscious worker, he is preparing himself for a conflict with the Capitalist that may be both bitter and bloody, and laughs at the morality of the pacifist because it is not related to the economic interests of his class.

But when we have said this we have said the worst. Look a little deeper and you will find the beginnings of a new morality firmly established upon the bed rock of proletarian requirements. It is one of the commandments of this new morality that you must suppress all individual ambitions in favour of the advancement of your fellow workers. You must not

blackleg. You must not avail yourself of individual opportunities. to forsake your class and enter that of the common enemy. The Union that has no special grievance must stand by those who are fighting their employers.

The sense of human dignity is very strong in our new moralist. Philanthropic help, indulgence granted by the favour of patronising "superiors," is repudiated with scorn as implying acquiescence in a system which divides men into benefactors and recipients. Once let the propagandist enthusiasm of the Cause lay hold of a member of this class and there is no sacrifice he will not make. Drunkenness disappears because it steals the time and money and brains that are needed for the movement. Holidays must be given up to attend meetings. Evenings are surrendered to committees. Home is forsaken in order to attend conferences on Housing.

In Russia we are seeing the reappearance of the Puritan morality on a new basis. The co-operative industry of the Soviet Republic, the absence of licentiousness, the disappearance of prostitution, the desire for peace (because war interferes with the constructive work of rebuilding the economic life of the nation), the intellectual revival are all evidences of the arrival of a new Puritanism. But this phenomenon has a different origin from the puritanism of Capitalist production. It is based on the struggle of the proletariat. It derives its strength and inspiration from that struggle.

A perception of this difference is necessary if the world of the future is to be moralised. It is no good trying to impose a morality generated by the middle class upon the new arrivals. They must have their own morality set in the context of their fierce struggle for life and freedom.

Preach temperance to them as it has been taught—from the standpoint of the employer anxious to secure steady, sober workmen—and they will laugh at you. Preach it to them as a condition of the victory for which they are striving and they perceive the relevance of your message and will listen.

The pacifist ideal, especially in its application to the industrial conflict, smacks far too strongly of the desire to keep the poor humble and contented to find a responsive audience. Capitalism is learning to regard the Sermon on the Mount as very convenient teaching just now. Those who preach to wealthy congregations will be listened to quite patiently if not eagerly when they declare that those who use the sword shall perish with the sword. Pacifism must first be dissociated entirely from its old environment before it can become the creed of the emerging class. Its relevance to the aspirations of that class must be shown. It must spring up as the native product of the class-conscious soil. Pacifism as an ethical dogma born in Free Trade, middle class circles has no chance of rooting itself in the proletarian mind of to-day.

That it will spring out of that mind I have no doubt, I believe that it was first born there. I believe that the teaching of Jesus arose from his passionate desire that the dispossessed should enter into their kingdom. But that the best weapon from their own point of view is that of goodwill has yet to be shown. We must create a new pacifism springing directly out of the conditions in which the workers find themselves to-day.

THE TRAMP.

The New Evangel

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

I want to warn all who may be reading THE CRUSADER this week for the first time that this page is usually unfit to be read by people who rule "politics" out of their scheme of things. I sometimes set out with the deliberate intention of writing an article which shall pass the most severe "no politics" test, but before I am half-way through, the hidden hand, or the cloven hoof, or whatever it is that stands for the outward and visible sign of the *bete noir*, reveals itself and I am undone! The trouble is that my religion and my politics are so inextricably mixed up that I can't tell "t'other from which;" and I may as well admit that this appalling state of things lands me into no end of difficulties. When at "religious" gatherings I invariably talk "politics!" and when at "political" meetings I inevitably get on to the subject of "religion." And the result is frequently disturbing, both to my own peace of mind and that of my unfortunate hearers!

Now I am not going to attempt the impossible this week; and so, in spite of the fact that one should be on one's best behaviour when being introduced to new friends, I am going to declare right out that this article is to be blatantly and unmistakably political—and terribly biased at that. So, gentle reader, you read what follows "at owner's risk," so to speak.

The political event of the week is, of course, the speech of Mr. Lloyd George in announcing the opening of his great anti-Bolshevik campaign; and I am one of those who believe that this speech marks the beginning of a new phase of our national social evolution, a phase which should be carefully considered by all who have any regard for the well-being of this country. In spite of the fact that this speech had a very bad Press, largely owing to personal animus against its author, all who study the speech carefully and prune out its characteristic flippancies will, I think, feel bound to admit that Mr. Lloyd George gave a fairly accurate outline of the position of the various social and political elements now striving for mastery.

It is the fashion among that section of the Press which is more concerned to remove a particular person from office than for the good of the community (and that section includes both Liberal and Tory) to scoff at the Prime Minister's definitions of the political creeds of the day, but the scoffers are careful not to do more than scoff: it would be difficult for them to correct the definitions. The "Daily News," "The Times," and their satellite organs agree in denying the accuracy of Mr. Lloyd George's definitions of the creed of the Labour Party. Mr. Lloyd George says the Labour Party is a Socialist Party, and he proves his statement by quoting from the constitution of that Party the following declaration, which I have recently quoted, but which will bear repetition:

"The chief objects of the Labour Party are to secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruit of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of common ownership of the means of production, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control in each industry or service."

When the Prime Minister calls that Socialism he is

stating a fact: however much individual members of the Labour Party may differ on details, none can differ on this fundamental principle of the common ownership and control of the means of production. And when members of the other parties deliberately puff a smoke screen over this principle and declare that there is no real difference between the Labour Party and "advanced social reformers" who pin their faith to the present system—with a few splints and bandages skilfully applied—they are simply humbugging themselves and their followers. What Mr. Lloyd George calls "this new evangel" of the overthrow of private capitalism is, of course, the same old evangel that was preached by those who "had all things common" and who distributed their goods "as every man had need, and . . . breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart." That is what Labour the world over is striving for in blood and tears and agony of soul.

And what is the alternative? Let Mr. Lloyd George give it in his own words:—

"The doctrine of Liberalism is a doctrine that believes that private ownership as an incentive, as a means, as a reward, is the most potent agent, not merely for the wealthiest, but for the well-being of the community. . . . That is the doctrine which has been challenged by this new menace, and if Liberals and Conservatives fight each other, that doctrine, which menaces the whole fabric of society, will triumph."

No amount of political camouflage can obscure this very clear and definite issue. If Mr. Lloyd George does not rally his forces exactly as he would wish, another leader will step into his place; *but the grouping will be the same.* And that is why I regard this speech as all-important and one that should be carefully considered by all who are seeking a way out of the present chaos. "Civilisation is in jeopardy in every land," says the Premier. It is, and it will continue to be in jeopardy so long as the system that produced the hell of the past five years is allowed to stand. Mr. Lloyd George and those who are opposed to the principle of common ownership think it is possible to place checks on the individualism which—on the Prime Minister's own admission—has been "responsible for slums, sweating, prolonged hours of toil, child labour, and for starvation in periods of misfortune through ill-health and unemployment." Surely the present state of the world cries out against such a futile policy. After a world war which was the inevitable outcome of a generation of this policy, we are asked to give it yet another chance. "Peace is our first purpose," says the Premier; and the Army is to cost in 1920 five times what it cost in 1914; the Navy is to cost 33 millions more this year than it did in 1914; 380,310 soldiers are still under arms, and 3,073,096 are transferred to Class Z of the Reserve! "Peace on earth and goodwill amongst men is not merely a great gospel, it is the soundest of political economies," says the Premier—and goes from the meeting to rebuke the miners for asking for a living wage!

The amount of peace and goodwill there is to be in the New World will depend on the response to the call of the New Evangel.

THE Crusader.

March 26, 1920.

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Lenin's Advice.

Not least among the notable utterances at the great meeting on Sunday evening, in the Albert Hall, was this message from Lenin to the British workers:

"Keep in your trade movement; keep in your Labour movement. Don't divide until you have to divide. Don't become disintegrated by premature strikes or premature upheavals.

"Keep together till you are homogeneous, and do not be led into resorting to violence."

That expresses the wide tolerance of the man who is sure of his own position and confident of the ultimate victory of his own cause. In proportion as we are distrustful of the rightness of our principles, and suspicious of their power to make their own way in the world, do we become intolerant of those who cannot see as clearly or as far as ourselves. Because Lenin knows that there is no solution but the Socialist Commune he can afford to be patient and to advise patience with the slower moving bodies in the Labour world.

The True Tolerance.

We of THE CRUSADER would like to adopt the same principle. Without compromising by one iota our revolutionary faith we would like to recognise and help forward the numerous individuals and societies who form the rear-guard of the advancing army of Progress. So long as they are willing to be seen in our disreputable company, and will tolerate our occasional criticism of, what may seem to us, their half-heartedness, we can make no complaint. There is a tolerance that means indifference to Truth, and there is a tolerance that involves half-measures, but there is also a tolerance which is the outcome of confidence and faith in the revolutionary programme.

Our Ambition.

We confess to the ambition of unifying the straggling bodies and isolated individuals who constitute the Forward Movement in Social Ethics and Religion. We should indeed be proud to think that we had done something to hasten the process of co-operation between all those who have set their faces towards the future. "Whosoever is not against us is for us." Whosoever will march in our direction, however far behind, shall not have cause, we trust, to complain of our churlishness.

But we make no secret of the fact that our reason in adopting this principle is, that we are confident that, sooner or later, all will be obliged to accept wholeheartedly the uncompromising application to personal, social and economic life of the leadership of Jesus Christ.

CHARACTER DELINEATED from Handwriting. Write a short note, stating birth date and full Christian name and surname, enclosing a stamped and addressed envelope and postal order for 1/- Advice given; confidence.—Jackson, 48, London Road, Bromley, Kent.

"Clear up as you go."

When first I had a garden all to myself I spent every spare minute, digging, weeding and planting. I discovered all sorts of treasures. Lots of Lilies of the Valley were eagerly shooting upwards, indicating that later on they would form just the background needed to emphasise the delicate beauty of their neighbours—some forget-me-nots. I only saw possibilities of future beauty and harmony. Then one day I took a friend out to see my garden. She looked round critically and then remarked "But why don't you clear up as you go?"

I showed a CRUSADER to a friend the other day. After scanning the pages thoughtfully he remarked "Does a paper like this pay?"

For the enlarged CRUSADER we are charging twopence, but even then the paper will not "pay." Hitherto we have depended upon the generosity of a few of our friends. We should like all CRUSADERS to share our responsibility and to make a big effort to "Clear up as we go." The following extracts from letters we have received are most encouraging:—

"I note THE CRUSADER is to be increased to 2d. and I am quite sure the change is necessary. I am enclosing 4/6."

"'Subscriber' is glad to send £1 for THE CRUSADER. If you want 49 more of 'em, would suggest you make an appeal in CRUSADER for 49 readers to send 'em.' What do the 49 say to this?"

We see all sorts of opportunities looming ahead. For instance our International Editor, who is at present spreading our message in Germany, knows how eagerly copies of THE CRUSADER are greeted. Perhaps some friends who are noting the work there, would like to pay for copies for distribution.

It is not possible to base the selling price of the paper upon the actual cost of production and propaganda expenses. Our Group Speakers are continually addressing meetings up and down the Country and their expenses must be met. If a thousand CRUSADERS who are not in a position to send us big subscriptions would levy themselves at the rate of say—Sixpence per week—that would enable us at once to greatly extend our work. Will CRUSADERS who would like to do this kindly let us know?

We are continually receiving letters and messages from friends who are glad to have discovered THE CRUSADER. I gave a CRUSADER to a friend, who passed it on to a friend, who again passed it on to a lady, who was so pleased to discover it that I understand she immediately ordered back numbers. Another lady regards THE CRUSADER "As a paper for which the present Age is waiting." These cases are typical of many and we confidently await a ready response to our "Thousand sixpences fund."

If we can unite and meet our difficulties as we go, we can together greet the next stage. Our work will never be finished. As we grow our scope widens.

"We do not see it where it is,

"At the beginning of the race:

"As we proceed, it shifts its place,

"And where we looked for palms to fall,

"We find the tug's to come,—that's all."

THE PLOUGHMAN.

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS

By Rev. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

It is good to see so many signs of a revival of the idea that Art and Religion should go hand in hand in our church life. And I note that the "Challenge" now intends to publish from time to time an Art Supplement. I wish we could see more movement of this kind on the Nonconformist side. But even here there is some stirring. And I think we may at length safely say that the days of the unbeautiful and meaningless building, the bare service, and the narrow, unimaginative mind, are numbered.

* * *

The elements of beauty fitly enter the Church of Jesus Christ. It is a poor idea of the religious life that casts out beauty. The ugliness of Protestantism is itself a drastic and penetrating criticism of Protestantism's spirit. The student of history can appreciate the intention of those who stripped religion bare in days that are past, but it was not a full reading of life. The fuller reading now attracts many, and they long for liberty to express in a thousand beautiful forms the liberty that has been won for them by those brave and faithful men of a past age, who, at great cost to themselves, protested against forms and acts which were drawing men aside and robbing them of communion with spiritual realities.

* * *

In the midst of a hard and mechanical civilisation, a "war of steel and gold," our awakened spirits long to give expression to another word, at least in Church. It is good, infinitely good, to enter our Church, and there, by the power of abstraction, hush all the sounds of the outer life, and sink to the quiet deep where God awaits the soul. But to many a man and woman now this does not seem enough. We are longing to give visible form to the transcendent experience. We begin to understand the men who built the cathedrals, who attempted to express spiritual things in stone, in carven wood and coloured glass, in turrets, towers and spires, in gothic aisles and arches, in sculpture, picture, font and altar, and in glorious music.

* * *

I have often thought that our generation was quite logical when it blew the cathedrals to pieces. And the tears that most people shed over them were crocodile's tears, I am afraid. But a new feeling is moving many now, and in this connection it is very interesting to note the revival of religious drama. It is part of the fresh and fuller reading of life of which I have spoken. The spell of mere logic is lifting here and there. We are in revolt against the world we have long believed in. Life is deeper than we thought, and we are slowly beginning to turn away from the "war of steel and gold." We are calling in the poet and the artist, the dreamer of dreams and the seer of visions. The long, deadly lines of our city streets, and the bare and blackened countryside, are disgusting us. We cry out in pain; we were not made to eat bricks and soot for ever; we were once children of the spirit, and we want to be so again. Of course, not everybody has arrived at this stage, but some have, in every modern land; and they are the hope of the future. Let the sons of the spirit

greet one another, and strengthen one another in their most holy faith.

* * *

As I write these words, I look out and see signs of the coming springtime. Above the greening earth, the sky is a tender blue made pale by the glory of the sun. What is the meaning of this strange thrill which passes through me as I gaze? And I notice that everybody I have spoken to to-day has said something about the splendid day. There is magic in the air. This new, yet old, pageantry of nature arouses us, and bids us believe that there is, after all, something great and splendid in the scheme of existence. And that is just what modern life has missed, the sense of the greatness and splendour of existence. We are a little shop-keeping lot, with our hands in one another's pockets, and our noses to the grindstone. I want to see a civilisation that will give me a thrill, that will make me feel at least for a moment now and again as I do when I look out upon the springtime, or up into the vault of a night hung with stars, or abroad on the spreading field of the sea streaked with blue and green and gold. Why should it not be possible. The mind of Christ was like that. And I am quite sure humanity was meant to be like that, for when the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us, we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. It seems to us, to-day, a wild and extravagant dream; it seems only folly to talk of such things in the presence of the hard facts that face us. Yet there can be no doubt of it, an angel is troubling the waters at last. Let the sons of hope greet one another, and strengthen one another in their most holy faith.

* * *

Concerning the performance of religious drama, the "Church Times" tells us that all over the country plays were given last Christmas in Churches and parish rooms. Says the writer, "Probably many of these plays were ill-written, awkwardly acted by gawky youths and maidens, and their lines spoken in that devastating recitation voice that the elementary school teacher will have to answer for at the Judgment Seat. But for all that we do not doubt that they gave pleasure, not only, though chiefly, to the players, but to the friendly audiences that attended. The purpose of such plays is to convey an idea; to teach the truth of a great theme. It is probable that more persons are affected by this simple, crude drama than superior intelligences would imagine." I think so too.

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On the Clyde

THE CRUSADER EDITOR VISITS GLASGOW.

As I travelled northwards to address a number of meetings organised by the I.L.P. in Glasgow, I found traces of recent snow-storms. The ground, as I peered through the carriage window into the night, was white. Spring comes more slowly in those northern regions. But if I was leaving behind me the rebirth of Nature, I was finding myself nearer than in London to the rebirth of society. The spring-time of Democracy is further advanced in Glasgow than with us. Labour is more conscious of its purpose, better educated in the science of Socialism. This I already knew from the experience of a former visit and from my reading of the papers and pamphlets published north of the Border, but I was to be confirmed in my impression.

The revolutionary wing of the movement is strong in Glasgow. Men there are taking the coming social change very seriously, and preparing for it with characteristic dourness. The grim uncompromising character of Scotch Puritanism has passed into the Class Struggle.

Lest there should be any misunderstanding on the part of CRUSADER readers as to my purpose and method, let me say a few words on this personal question. I went to Glasgow as I go elsewhere, purely and simply as a Socialist speaker intent on helping my comrades in the great struggle for economic and industrial emancipation. Nothing was or is further from my purpose than the intention to seek opportunities to drag in Christianity. If Christianity has to be "dragged in" we had better leave it out. It was thrown up in the great clash of interests which took place in the first century. It will, I believe, be thrown up in the present crisis. There is no need to force its teaching into prominence. It emerges of itself. It is relevant to the present phase of social and economic development, and any propaganda that does not deal with it in this way fails of its object. It was my invariable habit, therefore, in the meetings I addressed, to build up on the materialist basis, showing how the economic motive, the craving for material welfare can only become an effective revolutionary force by becoming intelligent, by organising and socialising its forces, and by going forward under the inspiration of a faith that Socialism is, not a human invention, but, what religious people call, the will of God. At all the meetings THE CRUSADER sold well, a fact due, no doubt, to the prominent display given to our bills and to the generous references to our paper made by the chairman.

In addition to the meetings referred to, I was given an opportunity one morning of addressing, in a room attached to a large parish church in the centre of the City, a body of Presbyterian ministers. An animated discussion, revealing considerable understanding of and sympathy with the position which had been stated, followed an address on "The Class War."

But the really interesting point in this little tour was an occasion when I played the part of listener rather than speaker. This was an afternoon meeting of about sixty ministers, held in a hall belonging to Elgin Place Congregational Church, which had been lent for the purpose of the Scottish Christian Social

Union. The speaker was Mr. J. W. Scott, Ph.D. Lecturer on Philosophy at the University of Glasgow and his subject "The History of Socialism since Marx." It was one of a series, this particular lecture dealing with Sorel, the philosopher of Syndicalism, the previous series had dealt with Karl Marx. The lecturer, needless to say, did not speak as a Marxist but it was a well informed and, on the whole, a fair presentation of Sorel's position.

To me it was a most encouraging sign that so many ministers should be interesting themselves in the philosophy of socialism. For the most part leaders of the Churches, when they investigate what is called "the Social Problem," are content to consider the various reformist proposals put forward for improving the lot of the worker. That these Scotch divines had recognised the existence of a philosophy of the class struggle and were interesting themselves in its economic interpretation of history was a significant sign of the times.

—:O:—

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A Plea for Christian Communism

In the pages of the March number of *Old Ireland*, Dublin paper, there appears an article by J. R. White, under the above title, from which we extract the following passages. The acute analyses of the situation which they give, though it may call for hard thinking, is well worth studying.

We have strained at gnats and swallowed a camel with a vengeance. Our worst moral lapses, the guilt of which we would not attempt to condone, are mere eccadilloes in their consequences compared to land-winning or a good investment which we consider rather meritorious than otherwise. Yet there can be no doubt that the social consequences of rent or interest paid to us as private persons are more widespread and disastrous than those of any of our admitted crimes. The common consent that condemns the latter encourages, nay, often compels, the former, and sootent a support is common consent to the individual conscience that the slaughter or starvation of half a continent arouses no sense of individual guilt for participation in its obvious cause.

We are faced then with one or two alternatives. Either there is no guilt attaching to the individual or subscribing to and benefitting by collective customs however blood-guilty and destructive, or we must revise our whole conception of morals and religion. We might phrase the amended conception something as follows: Religion and morality to-day are entangled in one or two alternatives but really complementary falsehoods.

On the other hand religion is regarded as something between the individual soul and God with no reference to a moral law governing the individual's economic relationship to his fellows. On the other hand, the fighting of social wrong is regarded as a matter of purely social rather than individual obligation, and the most excellent persons have no scruple in benefiting individually by customs which they strive socially to destroy. Since the seat of the religious consciousness is in the individual we must either divorce religion from social relationship or re-define religion as individual responsibility for social wrong.

* * *

No human being may be able to escape the taint of the vast social aberration from love, but it is obligatory on believers in Christ that they should strive to overcome the world in its soul and body-destroying economic customs. The plea for love in the social relationship is generally used by the bourgeois to urge toleration of their continuance in the practice of hate advantageous to themselves.

There is no more common argument in their mouths than that the revolutionary is a man in a hurry who strives to bring his ideals to birth by force because the moral progress is too slow for him. It never seems to occur to them that their progress is a steady spiritual regress, that where wealth accumulates men decay, and that the world-revolution is the divine check against their going too fast—to the devil.

* * *

Has this sorry scheme of things entire to be shattered to bits or by rational analysis of the problem and then faithful application of the mind which was in

Christ Jesus can we yet achieve a peaceful transformation revealing Christ as both the way from the old to the new and the truth and life of the new order? Such an effort demands correct diagnosis of the falsehood underlying present capitalist society.

This falsehood can be stated in its simplest form as the fundamental and irreconcilable contradiction between profits and wages. The interests of wage-earners and profit-makers are diametrically opposed. It is quite true that up to a point higher wages and better conditions of life combined with improved machinery of production may be compatible with increased profits for the manufacturers of particular commodities. But as long as the margin of profit to private persons over cost of production remains, higher wages must mean (1) higher prices which diminish the purchasing power of wages, and (2) the governing of production by thought of profit rather than use. This disturbance of the balance of production and distribution by the magnet of profit throws the whole world out of gear. The Thames is choked with barges carrying the produce of the world, when half Europe and Asia is starving. This because England is the richest country and can attract by her wealth to herself supplies far more urgently needed elsewhere.

But this false balance of wealth arises from a false balance of power, and it is here that Christ's philosophy of life can be vindicated by the closest analysis of social conditions. The true relations of men to each other depend on the true relation of all men to the forces of nature which they have to control for their subsistence. Equality before God is a vague abstraction unless it is made concrete by equality over nature. A reasonable application of Christian principle to life would never have allowed the present social order based on the monopoly of natural forces to come into existence. Can Christian principle be applied now to transform the foundations of life in such a way as to make Christian practice possible? If so, we need a more vital religious fervour, an applied mysticism to supersede the machinery of organisation and of institutions.

* * *

Christian communism means voluntary surrender by the possessing class of their hold on the land and the means of production, and for the dispossessed it means a steady cumulative appeal to the hearts and minds of their class-enemies without relaxing a steady pressure on their bodies. The action of the dispossessed must be mass action, for it is the positive instrument of the new social consciousness which is to supersede our predatory or self-preservative individualism. But the action of the possessors can and must be individual, for it is negative; they must surrender their individualism and its sheath of individualistic possession. Mass action on their part can only mean mass-reaction, however subtly it may seek to disguise its true nature. One by one must the rich men go through the eye of a needle into the Kingdom, otherwise by battalions they may be cast into outer darkness.

* * *

I plead then for measures as drastic as Calvary.

The Christian In

A SCIENTIFIC

The New Testament writers made astounding claims for their Master. In their eyes His was the sovran will that determined the goal and course of history. If His words are correctly reported He spoke of Himself as the judge before whom must come all nations. If He did indeed determine the goal of history it should be possible to find evidence that progress is synonymous with approximation to His ideal. If Jesus is what He claimed to be, history should bear witness to the fact that we are travelling to Him. If we discovered that the development of Society is towards what He described as "the Kingdom of God" and towards the realization of that ideal which He embodied it would afford strong confirmation of the Christian faith.

This is the direction in which we must look for "evidences." He Himself appealed to the "signs of the times." It was to what was happening around Him that He pointed for confirmation of His mission. We must adopt the same method and appeal to the same evidence.

It is our contention that the laws governing the development of society, that the forces destined to control life on this planet are the laws and forces embodied in Jesus. Let us examine the matter.

THE INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY.

The scientific interpretation of history is a modern achievement. Previous to our age the succession of events was regarded as the work of chance or as due to the influence of individuals acting in unfettered freedom of circumstances and conditions.

The German philosopher, Hegel, and others, gave a philosophical interpretation of history, but it was left to Karl Marx to give to our view of the course of events scientific precision.

Marx's theory is generally called materialistic. He started from the point of view that the character of any civilization, its culture, its social conventions and morality, and its religious beliefs were due to the nature of its economic and industrial order. A feudal order would have its characteristic art and ethics and church organization. A trading class, dependent on the one hand, on capital, and, on the other hand, upon proletarian labour, would, in like manner, give prominence to ideals in harmony with its economic mission.

The succession of classes, according to this school of thought, is no accident. Differing types of society with their characteristic ideals succeed each other according to a law of development as precise as that which governs the order of the strata in a cutting of rock. Each has its mission to perform, its part to play in the great drama of history, its contribution to make to the final and perfect form of human society, if indeed such a final and perfect form be ever attainable.

THE DOOM OF CAPITALISM.

Interpreting the present age according to this view, Marxians assert that the capitalist order is doomed. It has neared the completion of its mission, and in so doing has created the class that is to succeed to power,

namely the proletariat, the workers who have been dispossessed of the land and the means of production.

The proletariat, however, is not a class in the sense in which the feudal nobility or the plutocracy of our own day form a class. The class-wars which have made the chief burden of history in the past will culminate in an anti-class war to be waged by those who would place society on a communal basis summarised in the phrase "to each according to his need, from each according to his ability." Into that "class" all may enter who will. Only those are left out who cling to their exclusive privileges or who refuse to share their burden of the communal responsibilities.

It is very evident that those marked out for future supremacy are as yet unfit to govern. But that is not for the reasons generally given. They are not fit to govern because they still retain the effects of the capitalist regime. Their inbred servility has weakened their faith in themselves. They are still competitors with one another in the Labour market. They can still be induced by politicians of capitalistic governments to fly at one another's throats and devastate one another's homes. Before they can come into their kingdom they must become class-conscious and organized. Class-consciousness is to the forces of the future what patriotism has been to states. When it is perfected the dispossessed will become a united body sustained by a great faith in their destiny, upheld by a splendid vision of the future and bound together by an all-powerful bond of fellowship.

THE NEW PEOPLE.

The forces thus destined to inherit the earth will, of course, impose upon human institutions and affairs their own culture. They will stand for ideals as distinct from those formerly held as were the ideals of the trading class from those of the feudal nobility. New standards of conduct, a new religious faith will come into being, born of the peculiar circumstances through which the proletariat have passed during the period of their captivity. Just as the Hebrews emerged from Babylon with a deeper faith and a finer standard of conduct which were the results of their slavery and the form of their protest against it, so, we may expect from the escaped exiles of capitalism returning to till their own fields and build their own temples, a manner of life and form of society greater than any the world has yet seen.

That this is no individual view could be easily shown. It is a view which is not confined even to those calling themselves Socialists. Stephen Reynolds, in "A Poor Man's House," says, "The civilization of the poor may be more backward materially, but it contains the nucleus of a finer civilization than that of the middle class."

What will be the nature of these new ethical and religious values? That is a big question which it is impossible to answer in the space available. Perhaps I may be allowed to quote Stephen Reynolds again. "Broadly speaking," he says, "the middle class is distinguished by the utilitarian virtues; the virtues

ation of History

ON OF FAITH.

that is, which are means to an end; the profitable, discreet, expedient virtues: whereas the poor prefer what Maeterlinck calls 'the great useless virtues'—useless because they bring no apparent immediate profit, and great because by faith or deeply rooted instinct we still believe them of more account than all the utilitarian virtues put together." In short the complaint, "This ointment could have been sold and the money given to the poor" is not at all the criticism the poor themselves would have made. They would have understood the extravagant devotion of love shown in the sacrifice.

Obviously another characteristic will be the new value attached to productive labour. Work, having once been dissociated from servility, "the due performance of labour will be a source of pride, the necessary price of the respect of one's fellows, while the needless acceptance of an unearned bounty, such as marks the idle rich of our time, will carry with it the stigma of general contempt." The writer from whom I have just quoted, Clarence Meily, says, mentioning another point, "From the interdependence occasioned by the division of labour, and intensified for the proletariat, not only by intimate personal association in industry, but also by the deeper fellowship of a common oppression, exploitation, injustice and misery, arises that sense of mutual dependence and identity of interest, and that quickened sympathy, which are beautifully summed up in the one word 'brotherhood.'" This brotherhood, it need scarcely be pointed out, will be economic as well as spiritual manifesting itself in an actual communism.

These are only hints of the ethical character of the new order. Readers should turn, if they desire to follow up the subject, to the growing literature on the question. The book from which I have just quoted, "Puritanism," by Clarence Meily (Kerr and Co., Chicago) would make a good beginning.

IS THIS CHRISTIANITY?

Dr. Horton was quoted in these pages as declaring, concerning Bruce Glasier's definition of Socialism, that it was Christianity. Socialist writers are equally emphatic as to the affinity between the faith and ideals of the proletarian movement and those of the early Christian community. To quote Meily again (not because he has any special authority, but because he is an avowed Marxian), "It is upon the principle of brotherhood in practical realization of the altruism of Christ's teaching, that the new society will be founded. In fact, the system of co-operative industry, based upon the collective ownership of the means of production, involving the disappearance of economic classes and class antagonisms, is the only social form in which the true spirit of Christianity can prevail amongst men, or become the practical guide of life."

SCIENCE CONFIRMS FAITH.

We reach then this conclusion. According to the scientific interpretation of history given us by Marx and his followers, the whole course of human events and the laws revealed as governing human society are

such as to make for the creation of a world-wide community embodying the Christian spirit. That is the "one divine event toward which creation moves." History is but the progressive realization of the will of God as manifested in Jesus Christ. That is not merely a theory. It is not a pious supposition. It is a scientific fact. Science confirms faith.

Nineteen centuries ago a community of slaves and those who identified themselves with slaves believed that all things that had been or would be created were created through Jesus Christ. They believed that in Him the purpose of history was made known.

To-day the scientific interpretation of history corroborates their testimony and strengthens us in the faith which we have inherited from them.

How marvellous, in the light of this latest and most scientific account of our social development, appears the power and prescience of Him who, so long ago, gave to the coming centuries their marching orders, and defined, for the chaotic forces of human society, their ultimate goal!

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"THE CHURCHES HAVE BEEN AFRAID."

"Christ is to come in the hearts of a regenerated humanity. Not as a solitary figure in the wilderness, but as a directing impulse of millions who will know each other. I ask the Churches to show the way. I have been to war; and I ask for happiness not ugliness, for mirth not misery. The only fearful thing in life is Fear. The Churches have been afraid of active, positive, expanding, and adventurous life; they have hidden Christ in cupboards that are furtively opened once a week. They are afraid to allow Christ out in the white sunshine in case He performs a miracle."—Douglas Massie.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

THE NEW COMMITTEE.—The following were co-opted at the first meeting: Margery Bonar (one of our open-air speakers and Secretary of the Hampstead Branch), W. H. Hancock (an ex-officer who enlisted in 1914 and finished the war a prisoner in Germany), Llewelyn Hughes (who is in charge of our clerical and dispatching work) and Basil Tritton (another open-air speaker).

OPEN-AIR MISSION.—This will begin with a meeting outside Leytonstone Station at 7.45 on Monday, April 12th, and, from then onwards, we hope to hold one of two meetings every evening in different parts of London. An invitation is being sent to many of those who helped in the work last year to attend a special meeting for all interested in the Mission on Tuesday, March 30th, at 6.30 p.m. Will any who would like to attend this meeting, but who have not had a notice sent them, kindly write or 'phone at once?

SOUTH-EAST LONDON MEMBERS and friends are invited to the Meeting, arranged by the Lewisham and Catford F.O.R. The place of meeting is 229, Stanstead Road, Forest Hill, and the time 8 p.m. on Tuesday, March 30th.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

TO CHRISTIAN INVESTORS.—Those desirous of investing in non-industrial concern with security and reasonable interest, and also helping to solve grave social problem should communicate with Frank Griffiths, 54, Alkham Road, N.16.

Lansbury at the Albert Hall

"OUR AMBASSADOR."

I thought I knew George Lansbury and was fairly familiar with Albert Hall Demonstrations, but on Sunday night I found that I had not measured the possibilities of either.

Never have I seen that great building so packed. I was going to say that I have never seen an audience more enthusiastic. That would not be quite correct. It was the quality of the enthusiasm that was remarkable even more than the quantity. There was a note of homeliness throughout the proceedings. One felt oneself in a huge family of which the nucleus, so to speak, was the *Herald* group, represented on the platform. Different sections of the Socialist movement were there, but the personality of the hero of the occasion had fused them. As Tom Mann said, Lansbury has the faculty of bringing forces together. Gerald Gould struck the same note when he said that the Editor of the *Herald* always stands for something bigger than himself; he represents the movement and speaks for it more than for himself. If the solidarity manifested on Sunday night could be maintained we should soon win our victory.

This note of unity recurred. It was prominent in Jean Longuet's speech. It came out in a statement by another speaker, that as the forces of Capitalism were now, under Lloyd George, sinking their political differences, Labour must similarly present a united front. It was heard in Lansbury's declaration that the forces of reaction throughout the world—in Russia and Germany and England—were in league with one another, and must be met by an international movement of the workers.

This sense of solidarity, this consciousness of a fierce and affectionate fellowship, was very apparent.

It was obviously an "occasion." One has seen Lansbury under all sorts of conditions, and heard him on all sorts of platforms, but never was he so interesting a figure as on Sunday night. Gerald Gould hit off the situation, in the course of a speech that was almost too witty, when he described him as "our ambassador." He had come straight from Soviet Russia, and from Lenin, with messages to the workers here. One was conscious of the flashing together of two electric currents. Contact was made, in a very direct and personal way, between the millions in Russia who have won their freedom and the millions in this country still struggling for emancipation.

Socialists may decry hero-worship as they please, but there was no question at the Albert Hall meeting that Lansbury was a creative force in the movement. It was his personality above everything else that gave the meeting its specific character. The doctrinaires must be a little amazed at the things this big-hearted man accomplishes. For, to be frank, Lansbury does not pretend to be an exponent of the scientific or philosophical aspects of Socialism. His contribution is of another type. And while we can ill afford to do without those who have wrought at the intellectual creed of Socialism, we can still less afford to dispense

with the simple straightforward manhood of the hero of Sunday night's meeting.

Lansbury's Christianity is not "dragged in." It comes out because he can't help it. It is part and parcel of his make up.

It was remarkable to note the welcome given to such statements as that of Gould's, "The revolution we believe in begins at home." It is a turning from hate to love. The way to get the revolution is to be worthy of the revolution." It was also good to hear the cheers that met the remark which Lenin made to Lansbury, "You believe in Christianity. You think you can bring about a peaceful revolution. I don't, but none will be better pleased than I if you succeed."

But the point in the whole meeting which most impressed me was the reception given to the statement that outside the Kremlin in Moscow the Bolsheviks had written up "Religion is the opium of the People." A hurricane of applause made it impossible for the speaker to proceed and its echoes almost drowned his commentary, "It all depends on what you call Religion."

I wish that that storm of cheering could have been heard in all those churches where "comforting" preachers were, at that very hour, discoursing to comfortable congregations. More than any single incident I can recall it was a revelation of the attitude of the class-conscious workers towards the type of Religion with which they are familiar. Whose fault is it that the people whose influence on the life of the world in the immediate future will be so powerful have come to look upon the greatest of all revolutionary forces as something intended to keep them quiet and contented?

The incident made very clear the work to which THE CRUSADER is called. The need for revolutionary Christianity stared me in the face. As I turned and looked at that vast audience cheering the statement that Religion is the opium of the People, ten thousand pairs of eyes burned into me, the urgency of our message. If they did but know, if they could but feel that the Galilean Outlaw, transformed now out of all recognition into a harmless pietist, is the true leader of the Social Democracy! It is to make that fact plain that THE CRUSADER exists.

The Explorer Guild

FOUR GUILDS HAVE BEEN STARTED.

We shall be glad to hear from grown-up people who would like particulars.

SUPPLY THE EXPLORER

to the boys and girls you know.

Price 2d. month. 2/6 yearly post free from The Secretary, 23, Bride Lane, E.C.4.

BROTHERHOOD CHURCH, Southgate Road, N., March 28, at 3.30, A. A. R. Chewwappa, Director Oriental Studies, "Mohammed and Progress: a Burning Question" (in costume). At 7, F. R. Swan.

BOOKLAND "THE UNDERWORLD."

James C. Welsh, widely known in Scotland as "The Miner Poet," has achieved a notable success with his first novel, "The Underworld." He has very considerably enhanced his reputation as an author by this further example of his artistic and creative power. He now exercises his literary skill with the same ease and confidence as he formerly did that of the miner.

This thrilling story of mining life, founded upon personal experience and observation, marks an epoch in authorship, full of possibilities. It is, in our opinion, the best description of mining life which has yet appeared in the form of a novel.

Mr. Welsh belongs to the realist school of novelists. Fiction, if it holds the mirror up to life must be realism, or nothing. It is, in parts, a sordid story, but the sordidness is not due to the author, but to the economic conditions which place the miner and his family at the mercy of a tyrant, who unscrupulously violates the sanctities of domestic life. The characters depicted are true to life and there are plenty of human and tragic events to sustain the interest throughout. Hero and villain, Geordie Sinclair, and his son Robert, their friends and neighbours, Mysie Maitland and "Black Jock," the under-manager, will live beside the pen portraits of Hugo, Zola, and George Eliot.

"The Underworld" is a description of mining life in Lanarkshire, and, with whatever phase of the question the author deals, he touches it with a master hand. One lives again in the mining village, with its monotonous rows of low-built houses, lacking sanitation, grace or beauty. We see again the school-master and his brutality to the boys, and the men sitting on their "hunkers" at the "row end," or wherever the village parliament is held, and we listen to their conversation, their banter, and debates.

The "unco guid" may object to the coarse and vulgar language employed, and some may not unreasonably debate the point as to how far the artist needs to repeat the exact expressions used by the miner, whether at work or play. It may be said in defence that he has toned down the worst forms of expression, and the reader may well believe the real article itself is much worse than any specimen given by Welsh or Kipling.

The story covers a period of time when the miners were without organisation, and, because they were divided, the owner reduced their wages at will. It deals with poverty and hardship, when men winked at the violation of the sanctities of domestic life, in order to win the favour of the under-manager. Here we get a vivid description of child and woman labour, and the demoralising effect it has on girls employed at the pit-head. Here, again, we see "The Block" system enforced by "Black Jock"—a system widely known in England as "Victimisation"—against a man whose only offence was caused by taking a collection for Geordie Sinclair's family, when he was off work as the result of an accident in the mine. Victimisation in England has cost the miners thousands of pounds annually.

The tragic fate of Mag Robertson—"Black Jock's" mistress, following his brutality and her frenzy; the *delirium tremens* of the villain after his drunken

debauch, which proved fatal, are vividly described, and also, the anger of Geordie Sinclair when at last he learns the true account of the under-manager's spite.

No less true and touching is the description of Mysie Maitland; her sojourn in Edinburgh in the days of uncertain anguish; her failing health and return home, with the rival lovers,—Robert Sinclair and Peter Rundell—standing at her death-bed; as mute and helpless witnesses of the final scene. The story unfolds itself in perfect sequence, becomes absorbingly interesting, reaching a climax towards the end which is told vividly, with deep feeling, and real pathos.

The sympathy of the reader will go out in unstinted measure to Mrs. Sinclair, the wife of Geordie, in the ever-recurring tragedies which fall upon her. On the day her son Robert enters the mine, her husband and eldest son are killed, by a fall of roof, and three days elapse before their mutilated remains are carried home for the last time.

Finally, when the moorland moss breaks into the pit, and over a score of men are imprisoned, and cut off by the rising water, her two youngest sons are included in the party. Robert, her only remaining hope, Mysie's lover, the local leader of the men, organises a rescue party, which fails, and *all are lost*.

Here are blended danger and disaster, heroism and self sacrifice, and stony must be the heart, dull the imagination which can peruse the final chapters unmoved.

Robert Smillie is introduced as the Leader who succeeded in organising the miners, with the result that the worst aspects of bondage were destroyed. In a lesser degree, the late Keir Hardie also has a place of honour, with his disciple Bob. The portraiture in each case is true to life.

The background of the story is the moorland the author knows, loves, and describes so well; whose very atmosphere has been as the breath of his nostrils, and which gives colour and imagery to his novel and poems alike.

We have, but noticed one slight error which requires correcting in the next edition. The English miners in the Midland counties were not out for an advance in 1893, but, to resist a 25 per cent. reduction of the 40 per cent. then paid on the basis of 1888.

For English and Welsh readers, a glossary of peculiar Scotch expressions would be an advantage.

The book is published by Herbert Jenkins, London (2/6 net), and may be obtained from "The Reformers' Bookstall," Buchanan Street, Glasgow.

W. WRIGHT.

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CHRIST'S CHALLENGE TO CAPITALISM.

Addresses on the above subject are being given by Stanley B. James at the Primitive Methodist Church, Portland Road, South Norwood, as follows:—
Thursday, April 8, 8 p.m.,

CHRIST AND REVOLUTION.

Questions and discussion after each lecture.

Industrial Unrest in South Africa

Some time ago I told the readers of THE CRUSADER that all was not well with Black South Africa. Now, a few weeks ago it was reported in the Press that 120,000 persons in Johannesburg, principally of the coloured races, were on the verge of starvation owing to the continued rise in prices of necessities. White labour is reported to be "thoroughly organised, but the unorganised coloured people, without votes, whose wages remain the same as before the war, are being exploited on all sides."

To-day we are informed that about fifty thousand native miners are out on strike, demanding an increase on their wages, which are on the average 1/6 per diem. The minimum asked for, it is stated, is 3/- a day, and this, according to the statement by the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, the Mining Companies are not in a position to pay. The situation is regarded as critical, and General Smuts is reported to have hurried to Johannesburg, where he conferred with the officials of the Native Affairs Department, the Mining and Police Authorities. Police units have been dispatched to the affected mines, and the Government is reported to have "the situation well in hand." In a speech made at Pretoria, immediately after his return from Johannesburg, General Smuts declared that "something serious and dangerous was moving on the Rand," and he denounced "those who put mischievous ideas into the heads of the natives." Evidently the Prime Minister thinks that the Republican and Bolshevik agents are at work among the natives, and his views seem to be shared by many people in this country. And it appears from newspaper comments that "talk among City men interested in the mines was inspired by confidence in General Smuts and the South African system of universal and compulsory service for home defence." This is striking because the Defence Force was originally organised to cope with any native rising. Thus it is not saying too much to aver that the Amritsar Methods are being contemplated to deal with the strikers.

The trouble with the rulers of men is that they are ever ready to take "direct action" against those whom they exploit and enslave, instead of enquiring into the cause and origin of their unrest. There can be no doubt that at the root of the strike on the Rand is the intolerable condition of things under which the native people have to live in South Africa; and if anybody is to blame, it is not the Republican or the Bolshevik agitator, but the Tsar-like Legislator and administrator who, by means of oppressive, restrictive, repressive and colour legislation, make it impossible for the coloured man to earn a decent living. Whatever might be the immediate cause of the trouble, it cannot be denied that the Government's native policy is to a large extent responsible. To the rigidly enforced colour bar, the Feudal System under which the natives live, the harassing and repressive Pass Laws, and the economic disabilities which retards the advancement and progress of the people, is to be attributed the present outburst.

It was in 1918 that native workers, forced by the high cost of living, demanded an increase on their wages. The first to make the demand were the sani-

tary employees of the Municipality of the city of Johannesburg. They were following the example of the white employees of the Power Station who demanded £1 increase on their £7/10/- wages per week. These white men struck work and plunged the whole city in darkness for a week, and the authorities found themselves compelled to concede to their demands. The natives demanded a 6d. a day, and instead of getting it, they got two months' hard labour in gaol. In sentencing a hundred and fifty-two of them, the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg adopted General Dyer's policy of "frightfulness," and told the strikers that "they would serve two months in prison, doing the same work, guarded by white constables with rifles and Zulu police with assegais; if they refused to work they would be lashed, and if they attempted to run away they would be shot down or assegaid." "This," he concluded, "would serve as a warning to other natives." But as it will always happen, this harsh sentence, instead of having the desired effect, raised a storm of indignation throughout the country. Mass meetings of natives were held all over the country to protest against it, and also to make a general demand of 1/- per day for every coloured labourer, and a strike on a large scale was only averted by the late General Botha's promise to appoint a Commission of Enquiry. The late Mr. J. B. Moffat was appointed and he investigated the matter very carefully. In this fairly impartial report he pointed out that "the natives felt that since the formation of the Union class legislation of an autocratic nature had been imposed on them, and in consequence they had lost all confidence in the Union Government." He also stated that "natives, like all other peoples, were affected by the high cost of living."

But as the natives had no means whereby they could influence public opinion, the Government, as well as their employers, neglected to consider their just demands. Meanwhile the white worker, who enjoyed the benefits of the war bonus, to which the coloured workers were excluded, had his wages increased from time to time since the beginning of the war.

The question is, what is to be done? Does the remedy to this unrest lie in the Amritsar Methods or in allowing every man regardless of his race or colour to share in common with the rest of mankind those rights and privileges without which life is not worth living—the free use of the land and the right of men to decide their own destiny without any restrictions or limitations? Hundreds of men and women to-day are engaged in the noble task of bringing about a permanent peace of the world. But it is often overlooked that no peace is possible while the coloured races are groaning under the yoke of oppression and held as helots. However, it is evident that a bit of people of broad minds are beginning to realise this fact, and the writer hopes that the readers of THE CRUSADER, whose one desire is to see the Kingdom of the Son of Man established in this world will help in any way possible to bring about the amelioration of the conditions of the South African people.

R. V. SELOPE THEMBA.

Christianity for Beginners

THE SCRAP HEAP

Repent? Why? For the very vital reason that the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. Repentance is no morbid state of impotent remorsefulness. Repentance is the great road-maker for the coming of the Kingdom.

Repentance is that state of mind which overwhelms a man, which forces his will and his whole being to do fearless and otherwise impossible things.

To repent is to admit that we have been wrong. Until we admit the wrong we cannot discover the right.

Looking on the world to-day, I have been enormously impressed with the following statement of Jesus:

"As to those eighteen, on whom the tower of Siloam fell, do you suppose they had failed in their duty more than all the rest of the people who live in Jerusalem? I tell you, certainly not. On the contrary, if you do not repent, you will all perish just as they did."

To-day, the tragedy of the world is multiplied a thousandfold because men and women refuse to repent.

They look about them and recognise evil fruit, but they do not repent of their planting. They are ready still to believe in the evil tree and to plant its young saplings again.

In whatever direction we turn, this is apparent.

Men discuss the anguish of Europe, but still do not, generally speaking, repent for war as war. There is indignation at a false peace, but little appreciation of the one fact which would illuminate the whole situation, that to-day we are not suffering an adventitious surprise peace, but a peace which is the direct and inevitable outcome of our corporate actions and beliefs in

the past. Hope is dead so long as men still hug to their souls the calming unction that the fruit is somehow the fault of the weather and not of the tree.

In social connections we have not really discovered a vitalizing repentance. We deplore our slums, our toiling children, our civilization founded at long last upon the 'Black Maria' (passing my window as I write); and the workhouse. But do we repent with that strength which forces us to action?

We may look with critical eyes on Europe, and, indeed, to east and west and south of her—and as we watch the Siloam towers fall in this direction or in another, let us be sure of this, that except we repent we shall surely perish ourselves.

The reason is simple enough. God refuses to be mocked, and what man sows that man reaps. Jesus knew this with that urgent knowledge that compelled Him to "go up to Jerusalem for the Feast."

In all solemnity we would plead with ourselves and one another that the New World we are seeking cannot arrive so long as we cling obstinately to the Old.

Is it not time that we search and repudiate everything that individually or nationally "maketh a lie"?

To encourage us, it is good to appreciate that repentance is in essence an illumination. It is more. It is a deliverance. It enables us to look the world in the face again.

Why block the road with arguments as to our wisdom, our consistency, or even our "righteousness"? It may be that we must build the Scrap Heap before we are allowed to build the City. T. W. W.

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Why didn't we Save the Children?

No nation can win the war except through the sacrifice of the sweet lives and beautiful bodies of countless multitudes of innocent children.

To many of us, I believe, the most tragic part of this whole question of "saving the children" lies in the knowledge that this cry "Save the Children of all Nations!" was sent out in passionate appeal by THE CRUSADER, by the Women's Peace Crusade, by the "Labour Leader," as early as 1917. In those days we publicly made the declaration which heads this article.

We wrote of "Child-Murder in the Great War for Civilization." We showed how early in June, 1916, Lord Robert Cecil went to an Inter-Allied Committee in Paris, with the object of preventing foodstuffs reaching the enemy. *Le Temps* said at that time "The visit of the British Minister happily constitutes a fresh step in advance in the way of united economic action for the Allies."

Interviewed by *Le Journal* Lord Robert said: "The blockade is much more effective than formerly, thanks to the recent methods of its prosecution."

In THE CRUSADER of October 26th, 1917, we were proclaiming these facts, and by November 16 the government was on our track.

In the light of the above, it is peculiarly painful to read Lord Robert Cecil's appeal on behalf of the 'Save the Children Fund,' in a speech in Geneva last February.

Not one word would we say against every effort to Save the Children to-day (send in your subscriptions when you finish this article)—yet listen to the sheer tragedy of this living drama.

Lord Robert says: "Well may an observer say: 'I had not thought that the world could hold such cruelty, such a heritage of horror for little children.'"

In showing the immensity of the present problem, he enquires "What will happen to the world if the next generation is largely crippled and diseased? And yet, to give back to these unhappy mites health as well as life passes almost the resources that we can hope for," and he quotes from Sir William Beveridge's report of Jan. 27th, 1920, as to Vienna: "The typical boy of fourteen has the stature of ten and the drawn face of a man of forty."

That boy of fourteen was one of those whom the "more effective blockade" helped to stunt!

Men and women, in the name of the Father of all Children, let us face facts.

"The need of the children is so pressing that we cannot disregard it, even for a time," says Lord Robert.

Was it not equally pressing in 1916? Yet we disregarded it. We were FORCED to Disregard it. So long as we believed in War. If we continue to believe in War we shall be forced to disregard it again.

T. W. W.

Somewhere in London

There is a young mother in the Infirmary. Let us call her Violet. She is only nineteen. Her mother died when she was fifteen and her father not long after, her only brother was killed in the war, and she was left with nobody in the world but a somewhat older sister—married to a young soldier on service and with three little children of her own (of whom one has since died).

Elizabeth, not much more than a child herself, took care of the younger girl. "There was nobody left but us two," she told me. "What less could I do? Violet felt Mother's death fearful, and never seemed the same after it in a way; but there! a nicer, cleaner, quieter girl you never knew. She was as good as gold with me at first, looking after the babies when she was home from work—she worked as a trouser-finisher. If ever by chance I left her alone of an evening I was sure to find the place all clean as a new pin when I come back, and the children bathed and put to bed, and she herself bathed and her hair washed. She was always careful about herself until she took up with that feller and got not to mind how she looked."

Elizabeth, I must tell you, lives in a dismal East End street with an unsavoury name; the tenement building she inhabits is dark and forbidding; you shiver as you enter it and encounter the mingled odour of washing-day and cooking that meets you as you mount the slippery stairs. It was all the more surprising, when she opened her door, to see a neat, clean, brightly-furnished little flat—of two rooms only—and, basking in the warmth of the cheerful kitchen fire, two of the fattest, rosiest little boys you ever saw—one "pre-war," the other a three-year-old with shining curls. On the young father's knee as he sat awaiting the mid-day meal before going to work, was a chubby, contented baby girl not three weeks old. Elizabeth herself is a pretty girl with a mass of smooth, well-brushed fair hair; but her face was pale and anxious as she asked after her younger sister.

Violet, as I told you, is in the Maternity Ward of our Infirmary, where visitors are not allowed, unless by special permission to enter. She too has a three-weeks-old baby, but it is fatherless in the eyes of the law, nor would she have it otherwise. All she wants is to live unmolested with her baby. She must have taken up with the "fellow" first when no more than seventeen, for this is her second baby. When she was pregnant the first time he kicked and abused her, until she was rescued and taken home by Elizabeth. The latter had him charged in court and was the instrument of his getting "a month's hard," and in consequence he wrote to her from jail telling her that if her sister were the only girl in the world he would never marry her. "So much the better," thought Elizabeth. "She'll have done with him now."

But alas for the weakness of a pliable, affectionate, soft-natured girl just out of the workhouse with her baby! Partly, no doubt, because he was the baby's father and nature called her as it does married women, partly because she was cowed and terrorised, she went back to him. Let Elizabeth continue in her own words without comment of mine.

"Who I blame the most is them as let her come out without any help or any place to go but the streets, which is what it came to. I had her here with me, but what could I do to keep her safe? You see what the street's like and there's nowhere else—it's not a fit place for a girl to be in at all, left in that state. She's fond of me, being the only one she has to look to, and she behaved well enough to me, I will say that. But there! What could I do to keep him from getting hold of her again? One chance only they gave her. It was some religious people as was going to take her baby away and put her into a nunnery, and make her change her religion, so they said. She wrote to me terrified out of her life, and I went to ask about it. I think it was six months she was to be shut up without talking to anyone, with all her hair cut off close to her head, and there was a great courtyard where they walked about, and when any of the other women passed her by they must turn their eyes down and not so much as look at her. It would have driven her crazy in a week, and I refused my consent to it. No, I said, let her come back with me and take her chance, anything's better than that. Give her back her baby—it's nature, and she's fond of it, and perhaps that'll keep her straight. And she was fond of it and a good mother to it, and she fair broke her heart when it died. Now, if you can only get her away from here into service, and give her a chance this time, you'll see she'll be all right."

"I do hope so. You must have had a bad time yourself over it all."

"Indeed I have. For nights after nights I haven't slept, and only a few days ago I had a letter from her saying she'll do herself in sooner than come back to it. You can guess that's on my mind. Many a time after she went back to him the second time, one of the neighbours has come running in calling out to me—"Your Violet's lying senseless in the street—he's done her down again." And there I'd find her, lying like one dead. He'd come up behind her as she was walking along, and strike her on the head with a stone or some tool as he'd brought home from work. He's wanted by the police now, and I hope to God they get him; but at any rate he's run off and she never wants to see him again. A good, little clean girl she is in the house, and that fond of children; I have her with me gladly, but you see there's no room and it isn't fit."

I returned to the little nineteen-year-old mother in her blue print gown with the red shawl over her shoulders. Her rosy-fair, smooth-skinned, childish face beamed at the sight of me, and she showed me her baby with pride. Pathetically, on entering the Infirmary, she had tried to pass herself off as a married woman, but inquiries at the home where she had been admitted before soon made all plain, and those damning words "the second time" fell on my ears as a warning against having anything to do with her. The second time—of sorrow and suffering!

Oh you beloved women to whom so much is given, remember that much will be required of you—and will should it be if not a share for her in the love of whom your hearts are full?

ANNA LENNOX.

Many thanks to the friend who has written to me enclosing £3.

CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH FELLOWSHIP



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscription for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more

than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, pendants, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each, postage 1½d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

Together Once Again.

After five long weeks of silence we are very glad indeed to be able to greet our Fellows once again. We know that you will rejoice with us, and that you will do your utmost to help us to use our new opportunity, and to make this page of ours a real power in the lives of many people. For the sake of those who have not been in close touch with us, may we recapitulate the happenings of this stage of the Fellowship's career? The "Christian Commonwealth Fellowship" became the "New Commonwealth Fellowship" automatically when our organ ("The Christian Commonwealth") changed its name last October. Now the "New Commonwealth" has become a monthly, and in its last weekly issue (February 20) stated that a new home would be found for the Fellowship, preferably in a religious paper, where it could have its weekly column as before.

What Fellows Thought.

The possibility of having a separate leaflet of our own (suggested by some members) was carefully considered, but paper shortage and expense, and other factors difficult to cope with, put this idea out of court. We took counsel with Fellows who were available for counsel, and we discovered that, under some sort of conditions, the Fellowship certainly must go on—it was a necessity to so many people. 1597 (Brighton) who came to see us about the matter, made this very clear to us, and offered his own services, and those of his wife and friends, to help us to carry on. Similar offers came from other sources, and the letters received echoed one refrain: "Tell us as soon as you can what we are going to do. The Fellowship must go on."

Our New Home.

We sought a new home in various quarters, and after weighing various possibilities we came to the conclusion that a weekly page in THE CRUSADER was the most promising. We felt that the free and friendly atmosphere of THE CRUSADER was one in which our Fellowship could live and grow. In offering us hospitality, the directors of THE CRUSADER, with fine courtesy and real brotherliness, suggested that we need not be committed to their policy, but that we should retain our own individuality, and work on our own lines as heretofore. We have not changed in stepping from the old home into the new. Our methods of working will be the same, and our workers will be those who have served the Fellowship through the past difficult years.

Our Inspiration.

We cannot choose but go on. The spirit that guides the Fellowship lives in the hearts of its mem-

bers, and it is from them that the inspiration comes. From our French-speaking branch in Switzerland have come already two messages: 2467 (Celigny) writes: "I am sure all our friends will be glad to know that the C.C.F. revives its old name; such a name, nearly 10 years old, is a flag and cannot be changed without good reason." And 3461 (Geneva), who helped to found the "Chaîne des Amis" (our Swiss branch) says: "It is with great relief that I read that our dear Fellowship is to be transferred to a religious paper. We join hands with you in this effort to be workers with God for the realisation of His kingdom among mankind." Messages from Fellows nearer home, and suggestions made for our future work must be reserved for another week. Meanwhile, we know you will respond with renewed love and energy to the calls of Fellowship that are given below.

Introductions.

The following new members wish to share our Fellowship and to link up with others. Will you welcome them heartily:

5343 (Baden, Switzerland), a German-Swiss merchant, interested in communism, languages, a freethinker and a student of Eastern life, will be glad to link with middle-aged and elderly members.

5339 (Leeds), a schoolmaster, interested in the cinema, French, photography, literature, music and international history, wishes to write to young or middle-aged Fellows.

5341 (Kensington), a housekeeper with a "plain, healthy interest in everything" will correspond with lonely people, from 35 years of age upwards.

5323 (Exmouth), would like to discuss work among lads, poetry and the drama.

5002 (Bombay), a lecturer who has studied English literature, education, child welfare, Labour, Sufism, Theosophy, sociology, civics, and English and Persian poetry, will link with men and women all over the world.

5335 (Blackburn), a paper mill clerk, interested in photography, good books, chess, painting and outdoor sports, is very keen to link with young members.

Fellowship Wanted and Offered.

A pupil at a farm school who is a keen Sinn Feiner and Socialist asks for links with those of opposing views; 4945 (Wendover) is a keen politician. "I do want awfully to be of use in the Fellowship" she writes.

3615 (London, S.W.) asks for a link with a middle-aged member interested in Temperance Reform: will she write to 3707 (Balham).

Thanks.

We would thank very warmly all those Fellows who have written to cheer us at this moment, and those who have sent us donations for the expenses of the change. It is impossible to reply to each one individually, but we do greatly appreciate your thoughtfulness.

Annual Subscriptions and New Members.

We acknowledge, with thanks, the following annual subscriptions:—J.P., (Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1/6); P.L., (Oakengates, 1/6); M.K., (Arlam, 2/6); E.v.R., (Locarno, 2/6); A.H.O., (Christchurch, 3/-); A.S., (St. Osyth, £1); H.B., (Nottingham, 2/-); G.B., (Nottingham, 1/-); D.E.W., (Nottingham, 1/-); A.J., (Nottingham, 1/-); M.H., (Rathfriland, 1/6); F.P.A., (Fulham, 1/6); A.D., (Salop, 1/6). We welcome the following new members:—E.B., 5333, (Horsham, 1/6); W.v.d.A., 4922, (Locarno, 2/6); R.L., 5335, (Blackburn, 1/6); G.N.G., 5332, (Acomb, 2/6); W.H.W., 5337 (Peckham, 1/6); A.B., 5339, (Leeds, 1/6); G.K.R., 5341 (Kensington, 1/6); H.H., 5193, (Gevelsburg, 1/6); R.M., 5343, (Baden, 1/6); M.M.G., 5002, (Bombay, 1/6); A.O., 5345, (Bacup, 10/-). We acknowledge, with thanks, for the Stamp and Literature Fund:—J.M.T., (Nuneaton, 5/-); W.H.D., (Norbury, 2/3); K.R., (Enfield, 4/7); H.B., (Nottingham, 10/-); L.F., (Frome, 1/6); G.O., (Liversedge, 2/6).

KENSINGTON TOWN HALL.—Fellowship Services:—3, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

SIDELIGHTS

What's the Matter?

What crime have we committed? A few weeks ago the *Challenge*—an Anglican paper—was speaking appreciatively of *THE CRUSADER* and quoting from our pages. This week the *Methodist Times* does the same. Are we "false prophets" that so many speak well of us? Have we committed the unpardonable sin of becoming respectable?

The Bishop of Fleet Street Again.

The hypothetical Bishop of Fleet Street is making his influence felt. Mr. James Douglas, who has just taken over the editorship of the *Sunday Express*, thus introduces himself and his policy.

"One thing I promise. The *Sunday Express* will not write itself down to any imaginary level of taste. I believe its readers want the best, and not even the second best.

"I believe they will welcome into their homes on Sunday a journal fit for Sunday reading from the first page to the last. The *Sunday Express* has adopted as its motto the phrase, 'Keen and Clean.' It will try to live up to that motto every Sunday, so that every household in the United Kingdom which desires a Sunday paper fit to be read by the whole family may order it without misgiving and read it without mistrust.

"Cynics may say that I am aiming too high, and that cleanliness is not the policy that pays in a Sunday paper. Well, it is a matter of faith and not of Pharisaism. The Great War has made a new England, a new Wales, a new Scotland, a new Ireland. Newspapers ought to renew their youth so as to keep pace with the new soul of the new world."

Wilfred Wellock Addresses 4,000 People in Berlin.

We are interested in reading in *Freiheit* of the 5th of March, that our International Editor was speaking at a great meeting of between four and five thousand people in February.

The meeting was got up by the New Fatherland League and the Peace Society, and hundreds were turned from the doors, unable to get in.

Messages were received from some eight organizations in Berlin, and telegrams from Hanover, Darmstadt, Cologne, Hamburg and other places. Mr. Wellock's speech is reported as follows:

"Mr. Wellock, an Englishman staying in Berlin, as a visitor, and who has served three years in prison as a military service-refuser, delivered a compelling (trinreizender) speech over his conviction that the time had come when there should be no longer boundaries between peoples nor classes amongst men."

For the movement a collection was taken of 32,460 marks! "Some collection" as our American friends would say.

Conscription.

"In the Straits Settlements a Bill is being rushed through the Legislative Council ingeniously described by the G.O.C. as a 'Defence against Bolshevism' making all European British subjects and some

non-Europeans between 18 and 41 liable to compulsory military training. The object of the Bill, as set out by the Attorney-General, is 'to establish in the Colony a compulsory Defence Force which, when called out by the Governor, shall be available either for the suppression of internal disorder or for the defence of the Colony in case of attack from without.' Persons may be called to serve anywhere in the Malay Peninsula."—*Common Sense*.

Remember the Lusitania.

"Attacking enemy commerce is a legitimate act of war."

"The question of sinking enemy merchant ships on sight is perfectly justifiable; such ships form part of the lines of communication. As for sinking neutral ships, that is chiefly a question of policy. If the neutral is one to be feared, then it is naturally bad policy to arouse his indignation."

"The Germans acted up to their principle and sank many ships without warning. Such a definite rule for submarine warfare is undoubtedly the best."

"To abolish the submarine would be to compromise. This is generally fatal to strategy. If war is to be abolished these idealists should banish all armaments. The other alternative is to be provided with every weapon which modern science can devise, whether it has been banned by Hague Conventions or not."

The above paragraphs, reader, are not taken from a speech delivered by Admiral Tirpitz. They are from an essay on Naval Warfare, which has been awarded a prize by the Royal United Service Institution of Britain.—*The Worker*.

Crusaders of Peace.

The March number of the *Young Socialist* (price 2d. from Aspron, Cresthill Avenue, Grays, Essex) contains an encouraging extract from the Belfast paper, the *Northern Democrat*, which tells of the growth of the young Socialist "Crusaders of Peace" in Ireland. A beginning has been made in a counter-movement to such organisations as the Boy Scouts, Boys' Brigades, Church Lads' Brigades and Girl Guides, which all embody militarist ideas. What is good in these organisations, such as their teaching of first aid, camping and cooking, and nature lore, is being kept, and the bad, such as military drill and discipline, is being replaced by the natural discipline of self—that discipline which comes from within as a result of awakened sympathy and self-realisation—and by a teaching of the principles of international fellowship. "The Crusaders of Peace" is a movement which all who seek for the ending of warfare should support in every possible way.—*Labour Leader*.

A Wise Saying.

I am inclined to believe that the generation to which I belong is hopeless.—*Principal Selbie*.

By DR. ORCHARD.

The Crusader

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THE OUTLOOK

THE reign of terror continues in Ireland. In our last issue we recorded the murder of the Sinn Féin Mayor of Cork, and warned our readers to expect reprisals. The ink was scarcely dry on our pages before the news came to hand of the murder of Mr. Bell, a resident magistrate, who had taken a prominent part in the Government's suppressive measures against Sinn Féin. The outlook is blacker to-day than ever it was. The Irish situation has gone far beyond the power of the present Government to remedy. The "Manchester Guardian's" comment on the new Home Rule Bill sums up the tragedy: "At present there is an absolute disbelief in Nationalist Ireland that the Bill is seriously meant. Hope has been so often cheated and, as Irish opinion holds, pledges have been so often broken that no interest is any longer taken in Bills, or words, or any kind of promises."

CLEARLY everyone is not worrying over an Irish Reign of Terror. We read in the "London Mail" that "The sporting people in Irish Society are looking forward to princely Punchestown, which had been abandoned during the war, but will be revived next month. Everybody is agreed that Punchestown promises to be princelier than ever before."

Hundreds of smart frocks are being ordered of the Dublin dressmakers. And many dances will be given."

THE situation in Germany is developing along the lines of the Russian Revolution. At the moment the extreme Left appears to be more concerned about the final overthrow of the Junkers than the establishing of Bolshevism. A passionate appeal sent out by the sub-Bureau of the Third International at Amsterdam calls upon the British and French workers to rally to the side of their German comrades in their great struggle. This document declares that the reactionary Governments of Britain and France are doing all they can to hinder the German workers in their efforts to free themselves from Junker tyranny. British troops have helped to crush Spartacist risings, the British Chargé d'Affairs has informed the Vice-Chancellor Schiffer that the Entente would not allow food or raw materials to be sent to a German Soviet Republic, and an Entente council, with Foch as president, has been sitting at Mayence to discuss plans to be put in operation against the Communists in the event of that party becoming too strong.

A SECTION of the Press professes to be shocked at the "Daily Herald's" story of the War Office plan to blockade mining villages in the event of a strike and starve the miners into submission. We are not concerned with the accuracy of the details outlined by the "Herald," but it is curious to discover this sudden repudiation of the weapon of starvation by a Press which could see no evil in the deliberate attempt to starve the Russian people into submission to the capitalist regime. As a matter of fact the starvation weapon has always been the most effective strike-breaker in the hands of the anti-Labour forces.

AT the time of writing the miners appear likely to accept a compromise rather than force the issue to a general strike. The moment this stage was reached with the miners, the papers announced the possibility of a general strike by the tramway workers; and so the futility of the attempt to patch up the present rotten system becomes daily more obvious.

THE Message of Easter flames out unheeded by a world in travail.



On Picking Flowers.

Those daring rebels, the prim-roses, are invading our fields and hedgerows. They are a challenge to every industrial town that man has built, and laughingly invite com-

parison with Solomon in all his glory, and the Archbishop of Canterbury in all his vestments. Their airy defiance makes our civilisation look very shabby. If I were a Capitalist I should keep out of the way of wild flowers. Their barbed wit would prove too much for my system of things, and the glory of the world that Mammon has made would shrink from their unabashed gaze. I wonder sometimes that our factories and slums do not succumb to the ringing of the blue-bells as the walls of Jericho fell at the blast of Hebrew trumpets.

What devilish itch is it that makes us want to pick these wild creatures of the fields? I can never pass a wood in which they are growing without wanting to stop and gather them. Yet in so doing I should pluck them from the environment to which they belong and from the roots in which is their life. I used to feel the same about the splendour of the sunset, and I have even longed to gather the stars as one picks daisies till the futility of my desire cured me of this fever of possession. "Thou shalt not covet the starry host nor the rose blossoms of the evening sky" has been written too plainly across the face of the heavens for the least heedful to miss it.

Why should we crave to make ours the things that were meant for all. Is it this accursed idea of private property that has crept even into our intercourse with Nature and robbed it of that detachment in which alone it becomes fruitful of inspiration?

I note the sense of possession even in our giving. Our very philanthropy smacks of ownership. There is a charity that seems to accentuate the difference between the haves and the have-nots, seeking to make the recipient conscious of the favour conferred. Not until charity has ceased to think of the things it gives as in any real way belonging to it does it merit its name. "Though I give all my goods to feed the poor and have not love"—that is, self-forgetfulness—"it profiteth me nothing." Yet who of us can get away from the idea that the books on his shelves, the pictures on his walls, the money in his pocket are his by some divine and unchallengeable right? Who of us would not, at the first blush, be astounded if someone claimed them in virtue of a greater need than ours?

We are very far as yet from the communal spirit which truly believes that all things are the property of the whole community.

The comparatively harmless desire to pick flowers passes into real wickedness when it becomes a craving to possess persons. The belief that other people could really belong to us will seem utterly incredible

to some, yet it underlies the whole system of chattel slavery and is manifested in a thousand forms to-day. Obedience to the command "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's labour-power" would wreck the entire edifice of the wage-system. The only difference between the old form of slavery and the new is that in the former case the purchase money went to some third party, while in the case of wage-slavery it goes to the slave himself. In any case the slave is bought, and, legally, belongs, either for a time or permanently, to someone else.

Strangely enough, it is in what we term 'love' that this lust of possession displays its vilest characteristics. The desire to pick the flowers by the wayside has here become the craving to make ours, in some strictly exclusive and possessive sense, the beauty or the strength of another, to gather for our own pleasure the blush upon the cheek, or the light within the eyes of a fellow-creature. I am not speaking now of that which is called prostitution, but of a habit of mind which is found within the bounds of wedlock as well as outside it. Love is never truly love even in this realm, until it has passed beyond jealousy and has ceased to regard man or woman as private property.

The only true form of possession is that which refuses in any way to limit the liberty of the beloved. The flowers belong to me most truly when I have recognised their place in Nature and in the divine order of things. That divine order may necessitate their removal from the field to some human habitation—mine or another's. But in that case the motive is not that I may possess them, but that their beauty may find its right niche in the divine economy. So with regard to persons. Love only comes with possession of the beloved when the beloved's right to possession in himself or herself is fully recognised. The only excuse for transferring a human rose-bud is that it may bloom the better, that it may secure fuller liberty of self-expansion.

Moreover, I must consider not only the good of the one I desire, but also the fact that he or she belongs to the community. I must not make my exclusive possession what was meant for mankind. The only right a man has to a mine or a ship is that in his hands it will prove more serviceable than it otherwise would to the rest of humanity. And the only claim over another person I can put forward is that in co-operation with me, he or she will prove a better servant of the community than if left alone. The idea of private property has ruined marriage. The institution will never recover its value until we marry not only for our own joy, but, for the joy and enrichment of the whole family of mankind.

In this sense it is undoubtedly true that every man and every woman belongs to the community. He who takes another from the service of the community for his own private good is a traitor to society and a Capitalist.

—THE TRAMP.

Miss MAUDE ROYDEN'S

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The Tragedy of Ireland

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Surely there is no greater tragedy in the world to-day than that of Ireland. After centuries of "firm" government, Ireland stands to-day where she stood at the beginning of the hideous chapter—the bitterest of her conquerors. Many people are talking about the Irish situation as though it were a comparatively recent development, instead of the inevitable result of generations of tyranny and oppression such as few countries have known in the history of the world. When the news of the murder of the Sinn Féin Mayor of Cork was published, I heard a man remark to his fellow-passenger in a car from which I was alighting: "Well, what can they expect? Who began the reign of terror if not the Sinn Féiners?" I suppose such ignorance is excusable in these days of the "stunt" Press, but it is a scathing indictment of our culture when not one newspaper reader out of a thousand can see anything in the tragedy of Ireland other than a series of murders, the details of which are lumped in with the result of a prize fight, or the latest communication from the "Silent Wife."

I am convinced that if the historical background of the Irish situation could be seen in its right perspective by a sufficient number of English people, no government would be able to stand against the cry for justice that would ring out from the length and breadth of the land. "Who began it?" is a question that might well be examined, not in order to excuse violence on either side, but solely in the interest of truth. How many Englishmen know anything about the so-called Conquest of Ireland? How many know even the bare outline of the terrible story of the events leading up to the period between 1588 and 1610, when, as the result of the treatment of Ireland by her English oppressors, "all faith in English justice had been torn from the minds of the Irish, and the seed had been sown of that fatal harvest of distrust and disaffection, which was to be reaped through tyranny and massacre in the age to come?"

I remember hearing an old Irishman tell the story of his country to a little group of youthful politicians who were keen about Home Rule. He began by the frank confession that he hated all of us because we were English. I thought he was a bit mad at the time, but when I came to read the story for myself I understood his bitterness. "There is nothing you English won't do," he hissed; after the recital of the terrible massacres perpetrated by Cromwell in 1649. Some of us protested that things were different after the introduction of "constitutional" government. He laughed contemptuously and began the story of the Act of Union, passed by a packed Irish Parliament in 1800.

There is a striking resemblance in the Irish situation to-day to that of the period prior to the Act of Union. J. R. Green, writing of that period, says: "The history of Ireland during the fifty years that followed its conquest by William the Third, is one which no Englishman can recall without shame." After the surrender of Sarsfield, the defender of Americk, in 1691, those of his soldiers who would were allowed to follow their leader to exile in France,

and "ten thousand men, the whole of his force, chose exile rather than life in a land where all hope of national freedom was lost. When the wild cry of the women who stood watching their departure was hushed, the silence of death settled down upon Ireland. For a hundred years the country remained at peace, but it was the peace of despair. . . . The conquered people, in Swift's bitter words of contempt, became 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' to their conquerors. With a people held in close bondage by a series of atrocious penal laws, all dream of a national revolt passed away; and till the eve of the French Revolution Ireland ceased to be a source of political danger to England."

A hundred years later came the French Revolution. "The peasantry, brooding over their misery and their wrongs, were equally stirred by the news from France; and their discontent broke out in outrages of 'secret societies' which spread panic among the ruling classes. . . . At last the smouldering discontent and disaffection burst into flame. The panic roused in 1796 by an attempted French invasion under Hoche woke passions of cruelty and tyranny which turned Ireland into a hell. Soldiers and yeomanry marched over the country torturing and scourging the 'croppies,' as the Irish peasantry were called in derision from their short-cut hair, robbing, ravishing, and murdering. . . . Atrocities were answered by atrocities when the revolt at last broke out in 1798. Loyalists were lashed and tortured in their turn, and every soldier captured was butchered without mercy."

The rebellion was crushed, and the Act of Union was forced on the people of Ireland against their will. All members of the Irish Parliament who resisted the Act were removed, "and the borough-mongers with whom it was a sheer question of gold were bought with over a million of money, and a liberal distribution of pensions and peerages. Base and shameless as were such means, Pitt may plead that they were the only means by which the Union could have passed." The story of the next 85 years is told in the following pregnant sentence from Mrs. Green's "Irish Nationality": "For 35 years after the Union Ireland was ruled for three years out of every four by laws giving extraordinary powers to the Government; in the next 50 years (1835-1885) there were only three without Coercion Acts and Crime Acts. From 1821 to 1911 the population of England increased by 200 per cent., while the population of Ireland fell from 6,801,000 to 4,390,000."

During the past three years history has been repeating itself with startling exactitude. The Easter rebellion of 1916 was the inevitable result of the strengthening of English coercive measures; the hanging of Roger Casement, the shooting of Sheehy Skeffington and Jim Connelly, the wholesale suppression of papers and arrest of "agitators," the raids on private houses (5,588 during the first nine months of last year), and the general methods of "frightfulness" have brought about a situation which may develop into revolution in the very near future.

And the way out is the same to-day as it was three centuries ago—self-determination for the Irish people.

THE Crusader.

Friday, April 2, 1920.

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To the Secretary,
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Our Editor.

CRUSADER readers will regret to hear that Mr. James is on the sick list. He has been working at an immense strain, and though he is keen to keep at it, we hope that he may be induced to slack off somewhat for a little while. Yet even from his sick room "Copy" arrives!

Mr. Wilfred Wellock.

For nearly a fortnight we have had no notes from our International Editor, and we shall all be thankful when he can get word through to us. We have happily heard through Miss Fry that the English Group in Berlin is all right, and happening to-day upon Mrs. Philip Snowden, she reported to me that she had just been to Nelson (Mr. Wellock's home) and had also heard that he was "all right." We are quite sure that he will have much to tell us when he can manage to tell it.

Later.

We hear to-day that Mrs. Wellock has had a telegram from Mr. Wellock, and we have had a belated P.C. dated March 12!

The following extracts are of interest—noting the date.

"Leaving Berlin on tour through Germany next week. Send me at once 6 copies CRUSADER, Feb. 13th, 20th, 27th. The Press want them. They are being quoted. I am told and the Save the Children Fund are using some of them. Much interest is being shown in our work through the meeting I addressed, and I am being overwhelmed with invitations to friends and meetings. I have reason to believe that my presence here is very helpful. I am looking forward to my tour, in which I am hoping to perfect my perspective of the situation in Germany. Nationalist feeling is strong. There are food riots in Munchen. The atmosphere is growing more and more electric.

TO MAKE SURE OF GETTING "THE CRUSADER" EVERY FRIDAY, FILL IN THIS FORM AND HAND TO YOUR NEWSAGENT.

To (Newsagent)
Please deliver (or reserve for me) a copy
of "THE CRUSADER" commencing
.....next, and until
further notice.

Signed.....

.....

.....

"It's Fairly Obvious."

A little group of people were talking the other day and one of them who was not so advanced as the others and, therefore, could not see so far questioned a statement that had been made. There was some discussion, and then one of the group remarked, quite kindly of course, "I think it's fairly obvious."

There are thousands of people to-day who are utterly dissatisfied with conditions. They are tired of making the best of things, of patching up. But they are groping about having no clear idea what is wrong or what is the remedy.

Most Crusaders have a pretty clear idea as to what is wrong and to them the remedy is fairly obvious. THE CRUSADER touches the spot and clearly indicates the Plan of Campaign. But we want to reach the people to whom the remedy is not "fairly obvious."

The weekly papers of some of the big Trade Unions have a circulation of 100,000 copies. And that is for just one class of workers. Are Crusaders content that our circulation should be only a few thousand. The matter is in their hands. There is no need to wait for a lead. Ways and means will occur to individual Crusaders and we want them to use their initiative. We shall be glad to hear of any brain-waves, or helpful suggestions which may occur to them.

We have no agent in many of our big towns. Widnes, Rotherham, Salford, for instance. In these towns there are many people giving ungrudging service in the cause of Progress. We feel sure that THE CRUSADER would link up their work with the larger movement and would strengthen their labours. Is there anyone in Widnes, Rotherham or Salford who will volunteer to take copies of THE CRUSADER and make it known? I am sure nine out of every ten people who have read so far will be murmuring "If there are no Agents in these places, why beat the air and appeal to people who will not see this column?" As a matter of fact we have secured names and addresses of people likely to be interested and copies are being forwarded to them. It is to these people that we address this appeal. If they are too busy to respond themselves, we hope that they will pass their copy on to someone who may like to help. In one letter received this week a lady says "I only wish that all the Churches would take THE CRUSADER, for it is quite evident that they could not read it and remain passive in these days." Here's a job for Crusaders! Another lady says "I like the idea of the Christian Commonwealth linking up with THE CRUSADER. Supporters will find greater help and a united effort always yields up added power."

It is fairly obvious that with a united effort, our circulation could rise with leaps and bounds. The matter is in the hands of Crusaders.

THE PLOUGHMAN.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.

The earlier of the Fellowship Services conducted by Miss Maude Royden and Dr. Percy Dearmer every Sunday in Kensington Town Hall will in future begin at 3.15. Dr. Dearmer's subject next Sunday afternoon will be "The Resurrection and Psychological Research."

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS

By Rev. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

Labour is again in the limelight in the Religious Press. The recent decision not to use Direct Action caused a sigh of relief to go up from many columns. A terrible danger had passed away. Mr. Thomas and Mr. Clynes were warmly praised for saying it was wrong to use force. This was a constitutional country. With a ballot paper anything can be done and nobody will be hurt. The "hot heads" had got their proper answer at last. A new epoch had been marked in the history of the Labour movement. Such were the comments. But now! Yes, it is clear that the worker is not settling down as he should. "The Road to Ruin" is the phrase. The "truly English sanity" of our working population is not spoken of. The price of coal and the price of everything is going up once more. The strike shadow is on the land yet again.

* * *

Asks the "Church Times": "How long will it be before the workers understand that there is no magic source of wealth in the State apart from the industry of its citizens?" As far as I can see, this is the very question that many an intelligent workman would himself ask, only substituting the word "idlers" for the word "workers." And by "idlers" he would mean those of his fellow citizens who enjoy a comfortable income derived not from their own labours, but from hard, ill-paid and disagreeable work done by other people. The present Labour troubles do not arise from the fact that the workers have not yet learned that there is "no magic source of wealth." The present Labour troubles arise precisely because the more intelligent workman has discovered that there is "no magic source of wealth." In other words, a change has taken place in the psychology of the worker; he is not the man he was; especially in certain fields of industry, notably that of mining.

* * *

The only way to meet the prevailing and ever-increasing "unrest" is to stop abusing the worker and ask ourselves point blank why it is that he is not willing to work. If we do this I think we shall find that the man's objection is not against work itself, but against a continuance of the present system of producing for private profit. Not all the workers see this clearly themselves, but I believe that many who do not see it, and are quite incapable of "intellectualizing" the position, are nevertheless dimly conscious of it and are moved by it. And every well advertised example of shameless profiteering renders the lesson clearer. It blows a little fog away, and the hard outlines of the present industrial system are seen to emerge. As one writer on the Labour side has just said, regarding mining: "The men are 'fed up' with working in order to enrich coal owners."

* * *

One of the most interesting things to observe in the religious papers just now is their changed tone in regard to Russia. The constant reports showing that Bolshevism is really not altogether as our Press

has delighted to paint it, are taking effect. Here is a typical comment. It is in connection with the decree issued by the Soviet Commissariat of Justice, laying down the principle of religious toleration and non-molestation of religious worship. "It is something gained to have got such a decree," writes the "Church Times," "but we do not suppose that it is taken too seriously by the small communist authorities who delight in nothing more than defying the Central Government." Even such a grudging acknowledgment as this is a great gain. But how slow these papers have been to print anything except the falsified version of events which the "interests" saw fit to circulate throughout the country. It is one more lamentable failure. And it is no use to urge that true information was not available. I have had a voluminous set of these Soviet decrees in print on my shelves for years.

* * *

To those who feel they are facing an utterly hopeless situation in both world and church to-day, the "Challenge" utters the following encouraging words: "No one can dispute that there is plenty of occasion for alarm. But while there is much levity and extravagance, we believe that there is also more devoted service now than at any time previously. The two camps are becoming more and more clearly separated. There are fewer church-goers, but those who go mean more by it. There is an increase of open selfishness, but over against it there is more than ever of willing service."

* * *

The official handbook of the Mayflower Celebrations which are to take place in September this year has just been issued. It will be the Tercentenary of the departure of the Pilgrim Fathers for America. Demonstrations, religious services and municipal gatherings will be held in various parts of England, and celebrations will take place also in Holland, Switzerland, France and America. It is hoped that the memory of that brave little boat pushing out into the unknown sea will stir up many a sleepy Christian in his cushioned pew.

* * *

To remember the heroes of the past is a good thing to do. But whenever we remember them, let us remind ourselves that to the vast majority of their contemporaries they looked to be anything but heroes. It is easy to sail in the Mayflower now, but should we have gone on board then? I hope we shall remind ourselves next September, when we are praising the Pilgrim Fathers, that they were people who challenged their age. And if we are worthy to be their sons we shall do the same service for our own day. It will not be enough to sit up a little straighter in our cushioned pew and grow "awfully interested" in the great story of what somebody else did.

* * *

The Mayflower people dared to be singular, contemptible and wrong in the eyes of multitudes. I really believe the time has come for that again.

The Psychology of Revolt

When comfortably situated Christian folk complain of the bitter class feeling exhibited by the workers, and the incitement to violence sometimes heard at their meetings they forget certain facts which help to explain, though they may not excuse, this attitude.

It must be remembered that the first thing which this section of the community has to overcome is the habit of fear in which they have so long been trained. Contentment with their lot, acquiescence in their inferior status, obedience to their "betters" have been the lessons preached to them. Fear of their masters, fear of the economic consequences of revolt have become a part of their make-up. This is a class-condition and can be scarcely understood by those whose position is tolerably secure. The vice with which the possessing class has to fight is greed, but the vice which the dispossessed must overcome is fear. It is this difference—a difference arising from economic conditions—which makes criticism of the militant methods advocated by some in the Labour movement frequently so unsympathetic and unjust.

The natural reaction against fear is defiance. It is this that accounts for the aggressive attitude of youth just escaping from parental control and anxious to display its independence. It was this that induced certain C.O.'s to break prison rules; they did it to overcome the intimidating, paralysing effect of prison regime. A Sinn Feiner, who had taken part in the hopeless Easter rising, told the writer that the leaders of the rebellion had little hopes of military success; they had taken action to stay the creeping paralysis of intimidation under English rule; they rose in revolt to save their own souls and the soul of Ireland.

It is easy to point out the folly and wickedness of this. People whose moral enemy is Greed find it difficult to understand those whose moral enemy is Fear, just as the latter cannot easily enter into the temptations to parasitical habits of those whose circumstances permit them to live on others. As a matter of fact it has to be recognised that men do find themselves through antagonisms, and that the preaching of class-war has, in large numbers of cases, put spirit and courage into men who had almost lost their manhood. They found that their servile condition was not inevitable, that the master-class were not such by divine and immutable decree. It is difficult to see how this could have been mediated to them except in the form of militancy.

To say this in the pages of THE CRUSADER is difficult, but not inconsistent. If we recognise that there are, in many cases, three stages of development—servility, antagonism, goodwill—the matter becomes plain. All that we are doing is to distinguish the pacifism that is due to fear from the pacifism that is due to faith.

In order to pass from one to the other, it may seem necessary to pass through a period in which the use of violence is the characteristic form of expression. A slave who fights for freedom is better than a slave who accepts his slavery, but not so good as a slave who recognising the wrong that is done him, and, passionately desiring to be free, knows that he can never free himself from coercion by coercing others.

This last is the position for which THE CRUSADER

stands. But at the same time we assert that Pacifism before it can be successful must purge itself of every atom of timidity. "Let us understand clearly," say Dr. Orchard, in "The Outlook for Religion," "that we are not going to end war by making people afraid of it. War will cease to vex the earth when men no longer fear it; when they have grown so brave that not all its horrors affright them." That is the part that the tragedy of the past few years has played in the moral development of mankind. We have learned to laugh at the risks involved in trying to destroy other people. Now we must set ourselves to laugh at the risks involved in trying to build up, by sheer creative faith and good-will, the new world. Labour is still partly in the earlier stage and its transition to the Christian position is fraught with terrible possibilities. Fortunately it is able to profit by the experiences through which Capitalist states have passed. It will not be found so necessary to have resort to bloodshed to establish the Commune as it appears have been in the establishment of Kingdoms and Empires, for the simple reason that the fruits of the experience are passed on vicariously for the benefit of those leading the new movement in social evolution.

But though we have spoken of various stages, and have, perhaps, seemed to imply that each is necessary in its place, we hold, with no weakening of faith, that the method preached by Jesus nineteen centuries ago was relevant then and is relevant now. Love conquers all things—at all times. The possibility of fulfilling the new commandment is not confined to any particular generation, is not postponed indefinitely to some future age. And we venture to predict that there are some standing by at the present time who shall see the Kingdom of God come in and by the power of love.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Will friends help to INCREASE OUR CIRCULATION by forwarding to 23, Bride Lane, Fleet Street E.C., this form filled in with names and addresses of those likely to be sympathetic, to whom we may send a specimen copy of THE CRUSADER.

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Christ's Challenge to Wages

At the conference on Thursday we lived, in imagination, in a world where men and women no longer fought, and grabbed and jostled each other in order to secure the means of subsistence. Instead of a Reformatory School, where people worked because they had to, we had a vision of a joyous, dignified self-respecting community, labouring because they loved to.

The traveller in America,—said the Rev. Stanley B. James—knows that before a snow storm comes on, we must take his bearings, and visualise the outstanding features to guide him when the landscape is obliterated. For us the air is clear at present, but we can see signs of the greatest crisis which has visited us for a long time. We must discover leading principles so that in the thick of the storm we may know in which direction we must travel. All are agreed on one point. Only one thing can save us, more production.

Before Labour can become a redemptive power, Labour must be changed. We have grown up in a wage system. Money has come to us—so far as it has come—through wages. But men have not always lived so. The evil of the wage system is that under it, Labour is regarded as a commodity to be bought and sold. This is wage slavery. Is there any relation between the system of chattel slavery and wage slavery? The slave became the property of his master and could be put to any task. We are bought and sold.

We part with everything except our sleeping and eating hours.

Our present civilisation is founded on a cash basis, what Carlyle calls a "cash nexus." All these things are built up on the Nature of Industry. The sale of Labour involves the sale of the product of Labour. Part of the produce comes back to the worker as the price of his Labour.

The existence of unemployment, the tragedy and demoralisation which it involves is not an accident of the wage system. It is not a misfortune which happens to creep in. It is a factor of the system. Capitalists say, we must have a reserve. We are not going to keep Tom, Dick and Harry. You must keep him. And the Trade Unions have obediently accepted the situation. Over against that, Christianity places an Ideal which is an absolute contradiction.

It emphasises the nobility of service—the greatness of giving and the grandeur of being part of and of use to a whole. We want maintenance pay which shall enable all to live a full and a free life. People ask, would men work if they were deprived of mercenary motive? The Capitalist system is based on a distrust of Human Nature. The Christian order is built up on Faith in God, which means faith in the real goodness of man.

The Third Conference is postponed owing to Mr. James' illness.

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Save the Children—For what?

The accounts from the famine areas grow no less appalling.

The Bishop of Exeter on returning from the Geneva Conference of the "Save the Children" Council gave an interview to the *Western Morning News*.

One of the most significant and painful of the Bishop's experiences was when he entered Vienna carrying a wicker basket containing rolls of Swiss white bread. The shriek of mingled wonder and praying uttered by a boy who accidentally caught a glimpse of the bread, pierced his heart, and impressed him more with the pitiful horror of the position of the starving children than all the figures and statistics laid before him.

He visited a school kept by some Franciscan Sisters. The school was beautifully kept, but the children fell asleep at their desks, being weak and ill-nourished. . . . The sight of their little starved bodies was pitiful to one who knew from personal experience what babies were.

The Swiss Minister of Economics at Berne told the Bishop that he had the gravest misgivings as to what would happen in May, June and July, before the Austrian harvest was gathered.

This is only a sample of similar reports from all parts of Europe.

The various organisations for dealing with the situation are utterly inadequate. They have not the means to do a tithe of what needs doing.

But another question occurs. Even suppose they were possessed of resources sufficient to ensure that these fever stricken, rickety, tubercular children should be fed and restored, as far as possible, to health, would it not be to send them back to conditions of destitution and monotonous toil from which it would be almost a mercy to deliver them?

Certain doctors, during the war, despite their naturally humane instincts, refused to serve in the army, on the ground that they would be no party to patching men up in order that they might be fit to return to the trenches and there either receive or inflict similar wounds. The question may not unnaturally occur whether it is enough to patch up the child life of the world if the present social and industrial conditions are to continue. When we are asked to save the children let us ask 'For what?'

While we render all the assistance possible, we should see to it that, at the same time, we are getting the world into a fit condition for children to live in. We must not only restore life, we must make life worth while. Otherwise our aid becomes cruelty.

Christ's Challenge to Cæsarism

DR. ORCHARD ON JESUS AS HERO AND GENTLEMAN.

Some of the heroic aspects of Jesus have been the theme of certain of Dr. Orchard's sermons at King's Weigh House on Lenten Sunday evenings. Two remarkable sermons stand out among the series, the one on Jesus as Hero and the other on Jesus as Gentleman or Lord, the portrayal in each case having for its background, not only the Galilee and Jerusalem of old time, but the often sordid and ungenerous world of to-day. Hardly a member of Dr. Orchard's congregation can have gone away after either sermon without a heart beating a little faster and a sterner resolve for the Adventure which Christianity really is.

* * *

Of Christ as hero he said, that although in our modern day the heroic side of Christ's character had been forgotten, in mediæval times this was the one thing that attracted men to Him. St. Francis bade men follow Christ, the only worthy Knight. St. Ignatius wrote his spiritual exercises rather with the sword than with the pen, and could hardly conceive of Christ in any other guise than that of military leader. This category had been somewhat clouded by the emphasis placed upon the tender and forgiving side of Christ which we owed to the Evangelical Revival. In the desire to commend Christ to the beaten members of our community it was necessary to paint Him as entirely winsome and beautifully forgiving. There had been some attempt to recover the notion of the Hero in order to attract the adolescent, who had no feeling at all for the Sin-bearer and the Man of Sorrows. But a great deal of this painting of the Hero for the adolescent, chiefly with Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in mind, presented Christian warfare rather as a happy picnic than anything else. And he was not sure that it was open for them to draw any contrast between the Hero and the Saviour. It was in the process of winning Salvation for us that He did a Hero's work for us.

* * *

Christ's heroism must be gathered carefully from the Gospel story. The Gospels did not advertise it. To a generation which had been educated in melodrama the Gospels must appear extraordinarily drab. There were those who said that they were drama and not real life. Then they were very bad drama, very unexciting fiction, not even good biography. Compositors found it possible to set up the whole of the Gospels without using one note of exclamation. Yet all the same, if a man set himself down to this colourless material and started weaving a picture of it or making a tableau, the whole thing was perfectly overwhelming. Let them get the Gospel of St. Mark, together with a map of Palestine, and mark the itinerary. It would be found that He went round and round Galilee in circles and then there came one straight march to Jerusalem. This looked like a planned campaign, with one desperate attack on the city. Heroism, too, shone out in His sayings about the Kingdom of God, which only offered among material things clothes like the lilies, food like the birds had, and a house with a room to pray in. There was nothing about the Kingdom of God which promised champagne and motor-cars for evermore.

"Tell us no more about Christ dying to save the world," wrote someone (he did not know whether he fought in the war or wrote in the newspapers urging others to fight), "we have had millions die to save the world." But with Christ there was more than physical suffering, there was the anguish of rejection, the shame of unrequited love. You could not tell what Christ suffered on the Cross so long as you stood on the ground only and looked up. You must climb up and look down. When danger began to threaten Him what He did was not to move out of it but into it. And that was not bravado. His real motive for going to Jerusalem was to plead with the men at headquarters. All through the story sounded the overtone of courage. There was fearlessness also, which was different from courage, as witnessed in His reply to Herod. The bravery of His last hours was magnificent. Caiaphas was hysterical by the side of that proud figure.

* * *

But it would be asked, "What about Christ's divinity? When you start on His divinity is not the heroism gone?" Dr. Orchard put it that the case was exactly the opposite. Did it not increase the heroism of Christ to remember that He was God? Would it not be a very heroic adventure of God to become a man among men? What would it mean, for example, for a man of culture to live among—he was going to say the poor, but No! No!—to live among the vulgar? He thought that earth would be a very lonely place for God. Yes, but, then, He was sure of the distant victory. Was He? How distant? Christ would know He was going to win. Would He? When? He had not won yet. There were words in the New Testament which prompted the hope that eventually He would win, but there were others which dashed it. The fact was that this grave adventure of God still remained a forlorn hope. There was no sign yet of His winning. It was harder to follow Christ to-day than ever. The one hope lay in the fact that He could make heroes as well—make them out of the most unworthy material. And so our Hero turned out to be our Saviour after all.

* * *

Dr. Orchard dealt similarly on a subsequent Sunday with the ascription to Jesus of the title "Lord." He showed that the word "Lord" was a title which was compelled from those who came into touch with Jesus, just in the same way as in these modern days we instinctively said, "Sir" to a man who called forth our respect. Was there ever such a gentleman as Jesus? Was there anyone who compelled the devotion of all sorts of men, very often strong-willed and independent men, as He did? He instanced Bernard, the preacher of the Crusades and the moral governor of Europe, Francis Xavier and Ignatius Loyola, Livingstone and John Newton, and above all others the Apostle Paul, who had been content to call themselves His bond-servants. There was something, too, so sure and refined about His judgments that all else looked at once vulgar and mean. He could not only put:

poor person perfectly at his ease, but He could make the presumptuous person uncommonly uncomfortable. His handling of disagreeable or delicate situations, like the incident in Simon's house or that other incident when they brought to Him a woman taken in adultery, was sublime. He had an inherent nobility which foiled all attempts to degrade Him. Right through the bitter and unseemly events of His trial and death He remained the Gentleman. The very crown of thorns which they had laughingly put sideways on His head and the broken reed which they had stuck in His hands had become recognised by the world, such was His bearing of them, to be the insignia of an empire He had yet to win. We all had to say "Sir" to Jesus.

* * *

Dr. Orchard drew attention to the gradual rise in respect which His contemporaries and those who came after Him paid to Jesus. It was not long before Jesus came actually to be worshipped, to be prayed to, to have words transferred to Him which in the Old Testament had been ascribed to Jehovah alone. And it was quite obvious that this was due to the growing mastery which Jesus exercised over His fellows. The New Testament was a perfect chaos on the subject of the deity of Jesus. It was said that the doctrine of the Trinity was not explicit in its pages. It was not; but the fact was that the doctrine of the Trinity had to be framed in order to prevent Christianity from becoming tritheistic. Jesus was actually challenging equality with God. "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God. . . ." He might even come before God in the mind of His followers. To this day, said Dr. Orchard, he knew people who did not ascribe the god-head to Jesus because they did not think it was a good enough name for him. They almost liked the idea of Jesus as a revolutionary against the Supreme Ruler of the universe. It was to prevent a super-exaltation of Jesus that this title "Lord" was given Him. Was not the deity of Christ assumed throughout the Gospels? Who else could this be that claimed to come before father and mother, who claimed to stand behind every genuine prophet, every properly commissioned apostle?

* * *

What would the title imply, Dr. Orchard went on, if we adopted it for Him to-day? He supposed that to call even Jesus Lord might conflict disagreeably with democratic sentiments. Were we not getting rid of lords and kings, and should we set up an autocracy in religion? What with thrones overturning and the clamour for the Kaiser to be hung, the whole movement of religion, surely, should be towards a perfect equality whereby all these trappings of nobility could be got rid of. Were we Nonconformists somewhat ashamed of the title "Our Lord Jesus Christ"? "Our Lord!" Was it not a Churchman's phrase, used by people who were accustomed to speak of the Sovereign Lord the Pope or the Lord Bishop of this or that? But, then, had democracy yet reached its consummation? It had shaken itself free from some autocracies, but there were others which remained. There were republics he could mention with Presidents far more autocratic than any constitutional monarch. And enthroned in our midst there was the domination of the newspaper proprietor. When we got free from certain remaining tyrannies it would be time to discuss whether "Lord" was an offensive title to retain. As

a matter of fact, the world was going further than mere democracy. There was a new theory now—which gained its vogue from reaction—the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Nobody knew what would come of it, but vengeance for the long class rule of the past would come in one shape or other. There was only one thing that would ever save England from dictatorship bringing chaos and anarchy and desolation; it was that the proletariat should discover that there was one Monarch who was a peasant and one Lord who was certainly a member of the proletariat. The way of deliverance from our present dreads was to discover Christ and crown Him the one King and call Him and none other Lord.

* * *

The word "Lord," if they were going to adopt it to-day, meant a final challenge to Cæsarism. Jesus of Nazareth was Lord of lords. It was the lowly Nazarene who challenged the title of the Lord of the Palatine Hill. That was where the issue really lay. Of course, we were all in deadly hatred of Cæsarism (if you spelt it with a "K"); we hated its domination and its boast and its ruthless cruelty, but there was another Cæsarism which promised, "I alone can keep the peace. I alone can keep the subject nations in their right place. I alone can preserve order among the discontented peoples. Better fall down and worship me." The question which pressed equally upon orthodox and unorthodox was whether Jesus should be Lord of the earth as He was Lord of heaven. Could His Cross save the nations from their present terrors and tyrannies? Could He find a way out of our difficulties, or had we still got to go on with the old compromise; Trust in God and keep your powder dry—keep your bombing planes loaded, your tanks well greased, your poison gas in readiness, and all the rest of the hell manufacturing business in good condition?

* * *

"One thing I do know: Christ will leave the world to its own devices if it wants to share that sort of thing with homage to Himself. The final and full ascription of lordship must come from the soul of man. This is not a theological question. What you have to decide is whether Jesus of Nazareth as He stood in His earthly career, with His toil-worn hands, is the sort of person you would naturally call Lord. Be careful before you answer. Your answer may not tell us much more about Jesus Christ than we know already. But it will tell us a great deal about you!"

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COTTAGE or ROOMS WANTED.—The Joint Board for the Assistance of C.O.'s is urgently wanting living accommodation for a sick comrade, who at present is living under conditions which are further undermining his health. Will any friend who knows of suitable accommodation please communicate with Lester Smith, 17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

The Look Forward

To the student of human nature the outstanding fact of the mental outlook of modern England is that everyone is looking backward. The overwhelming mass of people seem to be craning their psychological necks to vision a fast receding and never-to-return-past. For five years they have been travelling in one direction and looking in another, with the result that they know little of the world they are actually living in to-day and nothing of the world we *shall* be living in a year or two hence. To the soldier this 'volte-face' is not a little startling. During the war few of us ever looked backward. We looked forward to the day when the war would be over, when we should return to the land which was to be made 'fit to heroes!' to the days when we should be able to work out our ideals which were born in the struggle and nurtured by many a scene round a comrade's grave. With many a 'stand to' at dawn we have looked across 'No man's land' and pictured the morning whose dawn should herald the coming of the New World, and incidentally a British victory. The dream has materialised and now for the first time we find something lacking in the picture. "We have not sheathed the sword, until Belgium has been restored, etc.," to quote the Paisley Imperialist, but the sword has dropped backward in its sheath with a particularly hollow sound. Never has might conquered so completely and yet we turn away disgusted from the fruits of our victory. The man-in-the-street never looks forward now. The Great Day is the pre-war day. Utopia is no longer the promised land which we were to enter upon the signing of peace—but Utopia is back in 1914—in those days which, if I remember rightly, we passed through with much discontent and grumbling.

To-day pre-war is the 'hall-mark.' Sellers of every description of goods no longer enter into a lengthy

peroration upon the value of their goods, but simply whisper 'pre-war' as a guarantee of their super-excellence. The remuneration of labour is based on the 'pre-war' rate for the trade and the 'pre-war' cost of living. Everything is weighed in this never failing balance. Commercially and economically we are looking backward, and he would be an Oliver Twist indeed who asked for more than his 'pre-war' ration of this world's goods. One thing is agreed upon by everyone. The War must be forgotten. Politicians and economists are urging us to forget the war and even the Churches are preaching that we should 'forget our enemies.' How many people realise that the one hope of salvation is that we should *remember* the war, and that some of those that knew the horror of it all, should have constant seizures of the kind of 'Trench fever' to which few of us were strangers—the fever for a new order of things, the passion for a better world. If the war has *not* been a revelation to us we are hopelessly blind, if it *has* been a revelation to us our 'pre-war' ideals are obsolete, our 'pre-war' gospel incomplete. There should be no such command as 'as you were' in the Christian Army at any rate. Before the war a "brotherhood" in the Church was good enough, now our aims must not fall short of the "brotherhood of man." Then a national outlook now an international one; then a Christian England—now a Christian Humanity. If the Christian Church is to survive it must look forward, it must see the New World where frontiers do not exist topographically any more than they exist geographically. Morality and not Nationality must form the basis of alliances. If Christianity is to become international the Church must recognise its International obligations.

WALLACE H. HANCOCK (Ex-Lieut.)

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION.

(London Union).

EDUCATION CONFERENCE.—We are fortunate in having secured as our speakers for the third Conference **Miss Doris Lester**, whose subject will be "The Challenge of the City Child," and **Mr. B. H. Langdon Davies**, who will speak on "Education for Freedom." The Conference will be held at the King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, W., on Saturday, April 10th. Miss Lester will open the afternoon session at 3 p.m. Mr. Langdon Davies the evening session at 6 p.m., when Miss Alice Woods, late of the Maria Grey Training College will take the chair. Tea can be obtained on the premises at a moderate charge. Admission is entirely free and open to all.

CHRISTIANITY IN BUSINESS.—All engaged in business, either as employers or employees, are asked to book Tuesday, April 13th, when **Mr. Malcolm Sparkes** will open a Round-Table Conference on the above subject at 7 p.m., in the Church Room at the King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, W.

BRETHREN OF THE COMMON TABLE.—We should like to hear at once from those interested in this suggestion, as the **Rev. Bernard Walke** will be preaching at the King's Weigh House Church on Sunday,

April 18th, and we would arrange for him to meet such friends, either before or after that date.

PREACHERS OF THE NEW CRUSADE.—On Saturday, April 17th, a Conference will be held in the Church Room at the King's Weigh House, from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m. and from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m., when Mr. Bernard Walke will open the subject of Preachers as referred to in his article in THE CRUSADER of March 5th. All willing to take part in this Movement or to offer their fellowship, are heartily invited, and are asked to send word to the London Union Secretary, or THE CRUSADER Office. Tea from 5 p.m. to 6 p.m.

OPEN-AIR MISSION.—This begins on Monday, April 12th, when a meeting will take place at 7.45, outside the G.E.R. Station, Leytonstone. On Tuesday and Friday there will be meetings at 5.45 near Marble Arch, and on Wednesday, at 7.30, in the Market Place, Lewisham. Very considerable help is needed, as other meetings, which we cannot at the moment announce, are to be arranged.

C. PAUL GLIDDON,

17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

The Bishop of Woolwich on "The Cruel Competitive System"

A unique event occurred at Hither Green recently, when the Labour Party and Trades Unions of Lewisham, including branches of the N.U.R., N.U.V.W., Union of Post-Office Workers, United Order of Builders, N.F.D.D.S.S., N.U. Corporation Workers and the Socialist Sunday School, paraded to hear an address by the Bishop of Woolwich.

We select a few points from his Address:—

We had sown what we had reaped. It must be acknowledged that the dominant factor that had governed our past civilisation had been the spirit of acquisitiveness—the love of gain, whether national or individual, and that a gain of material ends. To achieve this we had built up a cruel competitive system, by which the strong had been able to gain and the weak might fall by the way. Such development had not been Christian, but frankly pagan. God forbid that men and women should be content with such modes of life! With this came a demand for that which Christ came to give—life, and life in abundance. In England, and in other countries, too, there was going to be a great demand for life. He believed the motive for this demand was not merely economic or material, but that it was spiritual. It was the Spirit of God which was in every man and woman clamouring for expansion and that life which God had given them.

"INDUSTRY EXISTS FOR MAN."

This demand (Dr. Hough proceeded) expressed itself in four ways. First, it demanded an entirely new relation between employer and employed. It challenged the subordination of one class to another; it challenged that any class had the sole prerogative to govern or to rule. It demanded this because it believed industry existed for man, not man for industry, and he could not believe in the stability of that society which crippled the personality of the workers, or which deprived them of the control of those material things which made their lives, and which was the very essence of freedom. They made this demand because every child born into the world was equal, not in powers, but in that they all had an inalienable right to make an equal opportunity of all those powers in life with which God had endowed them. They made this claim because the essential wealth of the nation was its people. Life was of infinitely more value than money or property; all that life was needed, and they must preserve it and see that it was developed to its highest capacity. They made this demand because all must work: it was the privilege of every man and woman. They did not want those parasites who lived upon society, with money which they had never earned and for which they had never worked, nor did they want those loafers and idlers who had never worked, to whatever class they belonged.

He had spoken about the system of competition—a cursed system and the cause of all the trouble. They were told that without competition they could not get the best out of men. He did not believe it: he did not think so badly of his fellows. He believed that love

and co-operation was a stronger incentive than competition, and they wanted to see men inspired by that spirit of co-operation, glad to work not only for their own advantage, but for the good of all. He knew the cynic would pass a cheap sneer, but that did not prove the case. He believed it was possible that men and women could be inspired more highly by the spirit of unselfish devotion than they ever would be by a mere desire for personal gain. And they demanded a new life: "I came that they may have life, that they may have abundance." He had lived in South London for thirty-two years, mostly among industrial people. He could look back to those early days when men working on the railways were earning their 18s. a week. He had seen homes—houses in which people were living which were a disgrace not only to Christianity, but to our humanity. He had seen life hampered, dwarfed, injured in every direction. "We have been promising the workers a new Jerusalem," said the preacher, "and we have given them South London and Birmingham and Manchester! These things have got to be changed!"

He stood as representative of the Church of England, and he knew that the Church was under suspicion by a large number in the industrial world. He did not wonder at it. They said that the Church of England was the church of a class. There was a certain amount of truth in that, though not all, as they in South London knew. He said, further, that in the struggle in which industry had engaged in the last hundred years in achieving freedom the Church had not stood by the side of industry, and certainly had not led the way. He had heard it said that the Church was the greatest enemy to the highest ideals of the working class. He found it very difficult to answer them. It was not altogether true; there had been great leaders like Morris, Kingsley, Shaftesbury and Westcott who had been loyal to the highest interests of the working class. He knew that, officially, the Church had been largely deficient, but he wanted them to believe that the seed which had been sown by men like Morris and Kingsley was bearing fruit, and that there was growing up in the Church a large number of men who would endorse every single word he had said. They rejoiced in the Labour movement, and came out to it with open arms. "We are not here because we think that our house is in danger; believe that the spirit of Jesus Christ is burning in our hearts, and that we are here because we believe in our Master, Who 'came that they may have life'." In this they asked that they might be allowed to be by the side of the workers.

The service was conducted by the Vicar (the Rev. F. H. Rice), and a special petition was offered up on behalf of Mr. W. G. Couchman, secretary of the Lewisham branch of the National Union of Corporation Workers, who had been suddenly seized with serious illness. The Lessons were read by Councillor Cant, and Mr. E. G. Hill (Lewisham I.L.P.) was at the organ.

A Dual Day

By Rev. F. R. SWAN.

In the world of industry there is a movement towards a much shorter day. The 48-hour week will have to give place to one of 44 or 40 hours, and even less. Labour is for life, not life for labour. Work should help in character making, and should be an expression of the soul of man.

What is the Dual Day? It means a working day divided into two parts—one for the nation's work, the other for the individual's own work. It means the ceasing of ordinary labour, say, at four o'clock, the rest of the day to be spent in a variety of recreative work or enjoyments. These would include various handicrafts, gardening, book reading, song, dancing, etc.

This idea of the Dual Day has been energetically illustrated by Miss A. L. Lawrence, who at the Cloisters, Letchworth, has organised classes for hand-loom weaving, printing, boot-repairing, carpentering. Her monthly magazine, "The Dual Day," advocates this idea in a variety of ways.

Far too little is thought about the use, value and employment of leisure time. A reduction of the hours of labour is not the only thing to be considered. The Dual Day provides for this urgent social need.

For this new kind of leisure, however, labour facilities could easily be organised in many villages and towns. Suitable communal halls could be built and equipped, or the available rooms and various buildings could be used. In these places a variety of attractive and useful things could be produced. Not cheap and nasty, shoddy or snobby goods. But something worth looking at, worth wearing and showing as an expression of joy, interest and social fellowship.

Let me also say that the idea is not that the manual worker must necessarily go and read books, or the non-manual worker go dig, though at some period or another this kind of relaxation might suit indi-

vidual cases. The real change and rest would be in the idea and object of the labour. It would be a change from the drive, the speeding-up, the rush and authority of organised machine production to the freedom and more or less self-management of handcraft production. A very welcome change that would be! We know that even after hours of hard work many people really enjoy working strenuously for their own personal pleasure or home needs, at the things that give joy.

The Dual Day suggests a radical alteration in the idea of industry and the purpose of labour. At present for masses of men and women working in the profiteering system it is all bed and work. That won't do. There must be alternative interests other than degrading idleness, silly pictures, dirty public, lounging about, the parading of noisy, dirty and flashy street. There is a law of rhythm in life which must be recognised. Rest through joy in work, relaxation through pleasure in recreative pursuits, are needed for the soul. Liberation is needed from the pressure of the struggle for existence. Every day work must become a means of life. More joy, colour, beauty, individual effort and originality are waiting to be revealed as the inborn word of the eternal spirit, and things produced under such conditions and in such a free spirit will not only be welcome in the home and save the extortionate cost of shop stuff, but will have a meaning and value that ordinary machine goods cannot possibly have. It is understood that the products of handcraft do not enter into competition in the ordinary markets, but are used and exchanged for personal needs. The modern sub-division of labour is demoralising—men and women are divided until they can do nothing but a mere fraction of work. To create a thing is to become a co-worker with God in quite a new sense. The Dual Day points to this divine end.

The Shareholders' Statement

Readers will be interested to see on opposite page the "Declaration for Stockholders," which is being issued in America by "The World To-morrow."

Our own Movement is mentioned, and I fancy that the American Declaration is the child of the "Shareholders' Statement." It is interesting to compare the phrasing.

We shall be glad of more signatures, with contributions towards the expenses.

WE, the undersigned, being Shareholders or Beneficiaries through Shares in Companies, wish to state publicly that we are convinced that the claims of the workers to wages making it possible for them to live a full and free life, comes before the claims of Shareholders to Dividends.

We will therefore support such a re-organization of the present Industrial System as shall bring about the highest good of the workers and the best interests of the community, and are prepared to accept whatever personal loss shall arise through such re-organization.

We invite all Shareholders in Companies to realize their immense responsibilities and we ask for their hearty co-operation.

Name _____

Address _____

Address—MISS WILSON, 10, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.

A Challenge to Stockholders

(AMERICAN)

The idea of private property of some kind is as old as civilization itself, but only in modern times has widespread absentee ownership been made possible through a system of joint stock companies. By this device men and women as stockholders are enabled to own and control properties to which they make no contribution whatsoever in labour of hand or brain—properties which in many cases they have never set eyes on, and for which they feel little or no responsibility so long as dividends come in regularly.

How general is this absentee ownership is shown by the fact that to-day more than half the total product of American industry is turned out by corporation owned plants; whose shareholders as a rule contribute nothing, save the money originally invested, from which they confidently look for dividends year after year to the end of time.

But in this fateful hour in the world's history the ethical problems of this system of carrying on the work of the world must be faced without evasion. No longer can we easily dismiss the whole matter from our conscience by the familiar assertions that industry requires capital, that only the offer of dividends will secure money to establish new enterprises, or that if the present system were abolished widows and orphans (or some of them) would be left unprovided for. Is it beyond the wit of man to devise a system which would in some more equitable way serve these necessary ends? Because the industrial system requires that initial fund or reservoir which we call capital, it does not follow that that capital which is socially created, must forever be individually controlled. Valuable new enterprises are actually often discouraged because there is no immediate prospect of large dividends. And widows and orphans sometimes fare ill at the hands of the very men who, on occasion, most eloquently plead their needs. The financiers who looted the New Haven or the Rock Island Railroads were less considerate of the fatherless and the widow than the "reddest" of radicals who would propose some form of co-operation to take the place of the present system.

In legal theory stockholders have well-nigh absolute control over the industry in which they have

stock whether by inheritance, by gambling on the stock market, or by investment or hard-earned savings. Though this arbitrary power of ownership on the part of investors has been somewhat checked in recent years by the growing strength of organized labour and in some cases by legislation, nevertheless power still resides in property and ownership rather than in life and labour of hand or brain. Can this situation be ethically justified?

Again there is the question of profits and their distribution to stockholders. The recent coal strike has vividly illuminated this aspect of the problem. Men and women everywhere—not thousands but millions of

them—are asking by what moral right do private owners of coal fields receive profits ranging, according to Mr. McAdoo, as high as 2,000 per cent. in 1917, and according to Mr. Glass to 800 per cent. in subsequent years when sacrifice was urged upon us all!

Every day our newspapers tell of the mounting profit of those who minister to our necessities. Here for example is the Cuba Sugar Corporation, showing for the year ending September 30, 1919, an increase in operating profit over the previous year of \$3,000,000, most of which is to go to shareholders in increased dividends,—and this in time of sugar famine.* It is significant that in general more than one-half of the income of residents of the United States is now derived not from service rendered but from property owned.

Criticism of this system now rumbling round the world like thunder, is not

silenced by saying that many investments result in loss and not profit, or by asserting that increased production (which assuredly our present system is not securing in satisfactory fashion) rather than more equitable distribution is the way of salvation.

(To be continued.)

A DECLARATION FOR STOCKHOLDERS.

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We, the undersigned, in view of our responsibility as stockholders and beneficiaries through shares in corporations, feel compelled to state our conviction:

1. That the first charge on industry should be the adequate and honorable compensation of those engaged in it.
2. That the ultimate control in industry should pass from the owners of capital to those who work by hand or brain.

In so far as we may have power or influence we will use it to carry this belief into effect in the determination of questions concerning wages and working conditions in those companies in which we hold stock. Furthermore we will seek and support such reorganization of industry as will promote the highest good both of the workers and of the community at large, even though it may mean the ultimate disappearance of any separate class of shareholders, and we are prepared to accept such personal loss as may arise from this process of reorganization. We invite the co-operation of all stockholders to this end.

All who are willing to sign the above statement or have comment to make on it are asked to communicate with "The World Tomorrow."

*Basil Manley, former joint chairman of the War Labour Board, charges that in 1917, "nearly half of the coal companies, 185 out of 404, actually earned profits on their capital stock ranging from 100 per cent. to 7,856 per cent." He also presents figures as to gross profiteering in the wool, steel and packing industries which concealed their real profits even from their stockholders.

BOOKLAND "THE SOUL OF THE PEOPLE."

Stephen Reynolds' books are already well known. "It seems so" and "A Poor Man's House" are frequently seen on bookstalls. Before the war they were read pretty widely, I believe, and had a certain vogue. Whether they have maintained their popularity I don't know. It was not because they were or are popular that, the other day, I took up and commenced to read the latter of the two volumes named, but because, in discussing with a friend, the psychology and ethics of the poor I was recommended to read "A Poor Man's House" (Macmillan, 2/-). I approached it, therefore, with a definite purpose. I wanted to know what the author could tell me about the mind of the workers. In my opinion there is no more important or fascinating subject at the present time, and anything that can throw light on it is to be eagerly welcomed. For it should be realised that there are, living side by side in our cities and through the country-side, two distinct civilizations, two races as different from each other as any two nations. One belongs to the past and one to the future. One lives in comparative security and comfort. The other must struggle from month to month for the necessities and decencies of life.

It was not the disclosures that I wanted, however, which first struck me in reading the book. The realism with which the life of a Devonshire fishing village is depicted caught my eye at once. The moods of the sea, the delightful western dialect of Tony Widger and his fellows, the little village incidents that make up "the simple annals of the poor"—these were the things that arrested my attention. But as I read on I found that I was in a new world—not, it is true, altogether new to me, but new as compared with the world that calls itself "the world." Here the values of fashionable society were reversed. Things that had been accepted as honourable were, in this sphere, regarded with contempt. Other things catalogued as "evil" were here looked upon as normal and right.

HOTEL VERSUS COTTAGE.

In this passage these two worlds face each other. Speaking of his life in an hotel and comparing it with the society found in and about Tony Widger's cottage, Stephen Reynolds says: "Though the good, well cooked food, neither so greasy nor so starchy as Mrs. Widger's, is an agreeable change, I sit at the table d'hôte and rage within. I am compelled to hear a conversation that irritates me almost beyond amusement at it. These people here are on holiday. Most of them, by their talk, were never on anything else. They chirp, in lively or bored fashion, as the case may be, of the things that don't matter, of the ornamentations, the superfluities and the relaxations of life. At Tony Widger's they discuss—and much more merrily—the things that do matter; the means of life itself. Here they say: Is the table d'hôte as it might be? Is the society what it might be? Is it not a pity that there is no char-a-banc or a motor service to Cranmere Pool or Yes Tor. There the equivalent question is: 'Shall us hae money to go through the winter? Shall us hae bread and scrape to eat?'" Here, a man wonders if in the strong moorland air some slight non-incapacitating ailment will leave him; illness is inconvenient and dis-

appointing, but not ruinous. There Tony wonders if the exposure and continual boat-hauling are not taking too much out of him; if he is not ageing before his time; if he will not be past earning before the younger children are off his hands."

SPARROWISM.

This life of insecurity leads to a kind of fatalism or rather to the kind of faith which the Peasant of Galilee taught mankind. "If the sparrows themselves," says our author, "had been acquainted with 'Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing and one of them shall not fall to the ground without your Father,' their attitude towards religion might have resembled Tony's—a mixture of trust and *insouciance*, neither of them driven to any logical conclusion and both tempered by fatalism. 'When you got tu die, yu got tu,' says Tony, and it makes little difference to him whether the event has been decreed since the beginning of time, or whether it is to be decreed at some future date by a being so remote as God. The thing is, to accept the decree courageously.

"The children go to Sunday School, of course; it is convenient to have them out of the way while Sunday's dinner is being cooked and the afternoon snooze being taken. Besides, though the Sunday School teaching is a fearful hotch-potch of heaven, hell and self-interest, the tea fights, concerts and picnics connected with it are well worth going to. But the household religion remains a pure *sparrowism*, and an excellent creed it is for those of sufficient faith and courage."

There is a good deal in this book, which I should like to quote, as to the comparative value of the academic training of members of the "upper" class, and the close acquaintance with the actual facts of life characteristic of the workers, but I must content myself with one brief passage in which is summed up, in unconventional language, a good deal of wisdom on the vexed question of education. "It was well said that education—what is called education—was the cruellest thing ever forced upon the poor. Mam Widger agrees. She knows her two boys are above the average in brains, but she says: 'I'd far rather for them to fend for themselves an' make gude fishermen like their father or gude sailors like their uncles, than for 'em to be forced on by somebody else to what they ain't fitted for.' 'Tis God helps them as helps themselves, they du reckon, but I can't see as He helps them as is pushed.'"

The Explorer Guild

FOUR GUILDS HAVE BEEN STARTED.

We shall be glad to hear from grown-up people who would like particulars.

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CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH FELLOWSHIP



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscription for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more

than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, pendants, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Postage 1/6d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

The Choice of the Cross.

On the front page we find a picture of the Christ, but hiding His face are dark clouds from the factory chimneys. Does it seem to you this Passiontide, as perhaps never before, that the sullen clouds of the industrial world veil His face, and blot out His Cross? May it not be that Fellowship calls us to get the *other* side of the clouds of smoke, and to view the world from there? Do we care enough for the poor, terror-stricken world to do this? Because it will involve sharing the Cross; it will mean choosing it, as Jesus chose it, rather than merely bearing it when we must. Upon our C.C.F. badge we have a cross, and it supports the white circle ("linking our lives with the lives of all humanity."); while on our membership card we find these words: "Therefore we stretch our limbs gladly on the cross of life; for life is not having, holding, getting, it is growing, giving, serving." T. R. Glover, in "The Jesus of History," speaks of the pressure of sin and misery upon the spirit of Jesus. "He knows a pressure upon his spirit for the man, the child, the woman—for the one who sins, the one who suffers, the other who dies . . . one after the other becomes a call to him. That pressure is there night and day—it becomes intercession, and that grows into inspiration." We often speak of the need to-day for inspired men and women. May not the way to inspiration be this way of the Cross?

Our Opportunity.

Our Fellowship has before it a new opportunity to serve the world, and our use of it depends on every individual member. As 1863 (Pontardulais) said the other day: "We have as a Fellowship a very great and wonderful opportunity just now and in the coming years, and on the other hand it is—we must face it—as grave and as solemn a duty and responsibility. We have to hold fast to our Ideal in mind, feeling, word and action! The world of men needs light and love, and needs it even if it stumbles and goes wrong. It then needs it all the more." The writer is a South Wales miner, a Trades Council Secretary, Chairman of the local Discharged Soldiers' Association, and Labour Member of the Glamorgan County Council.

This week another miner-Fellow has been in London on the deputation to the Premier.

Resurrection.

There are many bursts of joy in the Fellowship letters just now. There seems to be general agreement about the greatness of our opportunity. For instance 4397 (Plumstead) writes: "I'm so glad the C.C.F. has found a new home, and I am certain that the Fellowship in THE CRUSADER will be the meeting place of

souls who base their faith on Love and Love only, and who are trying to found the Ideal City—which for us means a new Heaven and a new earth—we so often forget the Earth part. The C.C.F. was the means by which I found love, love from and to God, love from and to man. It is lovely to think the new home is beginning at Easter-time, the time of Resurrection, and I am convinced (and I know there are ever so many others too) that this is the beginning of a new age. I won't merely 'wish' the new C.C.F. success; I'll just say that I am absolutely convinced that it will be a much bigger affair than can be at present realised." Whether this be so or not, it is the time of Resurrection. And the Fellows make the Fellowship.

Introductions.

Will you hold out the hand of Fellowship to the following new members:—

5327 (Sharnbrook), helping boys in a reformatory school, specially interested in boy welfare and labour, glad to link with young and middle-aged men.

5333 (Horsham), a woman farm bailiff, interested in poetry, farming, wild flowers and kindred subjects, and wishing to correspond with Nature lovers of both sexes.

5332 (Acomb, Yorks.), interested in the occult, the alteration of the marriage laws, novels, modern drama, the welfare of animals, and politics, glad to correspond with men between the ages of 35 and 45, especially in the Colonies.

5345 (Bacup), a demobilised soldier who finds life somewhat lonely and dull, having lost his best friends during the war; he asks for links with those interested in music, literature (fiction and poetry) and wishes for one young man friend and one of middle age.

5334 (Peckham), an insurance agent, interested in matters social and religious, anxious to correspond with young people.

Fellowship Wanted and Offered.

5109 (Canterbury) would be glad to hear from members of a Communal Settlement; he wishes to join one.

4002 (New Barnet) is needing a friendly Fellow just now; she is a children's nurse, and is some distance from her home and her old friends. Her brother in India, too, seeks friendship; he is lonely and a little disappointed. Who will write Pte. W. H. C., and make a regular Fellow of him?

3743 (Newcastle) has recently become quite blind; although she cannot read their letters now, we know Fellows will send her some currents of helpful thought.

Annual Subscriptions and New Members.

We acknowledge, with thanks, the following annual subscriptions:—

I.L.H., (Leytonstone, 2/6); D.I.C., (New Barnet, 1/6); C.R.K., (Karachi, 2/-); E.P.L.W., (Stoke Newington, 2/-); K.T., (Colchester, 3/6); C.S., (Alberta, Canada, 1/-); E.G., (Conway, 2/6); E.C., (London, W.C., 3/-); C.M.B., (Beckenham, 2/-); K.R., (Enfield, 10/-); M.P., (Ilford, 3/-); L.E.H., (Oxhey, 2/6); A.E.J., (Bromley, 2/-); L.G.B., (Orreth, 1/7); I.C.T., (Colchester, 3/6); E.M.D., (Bradford-on-Avon, 2/-); L.M., (Maida Vale, 2/-); R.G., (Gilford, Co. Down, 1/-); C.K., (Liverpool, 2/6); C.H.K., (Liverpool, 2/6); E.L., (Geneva, 10/-).

SIDELIGHTS

Attack on Physical Life.

Few greater condemnations of the conditions at present prevailing in the industrial world could be drawn up than that contained in the report of the Medical Boards giving particulars of the physical examination of British recruits during the period Nov., 1917, to Oct., 1918. Nearly 2,500,000 men of military age were examined in this period with the following results. Only 36 per cent. could be regarded as up to the normal standard of health and strength for their age. More than 10 per cent. were judged as totally and permanently unfit for any form of military service. This means that only one man in three was found to be normally healthy, and that one man in ten was a physical wreck. "We learn from this mass of statistics and information," says the *Daily News* "that the grossest physical defects were most prevalent in industrial areas." If a policeman is knocked over in a street scuffle with a procession, the Press talks about the class war. Is not this undermining of the workers' health evidence as to who commenced that war? It is sheer hypocrisy to talk gravely of Labour's threat to use violence, and remain silent as to this daily and hourly attack on the physical life and well being of our industrial population.

The Socialist Faith.

Mr. A. Barratt Brown, speaking at Starchley Labour Church on Sunday, said Labour was out to free people from the everlasting pressure of material needs, to bring them life instead of a mere existence. Was that materialistic? Was it materialistic to discuss the Dockers' budget and the rise of 212 per cent. in the cost of living since 1914 when these things make all the difference between happy homes and misery? He thought there was far more materialism in the Christian Church than in the Socialist movement. Socialism stood for the great principle which Jesus stood for and the churches have forgotten—the sacred worth of every human being. That was the true individualism which Socialists believed in—"each for all and all for each." So-called individualism had crushed out real individuality. He was a Socialist for the sake of the poor. He admitted the existence of the class struggle to-day, but he was out to end it not by the transfer of privilege from one class to another, but by the abolition of privilege and of class distinction.

Bonds of Firm Necessity.

"Therefore let us take our corner in the world of life full of faith, full of hope, conscious of the presence in the world of a great love, and let us each by our lives and actions strive to bring ourselves and our friends closer and closer to this love until we are truly bound to it by bonds of firm necessity; for it is true as the sun is in heaven that without love, which to me is the fullest and best expression of God, all our labour, all our toil is in vain. We must reconcile and redeem the world by the power of a great, overwhelming love, and this comes, and can only come from God."—Geo. Lansbury.

The Stirrings of New Life.

No thoughtful person can fail to realise that the occasional occupancy of an Anglican pulpit by a

"safe" Nonconformist preacher scarcely touches the fringe of the problem of Christian Unity. The vast and urgent questions of the Kingdom of God which have been of late years obliterating the dividing lines of ancient controversies, until the average person in the street—and in the pew—cares very little about denomination, have at the same time set up new lines of division which cut across the old. It is to-day quite easy for "safe" men belonging to any denomination to find a platform in almost any other. But the man who dares to think for himself and speak as he thinks will find it very hard to arrange an exchange of pulpits in his own denomination. The Baptist or Congregationalist, for instance, who is branded as a "Pacifist" or a "Socialist," discovers that many churches in his own body are barred against him. Those who are "at ease in Zion" do not like to be disturbed. The opinion of the writer of these notes is that real Christian unity is much further off than it was a few years ago—in spite of Durham Cathedral—for the new divisions are, for the moment at least, deeper and more essential than the old. This is not altogether to be regretted. Where Jesus Christ comes, there is, as He Himself said, division, and we see the stirrings of new life in large sections of the Churches. —*Coming Day.* —:o:—

THE RUNE OF THE SOWER.

"And One Went Forth to Sow."

—New Testament.

I am the Sower
Of the Seed
Unto harvests
Of Thought and Deed:
They speak of me
As a half-mad clown:
My dreams shall break
Their Evil down.
I have no roof
To cover my head;
They drive me forth
To beg my bread . . .
The knaves, their own
Posterity
Will house and feed
Themselves through Me.
I am the Sower
Of the Seed
Unto harvests
Of Thought and Deed . . .
Blindly I cast
The seeds about:
Never the God
Within I doubt,
For 'tis not mine
To see or know
What fruit shall be
What harvest grow . . .
Mine only 'tis
To sow and sow. . . .
MINE ONLY 'TIS
TO SOW AND SOW

—HARRY KEMP, *Liberator* (New York).

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THE OUTLOOK

PROBABLY the most significant of the many conferences held during Easter was that of the National Union of Ex-Service Men, an organization representing 200,000 men who have gone through the hell of war. Two very important resolutions were passed: one endorsing the action of the National Council of the Union in federating with the International of ex-service men recently formed on the Continent—a definitely anti-militarist body, and the other condemning the "Peace" Treaty in no uncertain terms. We quote the following from the latter resolution: "We are of the opinion that the Covenant of the League of Nations is simply a document designed to guarantee the spoils of the conquerors and that the old diplomacy, the old 'balance of power' policy remains. . . Therefore, be it resolved that this organisation pledges itself to use all its power to abolish secret diplomacy and militarism and bring about a real League of Peoples."

* * *

EVERY C.O. who went through the guard-room and camps during the past three years is familiar with the most popular remark in the army at the time—"We shall all be C.O.'s next time!" but few expected to find such a speedy realisation of the anti-militarist position as that shown by the ex-service men's organisations both at home and abroad. The general secretary of the National Union of Ex-Service Men, speaking at the Birmingham con-

ference, emphasised the "out-and-out" anti-militarism of that organisation. Future wars, he declared, "would only be prevented by determination on the part of those who knew only too well what war meant." Thirteen nations, including Russia and the late "enemy" countries, are represented in the Ex-Service Men's International.

* * *

MEANWHILE our "statesmen" continue to pile up material for the next war. The one hopeful aspect of the situation is that all the old catch-phrases are dropped, and there appears to be no longer any attempt at concealing the real purpose of the war we have just "ended." "I cannot understand," said Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons on March 26, "withdrawing from the more important and the more promising part of Mesopotamia. Mosul is a country with great possibilities. It has rich oil deposits." And so we are to spend £20,000,000 this year on the exploitation of Mesopotamia, while municipalities all over the country are crying out in vain for money with which to build the million houses urgently needed for the people. The wonder is that the "class war" is not more bitter than it is.

* * *

THE vicar of St. Bartholomew's Church, Birmingham, has solved the problem of empty pews. "Cinema services" are being used to fill his church with people who did not want his Christianity. We note that the vicar draws the line at Charlie Chaplin. Why? He would get even more people to attend a free "Charlie Chaplin service." We hope the rev. gentleman will not be too squeamish; after all, there are many worse uses to which the church has been put—that of recruiting office for instance.

* * *

WE hope those of our readers who may be on the "March of the Blind" will do all they can to assist the local Trades Councils in providing hospitality for the blind delegates who are now marching to London in order to draw public attention to their serious grievances. There are about 33,000 blind persons in our midst, only 7,000 of whom are employed. Thousands are forced to end their days in the workhouses, and thousands more have to beg in our streets. The National League of the Blind states that there are 700 blind people in London alone who are existing on less than 10/- per week. There is hope in the Bill now before Parliament, and the demonstration is intended to force public opinion on the question,



The Interpreter

So often one hears people refer back to 'Christianity' or 'the teaching of Jesus' as an ultimate authority, as though the discovery of what these terms mean

was perfectly simple. They seem to imagine that because they go straight to the New Testament and there read the actual words of the earliest traditions they cannot be far wrong in their interpretation—that, in fact, there is not an interpretation at all but The Thing Itself. Setting on one side the fact that the New Testament itself is but the Church's selection of reported incidents and sayings with comments thereupon, it is obvious that none of us come to the reading of that book with minds of absolute impartiality. A thousand influences have been at work causing us unconsciously to emphasise here and slur over there, bidding us tear this passage from its context, and give a special explanation of that passage.

A little thought will show how blind the sincerest of us can be. Truths that to-day stare us in the face from the pages of the book were absolutely hidden from our fathers, good and sincere men though they were. Read, for instance, the correspondence of the Wilberforce and Hannah More School of Evangelicals with regard to the poor and it would seem impossible that they were reading, and actually contending for the verbal inspiration of our Bible. The parable of The Rich Man and Lazarus did not exist for them. The teaching that a man would suffer for being rich, while others were poor would have been incomprehensible to them. If there are to be no rich and no poor, they would have asked, what becomes of that charity on which so much stress is laid. Wilberforce's pity for the black slave did not extend to English factory children.

These men and women, excellent in their way, were influenced, far beyond their own knowledge, by their station in life, and the social conditions of their times. They read the burning proletarian tracts of the first century through the glasses of kindly middle class folk of industrial England in the early 19th century, and they thought they had really got through the last layer of Roman superstition to the thing in itself!

Economic conditions make all the difference in the world to our interpretation of scripture. At a general conference of the Methodist Church in the State of Ohio in 1836, the delegates from 700,000 members passed a resolution to the effect that the Conference disclaimed "any right, wish, or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave, as it exists in the slave-holding states of the union." Eight years later the Methodist Church in America met as a whole in Boston to deliberate on the same question. The South Methodist Church, with its ministry, was lined up solidly under the banner of

chattel slavery. The North Methodist Church, representing states where slave labour was not used and where the Church was not maintained by slave masters, was "either neutral on the question or openly in favour of abolitionism." Was that an accident or were these men interpreting the will of Christ with conscious incertainty? Not a bit. Like the rest of us they were governed by conditions so much a part of themselves that they were quite unconscious of being governed at all.

It would almost seem as though any attempt to get at the truth was futile. Class-conditions appear to make the exercise of free judgment impossible. Some of the sincerest people I know and the most anxious to interpret the mind of Christ with regard to Labour, reveal in every sentence their class limitations and their pathetic inability to speak the dialect of proletarian Christianity.

Their only hope of success lies in their becoming willing to accept the help of those who genuinely, by actual experience belong to the world of Labour. The choice does not lie between the Absolute Truth and the Middle Class point of view, but between the latter and the interpretation which those with the consciousness of the exploited and insecure are prepared to give. I do not believe it is any good for middle class folk who have not had an inside knowledge of the wage earner's life to attempt, out of their inner consciousness, to re-interpret in terms suitable to our age, the meaning of the New Testament. "How shall they hear without a preacher?" They must be content this time to sit at the feet of others. "Blessed are they that have suffered the wrongs of the exploited, for they see the meaning and the glory of the Christ and the Gentiles shall come from the universities of the learned and the suburbs of the respectable to behold their Light."

As truly as the Gentiles of the first century were dependent on the Jews for Christianity is our generation dependent on these strange evangelists from the People of Destiny and the makers of Revolution in State and Church.

Talk about the relations between "Religion and Labour" is mostly of the middle class patronising type. Heaven forbid that those who speak in this fashion should ever impose their morals and religion upon Labour! The only honest and decent thing to do is to acknowledge that what we have been pleased to call "Religion" has far more to learn from Labour than has Labour from "Religion." In fact, the only thing that will save the learned pundits and rabbis from absolute bankruptcy is the humility that will enable them to sit humbly at the feet of those who are coming forward from mine and factory and shipyard to recreate the world and the Church.

THE TRAMP.

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The Poverty Line

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

The two reports presented to the Minister of Labour last week by the Court of Inquiry into dockers' wages and conditions mark a distinct advance in the general status of the so-called "unskilled" workers of this country. I say "so-called 'unskilled'" advisedly, for it is about time we ceased using the word "unskilled" in connection with that vast army of workers condemned to do the "donkey work" of the nation. While in prison I discovered to my cost how much skill was required to master such an apparently simple business as that of carrying hundred-weight bags of coke from the prison yard to the furnace cellars! My experiences of "hard labour" fully confirmed my view that there is as much real skill and training essential to the art of road mending or coal heaving, or any of the rough and tumble jobs that are lumped together under the "unskilled" heading, as there is to the "skilled" work which is nearly always less exhausting and more remunerative. But this by the way.

The Majority Report, signed by Lord Shaw, E. Lionel Fletcher, Harry Gosling, Arthur Pugh, Ben Tillett, Robert Williams, and John Smethurst, supports the demand of the National Transport Workers' Federation for a minimum of 16/- per day, and also agrees to the principle of decasualisation of dock labour. This award inevitably reminds one of the great dock strike of 1889, when "the docker's tanner" was won and a new era of trade unionism ushered in. Now the dockers are to have two shillings an hour and a 44-hour week. All through the Inquiry there was a great difference of opinion as to what constituted "the poverty line" of wages. Sir Leo Chiozza Money put it at £5 3s. a week; on the other hand, Professor Bowley, the "expert" who gave evidence on behalf of the employers, put it at £3 17s. a week. Lord Shaw, with the Britisher's love of compromise, put it at something between the two figures, and in an attempt to pull the dockers over the poverty line, awarded them £4 8s. for a full week's work.

While in no way desiring to minimise the importance of the Majority Report, I think it should be remembered that, in spite of the declaration of the signatories, that "In the opinion of the Court the time has gone past for assessing the value of human labour at the poverty line," the award does not err on the side of generosity. On their own admission the average wage will still be below the sum mentioned by Professor Bowley: they estimate that owing to the casual nature of the dockers' employment, the 16s. a day will mean an average of £3 4s. a week. As the "Manchester Guardian" rightly points out, the difference between the "tanner" an hour won thirty-one years ago and the 2s. an hour awarded to-day "is, of course, much less than appears on the surface, for the sixpence of 1889 would be worth perhaps 1/3 or 1/4 to-day."

But the result of the splendid case put forward by Mr. Bevin has been to establish the right of the workers to something more than a mere existence, and we must be thankful for that advance. The immediate effect of the award will be to stir afresh the whole of the industrial world. The Minority Report, signed by Joseph G. Broadbank and Frederick Scrutton, two of the dock employers' representatives, is quite justified in

its conclusion that the dockers' minimum, being more than 60 per cent. above the average minimum of the railway goods porter, would immediately produce among railwaymen serious unrest, and, further, that "every other grade of worker would immediately demand an increase, and in the words of the Prime Minister, this demand would 'knock the whole wage system of the country end-ways!'" I sincerely hope that the worst fears of the Minority signatories will be realised!

The keenest leaders of the trade union movement have long been endeavouring to divert the agitation for higher wages on to an agitation to lower the cost of living, but the stubborn attitude of the Government seems to make such an agitation appear hopeless to the majority of workers, and so there appears to be nothing for it but this unequal race between wages and prices—with wages always a considerable distance in the rear. But it is obvious that this race cannot continue without endangering the whole structure of the present system, and it may be that the powers that be will decide to cry a halt, of course, with the proviso that wages remain in their proper position in the rear. Meanwhile the condition of the unorganised workers and those in the less powerful unions is desperate. The present unrest among the teachers is not the work of "agitators," but the result of being left miles behind in the race: a schoolmaster friend assures me that the present average salary of the uncertified teachers is well below £150 a year. And even the powerfully organised workers have the utmost difficulty in keeping from falling below the poverty line. The average wage of the miner is said to be something between £3 15s. and £4; responsible men on our railways are receiving 68s. and 70s. a week; the engineers' minimum is about equal to the dockers' new award; and the Trade Board rates are somewhere around 56s. to 60s. a week. What these sums mean to-day may be seen by referring to the official figures on the cost of living. Those issued at the end of February gave the increase over pre-war cost as 130 per cent.; as a matter of fact these figures are very much below the actual increase, as was clearly proved by a writer in a recent article on the present cost per head of the inmates of three institutions under the care of the Salford Guardians. The figures given by this writer showed an increase of no less than 190 per cent. over pre-war costs.

On the other side of the shield we have the evidence of Sir John Anderson, chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, who tells us that "eighty thousand people have come up during the war from below the £5,000 figure to above it." The amount of super-tax paid in 1914 was £3,240,000; in 1919 it had risen to £42,300,000. In 1914 the ordinary income tax paid amounted to £43,523,000; last year £255,591,000 was paid, £7,886,000 of which came from incomes between £130 and £250. I gather from the papers that the Riviera is full of British Society (with a capital "S"). A friend, who is regarded as "well-off" with £4 10s. a week (and a wife and three children), has just informed me that he has to choose between a holiday and a new outfit of clothes for himself and family—and decency compels him to choose the clothes!

THE Crusader.

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The Editor.

Readers will be glad to hear that Mr. James is better, but his progress is slow, and we are hoping that he will have the patience to give himself a wise resting-time. Nothing will help more to this end than the knowledge that THE CRUSADER is going ahead, and that all of us are doing our utmost.

Our task in mere education is tremendous, for our ambition is that THE CRUSADER should miss nothing of importance in the Crusading outlook week by week. As an instance of what I mean, some friends confessed recently that they had not heard of Keynes' book. I longed to suggest that had they read THE CRUSADER —!

Wilfred Wellock.

Readers will note that at last we have an article from Mr. Wellock. We have had a letter also, full of keen interest in a tour our International Editor is making.

"Foreign Affairs."

We would draw attention to the current issue of "Foreign Affairs," which is invaluable to students of the International situation. Also to the article on the ex-soldier taken from the March issue.

Palmers Green.

At the Palmers Green Congregational Church I spent a delightful Easter Sunday afternoon with the children, the teachers, some parents and the Minister, Rev. N. Richards. Through the war Mr. Richards has stood out for the Fellowship of Reconciliation position, and it was a great privilege to be allowed to talk freely to some two hundred boys and girls, and to witness their gift service of eggs to those poorer than themselves. I came away more than ever impressed with the tremendous responsibility we have towards the children. They are being deliberately debauched by pictures, posters, papers, and even in some cases by the very trend of their school books. We have to face the fact that he who wins the child, wins all to-day, and the heart of the child is the mark set up by the militarist and imperialist propagandists, into which they can throw their poisoned darts. They at least are wise in their generation, and are ready to pour out their wealth and energy.

Even in a Theological College the other day, when a minister urged that the finest books dealing with the horrors of war should be placed in the college library, the suggestion was turned down on the plea that "we must forget the war."

If this war is indeed forgotten, it will rise again in the generation growing up around us.

Some of us are struggling to do our bit for the children in "The Explorer"—which, by the way, is steadily increasing its circulation—but I cannot think that CRUSADER readers have even yet done all they might in the way of getting this paper into the hands of the children in the home and Sunday School. I don't apologise for this broad hint.

T. W. W.

"THICK AND FAST THEY CAME AT LAST AND MORE—AND MORE—AND MORE!"

: o :

In his introduction to the "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," Oliver Wendell Holmes says: "Once upon a time a notion was started, that if all the people in the World would shout at once, it might be heard in the moon. Some thousand shiploads of Chronometers were distributed to the selectmen and other great folks of all the different nations. Nothing else was talked about but the awful noise that was to be made on that great occasion. When the time came everybody had their ears so wide open to hear the universal ejaculation of BOO!—the word agreed upon—that nobody spoke except a deaf man in one of the Fejee Islands and a woman in Pekin. So that the World was never so still since the Creation."

Our conviction that Crusaders desire to take their share of responsibility in extending the scope of THE CRUSADER led us, a week or so back, to invite those who would like to do so to impose a voluntary levy of sixpence a week. We decided to start a "THOUSAND SIXPENCES FUND" and rumour has it that the Secretaries overhauled their stock of receipt books and hopefully awaited a generous response. But our case is even worse than that in the story quoted above for so far we have not had a single volunteer. If THE CRUSADER were an "ordinary" paper we should probably in such circumstances camouflage the truth. But we feel that the words which head this column, "Thick and fast they came at last, and more—and more—and more"! are an anticipation of what will happen when Crusaders hear our sad story. We shall be glad if those who can help in this way will fill in and forward the form which appears below.

With reference to the suggestion made by a subscriber who sent up £1 that 49 others should be invited to do likewise, we are glad to be able to acknowledge a donation of £2 from one friend and £5 from another.

THE PLOUGHMAN.

: o :

THOUSAND SIXPENCES FUND.

I am willing to pay a voluntary levy of sixpence per week for *six, *twelve months and will remit the amount *quarterly, *half-yearly, *yearly.

Signed.....

Address.....

.....

I will also volunteer to collect sixpence weekly from

..... other friends who desire to swell the THOUSAND SIXPENCES FUND.

* Please cross out words which do not meet your case.

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS

By Rev. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

Humour is not one of the outstanding gifts of the Religious Press. But it indulges now and then, as will be seen from the following. "The Church Times" discusses the mighty list of "honours" recently conferred. Regarding the title of O.B.E. it says: "We suggest that the Order should be thrown open to all who care to make written application for it, accompanied by the usual certificate signed by a clergyman or a magistrate." I must say it seems an excellent suggestion, and I hope the Government will adopt it without delay as an important part of much needed reconstruction. But owing to the unfortunate prevailing shortage of paper it might be well for the present to forbid applications from Sinn Feiners, Egyptians and Indians.

* * *

I am glad to see that the "Christian World" calls attention to Professor Gilbert Murray's striking article in the "Contemporary." It is called "Satanism and World Power," and challenges our whole idea of Empire by pointing to its cost in blood. Says the "Christian World," "It is something of a shock to be told that anathemas and woes such as those in which the Roman Empire is denounced in Revelation are being pronounced to-day over a large part of the world against the British Empire." It is well that someone of the standing of Professor Murray should speak out. It will be a shock to respectable folk (many of them in our Churches) who think of the British Empire only as the embodiment of high ideals in government, but it is time such people had the bandage torn away from their eyes.

* * *

"The Christian World" further says: "The parallel Professor Murray draws between the Roman Empire in the first century and the British Empire in the twentieth is impressive, awakening us to realities, and should be read in detail." It is pointed out that he refers to brutal and cruel deeds done in the interest of the Empire. "If we are convinced," says the Professor, "that the rule of the white man over the coloured man, the Christian over the Moslem, the civilised over the uncivilised, cannot be carried on except at the cost of these bloody incidents and the world-wide passion of hatred they involve, I think the conclusion would be inevitable, not that such acts were right—for they cannot be right—but simply that humanity will not for very long endure the continuance of this form of world order."

* * *

"Great," says the "Methodist Times," "the responsibility of any who in these difficult days deliberately pours oil upon the flames of class suspicion and hatred. . . . We deeply regret that the Prime Minister has lent himself to a course which accords neither with his own past nor with the high office he holds. . . . To brand the Labour Party as Bolshevik and practically to invite society to range itself into two camps—that way madness lies." Then the writer turns to the other side and proceeds to deliver a solemn lecture to the "Daily Herald," "whose main busi-

ness it seems to be deliberately and mischievously to foment class strife." The chief charge brought forward is that the "Daily Herald" declared 'on unimpeachable authority,' that the Government had hatched a diabolical plot against the miners in the event of a strike taking place. 'The plot is to use the Army as a blockading force. All mining villages and townships are to be surrounded by military cordons, and so cut off from the rest of the country. A military blockade is thus to be established, and no commodities or persons will be allowed to pass.'"

* * *

The comment of the "Methodist Times" on such a plot is severe. "We need hardly say that any Government which harboured such a scheme would be universally reprobated." We wonder! We ourselves have heard talk which suggests that such a scheme would be very far from meeting with universal reprobation. Plenty of people are ready for anything that will "put these Trade Unionists in their place." But to return to our contemporary: "As was to be expected, Mr. Lloyd George stated that there was not a vestige of truth in these 'wild statements.' The "Herald" persists in its charges, and asserts that its 'statement is based on the most reliable and authentic information.' The public has a right to demand the evidence. The "Herald's" reputation for terminological exactitude is not so spotless as to dispense with the necessity for corroborative evidence. No paper has a right to make statements so calculated to foment class hatred unless it is prepared to lay the evidence on the table. We agree with the "Times" that the matter should be carried into the Courts that the whole truth may be brought to light. We are with Mr. Lansbury in his fight for justice for the workers, but we confess to a prejudice in favour of truth and fair play."

* * *

We also like truth and fair play. So let us look at this thing a moment. Really after all, is there anything so completely incredible, a priori, in these allegations made by the "Herald"? Our friends on the "Methodist Times" rightly speak with horror of such a plan as is alleged to be in the mind of the Government. But—I respectfully suggest—they cannot properly meet the accusation by imputing base motives, as they do, to the paper publishing it. In forming a judgment surely we cannot leave out of count the remarkably terroristic record of the Government in power to-day. Russia and Ireland are examples we may wisely ponder. How can we be so sure that the same methods are not going to be applied nearer home? And what about Mr. Churchill's significant Secret Circular a little while ago, asking "are troops willing to assist in strike-breaking?" And as to that denial by Mr. Lloyd George, well, I regret to have to remark that a certain American gentleman named Bullitt—but I will not finish the story: it is quite too painful. And, believe me, this is not written with the purpose of "fomenting class strife," but simply because I too have a desire for truth and fair play.

"Patriotism is not Enough"

It is one of the meannesses of our present state of mind that we can complacently extract from events that pass before us precisely that colouring which accords with our own taste. All of us are liable to fall into this snare, but perhaps the most public and notorious case to-day is the extraordinary "Memorial" which has been erected to the memory of Nurse Cavell close to Trafalgar Square.

I went to see it on Good Friday, and realized the truth of the artistic outcry against the achievement, but more painful to me was the vindication of the outcry against tearing away the last words of her whom the nation would honour, and substituting for them the blatant and outworn words, "For King and Country." As John Middleton Murry says in "The Nation": "It demeans her great sacrifice to have replaced the solemn message of the heroine with words that may be found in any monumental mason's catalogue. Why has her memory consigned her last words to oblivion? But they will live imperishably, where all imperishable records are—in the hearts of the just. This thing cannot be suffered to remain. Those who are not repelled by these tons of tortured granite—we find it hard to believe that there are any such—must be guided by those who are. It is far better that there should be no memorial at all to the national heroine than that this obelisk should continue to exist. Far better that a blank space should be left with the record on a slab of paving stone. "Here was to have been a national memorial to Edith Cavell: but no one could be found worthy to make it." It might be a lie; but such a lie would do honour to the nation; it would testify to posterity that England was capable of esteeming a noble soul at her true worth.

It is possible that none of us have yet quite understood the tragedy and the supreme glory of Nurse Cavell's last utterance. To understand it, we must face the facts of what actually took place before her last hour came.

There is a significant article in the "Daily Mail," which appeared May 15th, 1919, written by Ferdinand Tuohy, which offers the secret history of what did actually occur.

The narrative begins: "There are those who affirm that all romance has been stripped from war nowadays and who sigh for the days of Roundhead and Cavalier, of the Red Cap and My Lady Guillotine, or even the days of '70. We would direct the attention of such to the shifts adopted by a certain Belgian nobleman and his sister (the Prince and Princess de Croy) in order to get Allied soldiers out of the country into Holland during the first months of the war. The Prince's chateau was in the district of Mons, and the big German advance swept up and over it like a tidal wave, leaving behind it a scattered jetsam of detached officers and men, the collection and returning to England of whom now became the self-imposed task of the Prince and his sister.

The Princess went to Brussels, disguised as a peasant woman, in a cart and saw Edith Cavell, an old friend. To her she outlined her plan.

The chateau at Mons was to be the rallying centre for all Allied fugitives, both wounded and unwounded. The peasants would lead the fugitives there by night, and the signal would be sand thrown at a certain window. The Princess proposed to establish "forwarding agents" along the line of route to the Dutch frontier, whose duty it would be to give food and shelter to the fugitives as they arrived attended by duly accredited guides. Would Miss Cavell act as one of three such forwarding agents in Brussels?

The Englishwoman readily agreed. She had, she said, already been sheltering English fugitives of her own accord. Miss Cavell was to keep the men in Brussels till they could safely be got away to the frontiers.

On being reminded that the Germans had threatened to shoot anyone caught harbouring Allied soldiers, Miss Cavell replied: 'We must take the risk. We are doing no harm, only helping our own people. A German woman would do the same.'

After more detail, the narrative continues: After the system had been working some time the Germans got much stricter, and only parties of two or three could be got through to Brussels, and these had to have false identification papers prepared. The Princess took the men's photographs, while the Prince forged the signatures and stamps.

Miss Cavell used herself to take the men to the rendezvous. She warded off suspicion by sending her fugitives out into the crowded street by day if they were French or Belgian, and by giving them work as orderlies in her hospital if they should be English and tongue-tied. So that whenever the Germans called they would find everything in order. Many fugitives, unfortunately, were caught, and when in civilian clothes, or even if still in uniform, were shot out of hand.

All through the spring and summer of 1915 the process of smuggling the fugitives into Holland continued. Miss Cavell was splendid. She went on with her own work all the time, nursing Germans, French and Belgians. She never made a slip from beginning to end. She was ultimately given away by one or two of the men she had saved writing to thank her. The Germans intercepted these letters.'

The narrative concludes: 'The Prince had conceived a great admiration for Miss Cavell. There was no real evidence against her, but she refused to deny having helped our soldiers. To the end she thought of others, and when seated beside the Princess at the trial, pretended not to know her.'

It is a strange story, and by the rules of war, Nurse Cavell deliberately entered the arena. She believed that she had the right to use her privileged position in Brussels in the interests of her country. She carried her conviction through to the end—and yet, one wonders, did she ever regret the part she had played? We shall never know. Yet in her last words—forgotten by the engineers of the artistic atrocity at St. Martins—did she not cry aloud to the world to follow that New Vision which would make war and all that makes for war for ever impossible?

T.W.W.

A Challenge to Stockholders (American)

PART II.

To what extent, if at all, are men justified in demanding dividends from an industry to which they make no direct and personal contribution? Do the social consequences of the present system constitute adequate justification? Rather may not those critics of our social order be right who ascribe to the power and privilege inherent in absentee ownership a large part of the strife, the confusion, and the spiritual and artistic mediocrity of our present "civilization"? *

But in fairness let it be said that the investor of money as an individual does not always deserve the denunciation which is heaped upon him in certain quarters. Although in theory he is absolute master, in practice he is usually well nigh powerless to make any effective contribution to the problem of management. It is an ironical fact that it is the savings of the workers themselves, who ought to be most interested in the abolition of exploitation, which constitutes the kind of capital which the original investors can most easily control. The worker must provide for old age or dependents. Except in the case of certain co-operative ventures, that means that he must invest in savings banks or insurance companies over whose use of his funds he has no power of direction. Once he has deposited his money his function has to all intents and purposes ended.

In general it is, of course, not stockholders, great or small, but a few powerful individuals, a board of directors, who determine the policy of the organisation and the conditions of labour in industry. These directors, acting strictly according to law, often feel bound to deny even a living wage to their employees lest they reduce dividends and lay themselves open to the charge of neglecting the interests of their stockholders, for whom they conceive it to be their duty to act as trustees.

Hence it not infrequently happens that persons holding shares in this or that company sometimes discover with pained surprise that for many years they have been living on the product of child labour, or by the virtual slavery of men in coal mines or steel mills where labour unions are forbidden, or by some other form of exploitation. The gratifying fact that some of the holders of stock in such companies are personally models of kindly consideration and generous contributors to charitable and reform organizations, does not make their ignorant exploitation of the workers, men, women and children, one whit less outrageous. *

Here is a profound moral tragedy which, in our judgment, can be ended only by erecting a new and rational economic system based on ethical principles. Fundamentally such a solution can, and indeed must, be achieved by the workers themselves. But assuredly, until that final solution is reached, stockholders are not absolved from all moral responsibilities.

In truth, we are all caught in a vicious system which makes it difficult, if not impossible, for any of us to carry out all our ideals, but that does not excuse us from the necessity of doing what we can to achieve them and to change the system which continually frustrates our noblest aspirations. But what are we to do?

From a social standpoint, it will avail little for an individual or for a group of individuals to refuse to save, or to invest, or to receive dividends from investments. But it may avail much if stockholders will use whatever degree of power and influence they possess in corporations, or in the community at large, in order to make less heavy the burdens now pressing upon labour and less difficult the transition to the new order.

* * *

Of course, it is not true to say that all stockholders have at all times been indifferent to their responsibilities. In 1911, Mr. Charles Cabot, holding shares in the United States Steel Corporation made an earnest and partially successful effort to arouse his fellow stockholders to the necessity of the six-day week for their employees. Other shareholders finding themselves powerless to effect any changes within the corporations in which they hold stock have come out openly on the side of labour.

These are all straws which show the stirring of a new wind. Another significant sign of the times is the recent declaration of the Methodist Bishops: "We favour an equitable wage for laborers, which will have the right of way over rent, interest and profits," and of the Catholic Bishops who said, "The laborers' right to a decent livelihood is the first moral charge upon industry. The employer has a right to get a reasonable living out of his business, but he has no right to interest on his investment until his employees have obtained at least living wages." Surely even those who believe that the present social order is ethically justifiable and only needs to be purged of abuses must agree with these cautious statements.

In England, too, an interesting movement has been started. A large body of shareholders have signed a statement setting forth the paramount claims of the workers to the income of industry.

Will not a similar movement meet with an immediate and generous response among American stockholders? Of course, no mere declaration by a few or many justice-loving shareholders can remedy a tithe of the ills of the present industrial system or solve its multiple and complex problems, but in these days even to declare an honest desire to end injustice is something. These are times when to protest is a constructive service. The declaration that we propose [see THE CRUSADER last week] will at least give proof of the stirring of a new spirit in the hearts of men and an awakened sense of comradeship with the workers—a comradeship which does not refuse to face personal sacrifice. It is only by the extension of such a spirit that we may reasonably hope to see those social changes, which most men know in their hearts to be inevitable, brought about without gross violence and bloodshed.

* Something of the same idea has been advocated by no less conservative an organ than the London *Times* which recently went so far as to suggest that in the stock exchange list "a distinguishing mark should be appended to the name of every British company paying a standard of wages not disproportionate to its dividends." The occasion of this particular suggestion was a strike in which it was discovered that labour was sweated to provide 350 per cent. profit.

The World To-morrow.

Compromise or the Kingdom : Germany's Choice.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

The soul of Germany is in the workers—the workers and a few idealists among the bourgeoisie. These people alone dream of a finer future, a more beautiful life, believe in the Kingdom of Heaven. They dream, and therefore hope, and for that reason they are Germany's hope.

The Military Dictatorship brought me into close touch with the working classes of Berlin and taught me to admire and love them. I found among these people—who, by the way, are practically all Socialists, and for the most part, now, well forward in the left wing—the type of person that I believe is going to found and to be the dominant factor in the future state. He is endowed with amazing practical intelligence, which owes its consistency to a vision which hard facts and harder fighting have crystallised into an idea expressible in practical political terms. Thus he estimates, judges and criticises politicians, policies and events with astonishing clearness and unity of thought, sees through every political device, tells you exactly whither events are leading and what he believes are the only ways of defeating the reaction and laying the foundation of a new and better world. He is cool-headed, patient, and somewhat dour. He has rooted convictions, a keen eye for humour, and is exceedingly friendly. Kindness plays about his eyes, for his hard lot and his neighbourly life have preserved him from the worse evils of bourgeois materialism.

It is men of this stamp that have just saved the Government from an ignominious situation, and Germany from a despotic military rule whose terrible consequences can scarcely be over-stated.

And at what a cost! I have described in previous articles the normal life of the Berlin worker in these post-war, post-peace times. Add to these privations the loss of half a week's wage, increased food-shortage, soaring prices, total inability to procure the means of heating and lighting, and you get some idea of what striking means, these days, to the average worker. Also there was the heavy feeling that at the end of it all little or no "real" improvement would follow. And yet they did not complain. They are used to making sacrifices for the sake of principle, "to hunger and thirst for righteousness' sake." While the Strike continued I heard far more complaining about high prices in the West, where tables were full, than I did in the East, where they were empty. One morning a certain lady in the West End lamented that she had not been able to procure potted cream for days. The next evening I sat in a dingy room in the East among people who had not tasted milk for five years.

Throughout the rank and file of the Socialist Parties it was felt that the overthrow of the Kapp regime ought to have some positive result in the direction of building up a new social order. They regarded the military rising as a clear proof of the error and impossibility of a Capitalist-Socialist Government, with its inevitable compromise. Indeed, I am of the opinion that the political history of Germany since the Revolution of November, 1918, has provided a classical example of the absolute impotency and impossibility of Socialism in league with Capitalism. The fact to be

remembered is that Capitalism and Socialism represent two distinct and opposed social conceptions. In any attempt at coalition one or other must win; and the Party likely to win must always be that which possesses the money and thus the Press. It was thus that the Majority Socialists were finally wheedled into a policy of persecuting their more consistent brethren, thereby sending them further left, and condoning their spiritual enemies who made believe to be friends. It was admitted high and low in the Majority Socialist Party, that the Rising had proved their policy to be wrong. The general view was that a strong union with the Independents ought to be effected, and that the Government ought to be either Socialist or Capitalist. Indeed, "No more Compromise" is now the war-cry of the proletarian Socialists of Berlin. They desire a clear, healthy atmosphere and a manly fight on big spiritual issues.

But they are not likely to get it. The men who reaped the fruits of victory were not the men who had won it. The situation needed leaders who had newly drunk at the springs of idealism. Such were not forthcoming. Hence with victory came defeat. The result is that the old policy continues; nay, by reason of the growing power of the Left, even threatens to become worse. Nothing is hoped from the new Government. The Baltic troops go free and armed, while the Left Socialists are being imprisoned wholesale. The Independents want to build the Socialist State, and they are willing to co-operate with the Majority Socialists to that end; but they know it is sheer foolishness to pretend to do that with the help of the Capitalists. So they stand aside, and wait. It is more than probable that time will justify their conduct. Meanwhile another strike threatens, and if the Government uses the Baltic troops to suppress the Soviet Republic in the West, it will probably take effect.

Thus, at the moment, there is little hope for the immediate future of Germany. The issue between the present bourgeois society, with its materialistic egoism, and a socialist society, founded on service and in accordance with spiritual values, cannot be long delayed in spite of all the devices and "coups" of the reactionaries. Now that the workers are recovering from the torpor into which the war hurled them they desire to go forth into life. They have lived in death, in misery and sordidness long enough. They want to live in life. But they need leaders, men of ideals rather than policies, who see visions and believe in them, and who go forth not as beggars asking alms, but as conquerors seeking life. Such ideals know not compromise; and if compromise is inseparable from government, so far as I know the Kingdom of Heaven is not dependent on Governments. It is, however, dependent upon men who see the truth and pursue it. I hear a call for life go forth from the soul of Germany. If the only response is stones and soldiers I fear for the result. Is a red army the only answer? Is it not time we tried to create an army of another kind—of the kind that Jesus created 2,000 years ago? Who will join it—in Germany—ah, and in England, too?

The International of Ex-Service Men

By RAYMOND LEFEBVRE.

The writer of the following article is the Vice-President of the Republican Association of French ex-service men, of which M. Henri Barbusse is the President.)

The idea that an international movement against war should be created among the men who fought in his and other wars came to me in 1917, in the midst of a speech. I gave utterance to it. It was welcomed with a tornado of applause. If you want to remove superstition you cannot do so by respecting it. The apostle of a new truth must not fear to overthrow the idol he finds in his path.

Let us admit without contestation, that nothing can inflict a more cruel wound upon "the nationalist sentiment"—what you in England call "Jingoism"; nothing can so violently collide with the "cant" of militarism, than this idea of a solemn re-union of all those who, but yesterday, were tearing themselves in pieces, slaves of discipline, and who, to-morrow, freed from that discipline, would become instinctively reconciled with a common gesture of fraternity. There could be no more direct, no more uncompromising way of saying: "Your" glory, "your" heroism, "your" immortality, which you fling at us as a fine and magnificent thing, and which you have fastened about our shoulders, we, upon our return from the front, fling it from us as a royal mantle lined with misery—fling it from us in the mud and blood which stain it and make it foul in our eyes. Our heroism—we repudiate it. Our sole fight in the future will be the great struggle for human-oneness.

FRENCH SUPPORT.

We have hardly yet started personal negotiation with the small local associations of ex-Service men in France. Nevertheless I am in a position to give you the following particulars as to the bodies which have already adhered to the principle of an International of ex-Service men, i.e., the Republican Association of ex-Service Men (100,000 members); the Working Men's Federation of Wounded Soldiers; the League des Poilus; the League of ex-Service Men of the Guise District; the Association for Mutual Aid and Protection to the Mutilated Soldier; the Association of War Widows and Descendants.

FOREIGN SUPPORT.

The following foreign Associations have already responded to our appeal, i.e., the Franco-German Association of ex-Service Men of Geneva, composed of ex-soldiers who were taken prisoners during the war, and interned in Switzerland; the Internationaler Bund of Berlin; the Lega Proletaria fra Mutilati, etc., of Italy; the National Austrian Union of Prisoners and Marines; the Ex-Service Association of Ghent (Belgium). Finally, the National Union of ex-Service Men and the International Union.

DESTROY THE WAR MEDALS.

Our first International Congress is fixed for May next. A resolution will be submitted proclaiming a preventive struggle against war; the disarming of

hatred; the struggle against military "glory." The Republican Association of ex-Service Men of France will propose that every member shall discard and destroy his medals, thus flinging into a common heap the Croix de Guerre, the Military Cross, the Black Eagle, the Legion of Honour, the Distinguished Service Order, etc. We shall also take up the question of pensions, and of relief to mutilated ex-Service men, in order to become apprised of, and to combine, the action in these respects which have been adopted in the several countries represented. The Congress will precede, or quickly follow, the International Congress of Intellectuals. Thus those who are bringing the driving force of passion into this world-wide movement, in its every aspect, to abolish national frontiers, will become united by a thousand links which will have great resisting power. But, let it be well understood, we are not illusionists. We know full well that jingoism is not dead, and that national hatreds still preserve their biting, sinister strength. We know that new wars threaten. It is the duty of us Frenchmen, as we conceive it, to recognise quite freely in our dealings with comrades of other lands, that if the people in the mass are weary of hating—assuming that they ever did seriously hate their neighbours—they remain dangerously simple and credulous, and that the war party with us still retains a little of its former prestige. The educational bodies are moving heaven and earth to sustain it. Our primary schools and our public schools are still centres of imperialistic preaching. As I write this article for you, a file of little girl children are passing under my window singing one of the popular war songs under the noses of their governesses. It is true that the courageous "Syndicate for Education" (Syndicat de l'enseignement) is working for international concord, but its members are relatively few, and they are spied upon and tracked.

But the future holds within itself a tenacious force which nothing will break, and we move forward confident in the ultimate result.

From "Foreign Affairs" (March).

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"Dead Kittens"

Some time ago as I was sitting on the towing path I noticed a boy of about fourteen standing on Hammersmith Bridge and looking down at the water. His thin face was deathly white, his lips were firmly set, but looked as if he was exerting all his will power to keep them so. He was apparently going to do something that he hated doing, but that had got to be done. Suddenly he moved on with a jerk and turned down the slope which led to the towing path. He sat down quite near to me and opened a sack that he was carrying. I divined his purpose as I saw that it contained three tiny kittens. He smiled wistfully and affectionately at them. Then, resisting a temptation to play with them, he put a heavy stone in the sack, tied the top and hurled it into the river. With a muttered "Caw!" he braced himself and strode off. But the atmosphere seemed to be full of dead kittens. I smelt and tasted them. I hated the river whose smoothness had been disturbed for just one moment. A moment ago it had been beautiful with the sun shining on it. Now it went on its way, coldly callously, brutally regardless of the little lives it had swallowed up.

We have many pictures of beautiful bits of riverside scenery. Our artists have caught the sunlight, the sunset and the ripples, but they have carefully omitted all the dead kittens, the dead bodies, the dead hopes.

And the river flows on and doesn't care.

I know of a little home. It doesn't matter where. There are two children and there is a great bustle of excitement every night when Daddy comes home. Mother looks on proudly and sometimes joints in a romp—she is so happy. Ted is such a good fellow and so devoted to his wife and the children. Her confidence in him is complete. But what about Ted? His friends shrug their shoulders and hope for her sake, that the "incidents" in his life will never reach her, and reveal him as he really is. He is a good enough fellow, they say tolerantly, and anyhow his business. But if the "incidents" were in her life! Good heavens! That would be quite different! But if she should ever know? Just one more bright, affectionate, dainty little woman will join the thousands of joyless, disillusioned, sad-eyed wives. At least—that depends, of course, on how big their love really is.

Just our beautiful moral code! "It's always done you know."

And the world wags on and doesn't care.

There is so much scope for enjoyment in this bright and beautiful world. The horses are so well groomed and the air is so fresh for a gallop in Rotten Row these mornings. It's so nice to be able to have cream in one's coffee again, and chocolates are worth eating now, and the supply is unlimited. There are some perfectly stunning blouses too in the shops, and for about ten guineas one can get quite a decently tailored costume. It saves the fag of fitting you know. And some of the West End shops managed to get some strawberries at £2 per pound. Of course they sold out quickly, and only those who saw them first had a chance to secure them. So thousands of refined, educated, possessing people glide through life.

And the West doesn't know and often doesn't care how the East lives.

I understood the other Saturday why so many people stick a notice on their gates "No hawkers. No circulars." I had dismissed the "Please remember the barrel-organ" boy, and the rag-man who "would be glad of even one pound-tuppens a pound Ma'am." The little girl who wants to clean the step has cultivated a clever trick of meeting "No thank you" with a lingering, surprised, pained look which plainly says "I should have thought it was about time." Then the letter box rattled. My next caller, a small urchin who cannot reach the knocker queries "Do-you-want-any-manure-to-day-Ma'am-Mother-says-have-you-any-old-boots-or-pieces-of-bread?" He has to run it all together before the door shuts. My next client is a newcomer. He looks ill, and fierce, and defiant, and hurt and pathetic all at the same time. He offers a card-price-twopence-containing a poem dilating upon the wonderful way in which a certain regiment "flocked to the colours true." "Out of work" he jerked out almost sullenly. He would have shrugged his shoulders and stuck it, if the door had been shut in his face. But he flushed and was disarmed when I said. "I suppose you went out to fight for the chance of doing this?" He jerked his thumb backwards and said "Most of 'em don't say that—they say 'surely-you can get work.' Some of 'em ought to try like I've tried." Then fearful lest he should be deemed to be begging he said "So I'm selling these twopence each."

And the world goes on its way, coldly, callously, brutally regardless and it doesn't care.

It is just because Crusaders have seen and are haunted by "dead kittens" that they are determined "That these things shall no longer be."

MAUD ALEFOUNDER.

BROTHERHOOD CHURCH, Southgate Road, N.—Conference April 11th, at 3.30. F. W. Pethick Lawrence. At 7, F. R. Swan. Come along!

TO CHRISTIAN INVESTORS.—Those desirous of investing in non-industrial concern with security and reasonable interest, and also helping to solve grave social problems should communicate with Frank Griffiths, 54, Alkham Road, N.16.

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The Catholicity of Socialism

Quite a lot has been written about the social implications of Catholic doctrine and Catholic sacraments. THE CRUSADER itself has not failed in urging that point of view, to the annoyance, it may be, of some of its readers. That, however, is to assume, as a starting point, matters of faith, which, to a vast number of people lie altogether outside the realm of reality. To argue that Socialism is the economic expression of Catholic Christianity is, for such people, only to cast doubts on Socialism, and to cause them to question whether there is not something wrong with a Cause supported by a Creed and System so palpably false.

It would seem a more reasonable and profitable course to start from the other end—to begin with the economic basis.

Socialism deals with those things which for all men everywhere and at any period are necessary—food, shelter, labour and the best method of organizing these. Literary fashions come and go—largely at the dictation of our varying methods of solving our social and economic problem. Politics, as we have known them, have been the sport of people with much leisure and few scruples. But these questions relating to the organization of the material side of life are of universal importance.

Of course, there are people who deny that, people who are so secure in the possession of physical means that they can afford to forget them. They are no more conscious of the fact that their fine sentiments would be impossible but for this security than Greek dramatists and sculptors were conscious of the dependence of their art on slave labour. There are people who tell us that literature and politics and criticism of life and the things that get discussed round the well laden tables at the dinner-parties of the rich are the things that merit our most earnest attention. These are the schismatics. They have become separated from the primitive racial needs of their fellows. They are exotics and are, in no small danger of losing their essential humanity and becoming a sub-human species of parasites, like the cultured classes of the Roman Empire at the time of Christ. It was from the slave and working population in the first century that the Catholic conception of Humanity arose and not from the ultra-refined. It is this aloofness from the ordinary concerns of working humanity that makes them, to the rest of us, so unreal, and remote. They are a class by themselves, a sect.

The real place to look for schism is not in the varying orders of priesthood, the differing forms under which worship is offered and sacrifices made, but in the terrible separation of the population in all that makes for fulness and freedom of life. The rich man and Lazarus seem permanent types. At any rate they are to be found in our civilization, and their existence as classes whose interests are inevitably in conflict is recognised as essential to the maintenance of the present order. The gulf between them is fixed by statute. This—the chief case of schism mentioned in the New Testament—has been regularised by Capitalistic Governments. It seems idle to quarrel about the validity of different orders while this breach remains. Even

if we were to-day to meet and worship as one Church, we should still, while we remained industrially and economically as two races, be schismatics.

Of course, I shall be told that Socialists, instead of holding a comprehensive Catholic view of Humanity, pay regard to the interests of one class only. That is a very ancient fallacy. It overlooks the fact that the "class" here referred to is not a class at all. It is that section of the community which is attending to the supply of those needs which are common to all. If it is only a section which does that, the fault lies with those who refuse to identify themselves with the workers. The class-war so called is, from the workers' point of view, an anti-class war. It is a war of Catholicism against Sectarianism. Socialism is laying the economic foundations of a bigger Church than the world has yet seen. Do away with classes and you will then get rid of sects. Get your human relations right and the right kind of worship will follow. Love the brother whom you have seen and you will know more about the God whom you have not seen.

Mankind is finding out that the old institutions are all on a wrong foundation. The Churches are class institutions. The claim of the Feudal Church to be Catholic is much like the claim of the Greek Philosopher to be human. It was impossible on a feudal basis to build up a Universal Church. We must begin again. The foundations are being laid already—in Russia and elsewhere.

What the superstructure will be like no one can say. It is perhaps enough for us to know that in the true sense of the term it will be Catholic.

STANLEY B. JAMES.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Will friends help to INCREASE OUR CIRCULATION by forwarding to 23, Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E.C., this form filled in with names and addresses of those likely to be sympathetic, to whom we may send a specimen copy of THE CRUSADER.

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Pals in Industry

In the front room of a suburban villa sat the Browns, father and son, on either side of the fireplace. The younger man had but recently been 'demobbed,' and he leaned back in a capacious arm-chair, enjoying to the full the ample comfort of his surroundings.

'Tophole cigarettes, these,' he remarked, puffing away contentedly; 'remind me of old times, and parcels from home. You were a brick, dad, to keep up supplies as you did!'

'For other fellows to smoke?' suggested his father, with a smile. 'Share-and-share-alike is all very well, but it got a bit overdone sometimes.'

'Oh, well! We were all pals together, and a fellow couldn't very well sit and enjoy himself while the others had nothing!'

'Fine pals, some of them—helped themselves pretty freely to your belonging—that watch, for instance!'

'Ah! It must have been some dirty blackguard from another section, who collared that,' was the reply, 'A chap'd never pinch anything from one of his chums, but if it was anybody he didn't know—that's another story!'

* * *

What a vast difference there is between the treatment we accord our friends, and that meted out to the folks we 'don't know'! National hatreds, the hardships of the struggle to live, the whole system of competitive industry, would all disappear, if only we knew 'the other fellow.' This potent factor in determining our attitude towards others should not be forgotten in considering the possibility of a system of co-operative industry.

The question put by the opponents of Nationalisation is this: 'Are men ready to spend their energies as freely and as effectively for the public good as they do

with the stimuli of the present industrial order?' Nationalised industry can only be a success if this is the case, and until it has proved a success in some particular industry, there is little probability of any extension of the system. Only if the 'pal' spirit can be fostered, and brought to bear on the productive work of the State, can the new era of co-operation bring the prosperity and progress which should be its concomitant.

Two methods are suggested whereby approach can be made to this worthy end.

In the education of the coming generation we must have incorporated some effort to broaden the mind, and enlarge the sympathies. The doctrine of 'universal brotherhood' must be a commonplace to the children, so that they may not feel concerning any person whatever, that here is one whom they 'do not know.' Let them learn that all are 'pals' in the things that really matter, and work done for the rest will not be grudgingly and grudgingly submitted to, but cheerfully accomplished.

Even so, however, it is not easy to maintain enthusiasm for an abstraction such as 'the public welfare! In the reorganization of industry, efforts should be made to arrange for the association of the individuals in small groups. Each will then be in close and intimate contact with a number of others, and will realise his responsibility towards them. The group will conveniently form a focus-point for the passion for service, besides affording the greatest possible facilities for the full development of each individual.

Thus, on the foundation of personal intercourse, combined with a broad and brotherly outlook upon life, let us build the commonwealth of comrades that is to replace the present chaos of competitors.

D. ARTHUR KING.

—:O:—

Is it Labour?

The *Daily Mail* has blossomed into a Labour paper. No doubt it will secure a certain measure of success. Clever journalism goes a long way in such matters, and it is not difficult to play up to the rising Labour sentiment. The clichés are tolerably obvious, the arguments to be employed fairly clear. But for all that no one who has felt the pulse of the real Labour movement will for one moment be deceived.

It is indeed difficult to know who or what represent the movement. Most obviously its accredited representatives do not. The highly respectable gentlemen who figure as Trade Union secretaries, though their conscientious performance of secretarial functions gives little room for criticism, in a number of cases have grown away hopelessly from working class feeling and opinion—that indefinable and inarticulate something which distinguishes the worker from others.

Even a stalwart like Philip Snowden of the I.L.P. shows sometimes that he has lost touch with those for whom he so eloquently pleads. Just recently he has been getting into hot water (deservedly, I'm afraid)

for scolding Labour for not producing more. A passage in his weekly article in the *Labour Leader* has given rise to acute controversy in that paper. Evidently official representation is very far from real representation. For that it is necessary to have a more plastic system and some easier method of recalling those who fail to carry out the wishes of their fellows.

Labour is not yet sure enough of its own mind to be free from the danger of such misrepresentatives as the *Daily Mail*. To it, as to all of us, the ancient words of wisdom apply—"Know Thyself."

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15. Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

CHRISTIANITY from the QUAKER STANDPOINT. Public addresses will be given on Sunday evenings in April at Devonshire House, 136, Bishopgate, at 6.30. April 11th: "The Twofold Message of Christianity," by J. Rowntree Gillett.

The Eclipse of God.

Slowly the rounded disc crept across the fair, full face of the moon, and robbed the night of its silver splendour. The shadow of the earth had deprived the earth of light.

Every day man eclipses the face of God in nature. The smoke of his cities hides the sky. His cinder-heaps and factory chimneys disfigure the landscape. He casts his shadow on world and stream and they are polluted. He touches the trees and they are lighted. As we breathe upon and thus bedim the pane of glass we look through, so our very approach to nature alters her appearance. We scarcely know her as she is in her virginal wildness.

Do we know our fellow man any better? Do we not becloud the Divine face here also with the shadow of ourselves? Before the child is many years old it falls upon him.

"Shadows of the prison house begin to close
Upon the growing boy."

The woman of fashion is hidden under a pall of conventionality—the shadow of the society in which she lives. Behold the labourer stunted, with sloping forehead and heavy jaw, disfigured by the toil and privation which are his lot—the shadow of the world's tyranny cloaking his godlike beauty! The man of rank and wealth is eclipsed by the servile adulation and sycophancy of his fellows. Of all and each may we say "Surely he bears our grief and carries our sorrow." The ugliness from which we hide our eyes is our own reflection. The poor man may see the shadow of his servility in the pride of the rich. The rich may perceive the shadow of their greed in the squalor and ignorance of the poor.

Scarcely do we know the human face as it is. Just a glimpse in childhood; and then, when death comes and the shadow of the world lifts from the familiar face leaving it serene and pure, another glimpse; these hints are all we have!

Not even in Jesus was the real face of God seen. What could a denizen of some great city who had never wandered beyond the reach of factory smoke know of nature? We have only seen the glory of God bedimmed by human tears, smirched by sorrow or human sin. What can we know of the meaning of the divine life, who have only beheld it clouded by the vapours of earth.

Some day the earth will no longer throw a shadow on the Heavens—man will no more eclipse God. And the God we have never seen will appear, radiant with a holy and childlike joy. He shall be the inspiration of laughter and of delight in beauty and in human fellowship.

Oh Thou, eclipsed by man's shame, lift upon us the light of Thy countenance!

—:o:—

For Mercy, Courage, Kindness, Mirth
There is no measure upon earth.
Nay, they wither, root and stem,
If an end be set to them.

Overbrim and overflow,
If your own heart you would know;
For the spirit born to bless
Lives but in its own excess.

—Lawrence Binyon,
From "A Miscellany of Poetry."

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION. (London Union.)

—:o:—

EDUCATION CONFERENCE.—We are fortunate in having secured as our speakers for the third Conference **Miss Doris Lester**, whose subject will be "The Challenge of the City Child," and **Mr. B. H. Langdon Davies**, who will speak on "Education for Freedom." The Conference will be held at the King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, W., on Saturday, April 10th. Miss Lester will open the afternoon session at 3 p.m. Mr. Langdon Davies the evening session at 6 p.m., when Miss Alice Woods, late of the Maria Grey Training College will take the chair. Tea can be obtained on the premises at a moderate charge. Admission is entirely free and open to all.

CHRISTIANITY IN BUSINESS.—All engaged in business, either as employers or employees, are asked to book Tuesday, April 13th, when **Mr. Malcolm Sparkes** will open a Round-Table Conference on the above subject at 7 p.m., in the Church Room at the King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, W.

BRETHREN OF THE COMMON TABLE.—We should like to hear at once from those interested in this suggestion, as the **Rev. Bernard Walke** will be preaching at the King's Weigh House Church on Sunday, April 18th, and we would arrange for him to meet such friends, either before or after that date.

PREACHERS OF THE NEW CRUSADE.—On Saturday, April 17th, a Conference will be held in the Church Room at the King's Weigh House, from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m. and from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m., when Mr. Bernard Walke will open the subject of Preachers as referred to in his article in **THE CRUSADER** of March 5th. All willing to take part in this Movement or to offer their fellowship, are heartily invited, and are asked to send word to the London Union Secretary, or **THE CRUSADER** Office. Tea from 5 p.m. to 6 p.m.

OPEN-AIR MISSION.

Very considerable help is needed, as other meetings, which we cannot at the moment announce, are to be arranged.

C. PAUL GLIDDON,

17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

Monday, April 12th, at 7.45.

Leytonstone, outside G.E.R. Station: Rev. R. W. Sorensen.

Tuesday, April 13th, at 5.45.

Hyde Park: C. Paul Gliddon, Basil Tritton.

Wednesday, April 14th, at 7.45.

Lewisham, the Market Place: Rev. R. W. Sorensen, J. S. Stephens.

Friday, April 16th, at 5.45.

Hyde Park: C. Paul Gliddon.

At 7.45.

Walthamstow, Hoe Street: Rev. R. W. Sorensen.

BOOKLAND

"OUR HERO OF THE GOLDEN HEART" (Annie Matheson)

This book, which is one of a series of books for young citizens, is issued, we are told, "in the belief that Education as an evolution of personality which should seek to evoke in human character the divine ideal, and to make of the body the "finest servant of the soul," must breathe, through deeds rather than words, a religion so fundamental in its unity, so vital in its fragrant blossoming and sustaining fruitfulness that it will necessarily find expression in forms as various as are the infinite variety of the human countenance, and be strengthened by the noble intercourse and fellowship which are ever a source of inspiration and aspiration. It is moreover hoped that these books may play their part "in uniting the English-speaking schools throughout the world" and drawing into closer sympathy of mutual understanding the different orders of society; restoring to rightful honour the claims alike of manual labour and handicraft, and of a really international and popular art."

In the series we note a life of Elizabeth Fry, Abraham Lincoln and John Bright.

But the book before us is disappointing, in spite of the Foreward of Arthur Waugh, in which he says "To many thinking people the most tragic aspect of the Great War has been its sequel," and he welcomes Miss Matheson's plea for the "brotherhood of man and the Kingdom of Christ."

It is not that we would undervalue the mysterious heroism of many soldiers who have fought and died, but we have understood that the soldiers with the highest ideals would be the first to utter strong and passionate warnings to save the rising generations from the war illusion.

We can only gather that Miss Matheson still considers that the art of war is a necessary part of Christian citizenship.

The book leads off with the case of the officer who threw himself upon a bomb he had accidentally dropped. "He was prepared to sacrifice his own life rather than that a bomb from *his* hand (*Italics the author's*) should hurt the lives of others." "A death not in vain. He protected his comrades and was one of the numberless heroes of this, the greatest and most terrible war that the world has ever known." We have no hint of what that bomb might have done, if skilfully thrown on the enemy.

This is typical of the point of view, and it is a perfectly justifiable point of view on the basis that War is Christian. But while we read of a "St. George who helped to free us from those monsters over head that raided our women and children," we are not reminded specifically of our own raidings, though perhaps there is a hint of it in the suggestion "hundreds of unknown heroes who could be singled out for decoration and may even now be languishing in obscurity, of a mettle equal to their own, unflinching, self-forgetting, intent only on doing with their whole body, mind and soul, the terrible duties to which they were pledged."

"Long before the Carpenter of Nazareth" says the Author, "was nailed to the Cross, while teaching men that they were all children of one Father, who must not fear what kills the body, but only the lies that kill the soul, the cross or fylfot was to the early races of the world a sign of those movements of the starry hosts that led their thoughts nearer to the most High,

Who was to many the Unknown God. But when the Divine Word came from Our Father's heart, He gave the ancient symbol a higher and a deeper meaning, for he sealed it with a life and death of Love and Sacrifice, the Way into the Eternal Inheritance. And now it is the token set upon many a soldier's grave to mark the resting place of men who have laid down their lives joyfully rather than see their country prove untrue to her promise, and have thereby proved themselves true sons of God. From every part of the British Island, and from the furthest lands of the East, from the heart of India and Africa, the wilds of Canada, the prairie and the bush of Australia and New Zealand, the cold shores of Newfoundland and Labrador, they all came to fight as brothers in the armies of him who bears the name of our great St. George, the slayer of the Dragon. I mean, of course, the man who is our Citizen-King, at once the Emperor and the Brother of all men and women in this mighty Comradeship of Nations."

This book is depressing. We had hoped for something so much more creative.

The war drum still beats. Belief in war is still stifling the soul of the world—it is still hammering the nails into the living flesh of Humanity—even into the Son of Mankind Himself.

Of our "Hero of the Golden Heart" himself and all the soldiers mentioned in this book, we would speak as in the presence of a great and sacred mystery; but we wish Miss Matheson had led us beyond the blindness of an age which so soon forgets and which can still exploit heroism as the lure into the Maelstrom. It is still up to us to save the rising generation from the ghastly wickedness of the whole blood-red business, not only in its bodily anguish and horror, but its moral tragedy and proved futility.

"Foreign Affairs"

Edited by E. D. Morel.

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CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH FELLOWSHIP



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscription for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, emblems, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Postage 13d.

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Springtime.

The Fellows are to write the Fellowship page to-day. The spirit of Springtime has crept into their souls, and the brothers and sisters of the wood and garden are calling to them. "I never dreamed before" writes 463 (Wolsingham) "how acutely one could feel the loss of a weekly paper until we C.C.F.'s became 'orphans.' Your news of a new home was a big burst of sunshine—and I hasten to send out my loving joy in words." While 239 (Beaconsfield) says: "The flowers in our garden of Fellowship will bloom all the more wonderfully for the new life that has come to them through THE CRUSADER, I think. It is like Springtide for our C.C.F., and there's all the joy of Springtime in my garden. We shall have extra flowers to gather in our letters." 239 is one of those who have made the practice of Fellowship their vocation. "All that I write (still more all that I feel and think) about the C.C.F." she says in another place, "would sound foolishness and exaggerated perhaps to non-C.C.F.'ers; they would think I was clean mad on the C.C.F.! Well, I'm in good company, for didn't Festus think Paul was mad, because of his love to Christ? I shall not mind then if I am even thought mad, because of my love for the C.C.F. It holds the Christ-ideal in its soul, its spirit is the Christ-spirit—of love and friendship and identification."

Our Part in the Spring.

Such "madness" may work out in practical suggestion. Will you consider the following, from a London Fellow, and answer, each for yourself, to yourself? "It is abundantly clear" writes 185, "that we have entered upon a new season in the life of the C.C.F. (I should like to say of it: Winter is over and Springtime is here). Shall we not, as individuals, register a vow that we will give ourselves wholly to this uprising Easter life in our Fellowship, that we each may have a part in the increase of the Spring? I would venture to suggest that this vow take a very definite form: that, for instance, we promise ourselves that we will not rest until we have brought at least one other into the new joy of Fellowship—if possible into the C.C.F.; and that we will accept as a holy obligation the privilege of welcoming the new members introduced in our Fellowship page week by week—for they do need a warm welcome from old members."

Vacant Seats.

In the light of the first of these two suggestions, Fellows will remember that to each member is given

a "vacant seat," a second number for which he or she is responsible; the odd numbers have a special relation to their corresponding even numbers. They are pairs, and they signify Fellowship, for—

"All who joy would win must share it;

Happiness was born a twin."

We would congratulate some of our members on filling their vacant seats; in a few of the pairs you will notice no relationship between the numbers, the reason being that these Fellows brought their *first* recruit in long ago. The new numbers are shown in parentheses:—533 (4797); 2339 (2340); 2027 (2028); 5131 (5132); 4945 (4946); 4877 (4878); 4833 (4834); 4271 (4901); 3507 (3508); 4623 (4624); 4191 (4192); 4923 (4924); 5073 (5074); 4921 (4922); 4851 (4852); 4515 (4516); 2495 (2496); 4133 (4134); 4567 (4568); 5201 (5202); 4993 (4994); 4901 (4902); 4829 (4830); 4377 (4899); 2796 (4887, 4889).

Fellowship Wanted and Offered.

One of our oldest members, 2317 (Vancouver), who went through the war on the Western front, is anxious to keep in touch with Fellows on this side of the Atlantic, and to link with those in Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific isles, where he hopes to travel later. Will they write him?

3901 (Stoke Newington), a woman bank clerk, wishes to come into touch with educated Fellows interested in a big Christianity, New Thought, idealism and the like, especially men Fellows.

3373 (Grande Prairie City, Alberta) will be glad to link with correspondents in the home country, particularly in Southampton, Rushden (Beds.), or London. You will not disappoint him, Fellows?

Answers to Correspondents.

4833 (Margate): Will you link with 3925 (Herne Bay) and 240 (Margate).

3616 (London, S.W.): The Holiday Fellowship (Headquarters, Bryn Crach, Conway) is a good medium for finding congenial holiday companions; there are several guest-houses in various districts.

4289 (Hindhead): Miss Royden's sermons are published in the "Coming Day," a monthly paper, to be obtained at The Salisbury Agency, 133, Salisbury Square, E.C.4.

A Fellowship Circle.

619 (Herne Hill): Will you link up with 2888 and 3411 (W. Norwood), 4877 (S. Norwood) and 4878, 5291 and 4211 (Herne Hill).

Introductions.

Will you welcome the following:—

5349 (Kilburn), a hairdresser and insurance agent, interested in most good things, and particularly interested in music, will be glad to link with others, of any age.

5351 (Kettering), a journalist, having recently taken up new work, will be glad to meet Fellows near; he is interested in the development of religion along the lines of human fellowship and courageous thinking, social history, the drama, and country walks. He is an "inter-denominationalist, more a Quaker than anything else in creed."

Annual Subscriptions and New Members.

We acknowledge, with thanks, the following annual subscriptions:—

Mrs. L. (Armley, 5/-); H.G.F. (Wimbledon, 4/-); L.G. and D. Richards (Four Marks, 10/-); L.H. (Newcastle, 2/6); M.E.P. (Newcastle, 2/6); M.B.B. (Bécroft, N.S.W., 3/-); H.A.R. (Elma, My., 2/6); W.B. (Clydebank, 2/-); A.M. (Cavagarden, 1/6); W.F.F. and H.F. (Manchester, 5/-); G.B. (Easington Colliery, 2/6); E.S. (Chalk Farm, 1/6).

We welcome the following new members:—W.H.P., (Johannesburg, 5347, 2/6); L.J. (Kilburn, 5349, 1/6).

SIDELIGHTS

PHILIP SNOWDEN ON THE DRINK BILL.

Mr. G. B. Wilson's annual statement of expenditure on drink in the United Kingdom has just been published for last year. The figures are appalling. The sum spent during that period is about equal to the interest upon the £8,000,000,000 of National Debt. The expenditure, is, of course, inflated by the higher prices of liquor, but that does not minimise the seriousness of the fact that such a colossal proportion of the individual incomes of the nation is spent upon this commodity. To this expenditure the working classes contribute by far the larger part. In the main the expenditure on drink is sheer economic waste, and it is just as much, indeed more, a danger to the financial position of the nation as is the interest upon the War Debt. There is not much likelihood of a revolution of any sort in this country so long as the annual drink bill amounts to over £400,000,000, and so long as Labour M.P.'s attend brewers' dinners and Labour members defend the right of the workman to drink as much as he can. The increased expenditure on drink last year was naturally accompanied by a great increase in the convictions for drunkenness. The explanation that this is due to the return of the soldier will not suffice, for the convictions of women show an appalling increase. The explanations are the increased supply, the greater strength, and the lessening of control.—*Labour Leader*.

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RAMSAY MACDONALD ON A SICK WORLD.

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Parliament opened with the old pomp and circumstance, jewels, gorgeous attire, Byzantine display. The best is being done to persuade the world that it is not sick. But the world is sick—very sick indeed. Its "epidemic of crime," its sordid vices of sex and passion, its feverish appetite for what is speculative and brutal, displayed in every newspaper column and every cinema film, show how very sick it is. Why do not those who promised the reign of moral law after the war come forth and confess that they were woefully mistaken, that they expected figs from thistles, reason from passion, and stately magnanimity from petty hate? Their silence and their unconfessed mistakes are part of the disease. Their prescriptions, which have brought the patient to death's door, are still being used for his treatment, and the falsification of all the virtues and the wisdoms which accompanied the propagandist prosecutors of the war continues, and is being applied in all departments of life. The best illustration of this is an atrocity film, for which the League of Nations Union is responsible. The exhibition is nothing but an appeal to the worst passions, and is really valued by nobody unless they are insane or find the traditional French novel to have become insipid. And this thing is produced—nominally, at any rate—in the interest of a great cause!

"Socialist Review."

SECRETARY BAKER'S HOLY INQUISITION.

There are still about eighty conscientious objectors in American prisons. Those in the internment camp at Fort Douglas are treated well. They run their own mess and do their own work. It is an open secret that if they would burn a pinch of incense on the altar to Cæsar—that is, agree to do prison labour under military orders—most of them would be released. As it is, these men are victims of outrageous discrimination, for dozens of their comrades whose position differed from theirs in no essential degree are to-day free men. Among those still confined, despite the fact that confinement is telling on his health, is Howard Moore, whose record is singularly sincere and consistent. He is the winner of a Carnegie hero medal, and during the influenza epidemic rendered invaluable volunteer service in the hospital at Ft. Riley.

At Alcatraz confinement is more severe. The prison authorities have adopted the infamous device of confining recalcitrant prisoners in cages so constructed that a man cannot possibly sit down.

Grosser is an objector of a very aggressive type and men from the prison say that his mind has been visibly affected by the severe sufferings imposed upon him. Simmons is more phlegmatic in type, but to the average sane man it ought to be obvious that failure to answer census questions indicates a condition of mind not to be cured by being compelled to stand in a cage all day long. Yet apparently the War Department is so pleased with this latest humane device that it has actually announced that similar cages are to be introduced in Ft. Leavenworth. To the credit of California papers be it said that they are giving very considerable publicity to the brutality at Alcatraz. The issue involved is not one of special consideration for political prisoners, but of the essential cruelty of solitary confinement in general, and this form of it in particular.

The World To-morrow.

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THE DRINK BILL.

According to estimates prepared by the Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance, the amount spent on intoxicants in the United Kingdom last year was some 386½ millions sterling, as compared with 164½ million in 1914. The amount in 1919 represented £13 15s. per head of the adult population (including abstainers), as against £5 19s. in 1913.—*Common Sense*.

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UNCONSCIOUS CLASS-INTERPRETATION.

An interesting example of unconscious class-interpretation of Christian duty is the case of George Muller of Bristol. Muller wrote, "I never remember in all my Christian course that I ever sincerely and patiently sought to know the Will of God by the teaching of the Holy Ghost through the instrumentality of the Word of God but I have been always directed rightly." Everyone knows that Muller's work was saturated through and through with the institution conception of charity current among well-to-do people at that time.

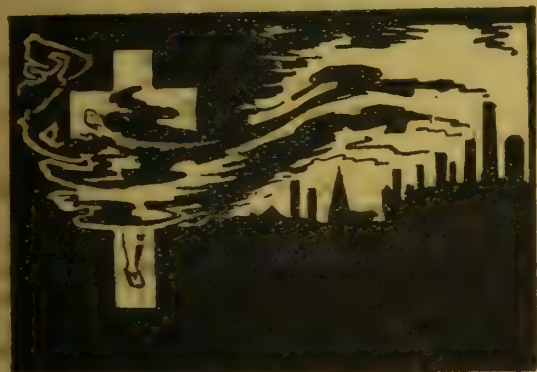
The Crusader

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Twopence.



The Outlook.

THE Peace Treaty has been dead for some while; it is now damned. The two leading members of the gang that imposed it on Germany have fallen out among themselves. That was to be expected. There was never any more durable bond between them than the common desire to rid themselves of a dangerous rival. Complicity in a design of that sort is a poor basis for friendship. The moral rottenness of the Entente is now plain, however diplomatists may patch it up, and the demand for a League of Peoples, fashioned in an entirely different spirit, becomes more urgent than ever.

FRANCE'S motive in imperilling the alliance between herself and this country is clear. Events in that country, as Robert Dell has pointed out, show that the revolutionary tide is rising. The repressive measures of M. Millerand's Government and the increased cost of living are having their effect. To stave off the downfall of the Old Order it was necessary to fan into activity the national fear of German aggression. There is method in the madness of militarism. According to Bethmann-Hollweg ("Reflections on the World War"), the Tsar was told that "he could only save his Crown and Empire if he could divert into war

passions the growing discontent . . . due to Socialist resentment." The Tsar tried that method and failed. France is trying it to-day, and will fail. Though there is method in the madness of Imperialism, it is still madness.

OUR own Government's action appears, at first sight, to be actuated by somewhat higher motives. As a matter of fact the motive is the same as that inspiring French policy. Of the two forces—Junker militarism and Labour discontent—now wrestling with each other in Germany—there is no doubt as to which our Plutocrats would prefer to see on top. They have no wish to see a Russian Revolution repeated in Germany, and therefore a free hand must be allowed Herr Muller in dealing with the "Reds," even though it does involve risking the return to power of the Militarist party.

Such is the aftermath of the war to make the world safe for Democracy!

THE readiness with which the very moderate Labour Government of Germany has allowed itself to become the tool of the Militarists is a warning to those who flee from the fear of "a bloody revolution" to the "sane" Labour leaders and "safe" Trade Unionists in this country. Those who co-operated with the Coalition during the war are not to be trusted to stand free from Imperialistic adventures. If we have to choose between the two forms of violence, we have no hesitation in casting in our lot with those willing to fight for Communism rather than with those who have fought and are fighting for Capitalism.

Happily, the choice is not necessary.

AT the time of going to press the whole Irish nation is on strike, and Mr. Clynes has warned the Government that Labour may make common cause with Ireland unless different treatment is meted out to the Sinn Feiners who are on hunger strike. A disinterested act of passive resistance of this sort would lift the whole Social Movement. The Celtic fire has flung its sparks across the Channel.



Blessed are the Poor.

The more I contemplate the ideal outlined in the teaching of Jesus the more am I forced to the conclusion that the characteristics there described are, in the main,

those of the poor. Indeed we are all but told as much. One version of the beatitudes commences, "Blessed are the Poor," and the whole emphasis of the gospels is on the superior eligibility for the Kingdom of those not possessed of this world's goods. We may call this class-favouritism or sentimentality or what we please, but we cannot get away from the fact that, while a rich man's chances of salvation are described in bitingly pessimistic terms, the common people are turned to with hope and affection.

This correspondence between the Christian ideal and the characteristics of the Have-nots is nowhere so noticeable as in the pre-eminently Christian quality of love.

By this I do not mean that all that we call by that name is confined to one class. Indeed, what some people mean by that term is more frequently found among "educated" people. But "niceness," kindness and the like are not love. They rather indicate the absence of passion than the presence of any positive quality. One would describe them as the result of moral culture than as native growths. Education and the consciousness of being beyond danger in the rough and tumble scramble of life account for them more than genuine goodness of heart. The "love" of which certain members of the middle-class are fond of talking bears little or no relation to the fierce quality described by Jesus and found in the people he seems to have cared most for—Peter and the woman with the box of ointment, and others of the same type. The middle-class ideal is Purity, that of the New Testament, and of the poor everywhere, is a certain reckless and passionate devotion. It is simply impossible to escape Jesus' preference for extravagant people—fathers who welcome returning sons with uncalculating prodigality, men who sell all they possess to buy a field, fishermen who break up their business partnership and abandon an hereditary and life-long calling to follow a wandering "agitator."

But amongst the poor such warm-hearted enthusiasm is common. More than one observer has noted that in passing from the homes of the people to those of the upper grades of society the main impression is that of a lowering of the emotional temperature. The East-end is more human than the West, as anyone will tell you who has lived in both

quarters. Such warm-heartedness may often lack wisdom, it may frequently be more generous than just, it may prove fickle and turn easily to its opposite. These things are not to be gainsaid, but they do not disprove my contention; they only show that the poor have the defects of their qualities.

This is not to suppose that the poor have some innate Christian qualities not possessed by others. The myth of "innate qualities" is fast losing credibility. We used to believe that certain races (notably our own, of course) were intrinsically superior. Benjamin Kidd has destroyed that belief and shown quite conclusively that, given changed conditions, a nation will change its character in the course of a generation. The same applies to classes. Their moral characteristics are due to their class conditions. The proletariat to-day are compelled to labour co-operatively. Industry unites them. But far more important is the fact that the character of their homes makes impossible that exclusive and separate life cultivated by those better off. It is even more to the point that the demoralising institution of private property does not dominate their thoughts and existence to anything like the extent to which it does in other circles of society.

"But what," it may be asked, "is going to happen when the poor cease to be poor? Will they then leave behind them these excellent characteristics for which you praise them? Does not your argument amount to a plea that 'the heart of the common people' may continue to be, in Renan's words, 'the great reservoir of the self-devotion and resignation by which alone the world can be saved,' and that therefore they should be left in the conditions which generate these qualities? Have we not seen already, in too many cases, the effect, on unsophisticated people inured to hardship, of sudden wealth?"

That is to suppose that wealth itself is demoralising. It is true that when an individual escapes from his class and becomes the owner of property and a parasite living on the labour of others he generally suffers in character. But it does not at all follow that when a whole class escapes from its present condition and CREATES A CIVILISATION WHICH WILL GIVE FULLNESS OF EXPRESSION TO THE SPIRIT OF FELLOWSHIP that it is going to suffer in character. For it must be remembered that the proletariat are not going to take the place of the present possessors of capital. They are going to abolish capitalism. They are going to abolish class. They are going to abolish idleness. In short, they are going to redeem wealth from its soul-destroying characteristics. They are going to make it morally safe to be permanently secure in respect to the material needs of life. The question was asked long ago, "How then can a rich man be saved?" And the answer was, "To God all things are possible." The miracle here hinted at is near performance, for the wealth that we have created together and which we shall share together will become a sacramental means through which we shall enjoy, in communion with each other, the treasure which neither moth nor rust can destroy.

THE TRAMP.

The I.L.P. Conference.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

I was not able to get to Glasgow for the I.L.P. Conference, and so my comments are based entirely on the very full report of the proceedings in the "Labour Leader" and personal descriptions from friends who were present. The big debate was, of course, on the question of the Internationals, and the result was not unexpected by those who have been following the development of the I.L.P. attitude towards the Moscow International. By its decision to withdraw from the Second International and to support the proposal of a conference of the parties already affiliated to the Third and those that have left the Second, with a view to forming a Fourth International with a Socialist basis which would "allow the national sections to adapt their policies to the differing political and industrial conditions in their various countries," the I.L.P. has placed itself in line with the French and Swiss Socialists and the German Independents.

In view of the ignorance prevailing concerning the conditions attached to affiliation with the Moscow International, it is not to be wondered at that direct affiliation with the Third International was rejected by a large majority. While I am glad to note the fact that 472 delegates declared definitely against the "bloody revolution," I am sorry that the conference was forced into the position of having to vote for or against the methods of Bolsheviks, when the real question at issue was whether the largest British Socialist organisation should join up with the only live Socialist organisation in Europe or stay in a body that has long ceased to be effective. I feel compelled to differ from those who contend that affiliation with the Third International involves the acceptance of the Bolshevik programme of the armed proletariat, "dictatorship," and Soviets. I have read most of the documents issued by the various bodies connected with the Third International and I have read the definite statements of George Lansbury, after his recent conversation with Lenin, and though there are many over-zealous admirers of Bolshevism in this country who are doing the Third International a disservice by their violent repudiation of the I.L.P. and all its works, I think there is good ground for the belief that Lenin and the Russian leaders as a whole would be glad to welcome any organisation pledged to the overthrow of capitalism and leave the question of policy to be decided by the various parties according to "the differing political and industrial conditions" in each country.

However, now that a definite approach is to be made to Moscow, this question will soon be decided. But I am in complete agreement with Clifford Allen in deploring the fact that the I.L.P. waited till two years after the Russian Revolution before getting into direct touch with the men who have done such wonderful things in Russia. Unlike my comrade Allen, I am a Tolstoyan, and I could never willingly agree to any kind of coercion by violence; but I am not going to say that because the Bolsheviks have adopted methods utterly opposed to my own views

I am therefore to keep myself apart from them and refuse to associate with them in any way. That, unfortunately, has been the attitude of those leaders of the I.L.P. who have opposed the approach to Moscow. The evidence of men like Arthur Ransom, Professor Goode, Col. Malone, and many others who have been in close touch with the work accomplished by Lenin and his fellow workers is, I think, sufficient to convince all but the violently prejudiced that in spite of all the dastardly attempts to crush the Russian Revolution and restore the Czarist régime, the Co-operative Commonwealth is nearer realisation in Russia to-day than anywhere else on earth. How far its realisation will be retarded by unwise methods adopted under great provocation remains to be seen.

If the result of the enquiries now to be made is to prove the contention of the opponents of the Third International, then there will be nothing left to the I.L.P. but to endeavour to create an International which all Socialists may join with free hands. If, on the other hand, the case proves to be as I believe it is, and as the "Herald" declares it is, that all who are pledged to the abolition of capitalism may link up with Moscow without being compelled to subscribe to methods of violence, then there will be no need for a Fourth International, and those who are at present opposed to affiliation with the Third will lay themselves open to the charge of sheer personal bias if they persist in their opposition. If the time spent on bitter attacks on both sides had been devoted to an earnest endeavour to find out the actual state of affairs at first hand, the cause of the workers of the world would have been that much helped. I can see no reason why the leaders of the I.L.P. should not have made the enquiries they are now making months ago, and so have been in the position to give the delegates at Glasgow some definite information from Moscow; instead of which they appeared to be doing their utmost to confuse the issue with statements of personal opinion unsupported by documentary evidence.

I am not toying with "bloody revolution" when I plead for the fullest possible association with the Third International. On the contrary, it is because I want to see steps taken to counteract the influence of militarist Socialism that I urge that all who believe it possible to bring about a real revolution without resort to bloodshed should get into the Third International if only to endeavour to convert the "bloody revolutionists." I am grateful to Mrs. Snowden for her uncompromising stand for complete disarmament, and I suggest to her that she would be doing invaluable service to the cause of real peace if she would carry that message into the "Red" International. If the I.L.P. can remain affiliated to a jingo Labour Party during a war in which the methods of the Bolsheviks were put in the shade, surely it can be just as much at home in the Moscow International. If the policy of permeation is justified in the case of the Labour Party it is even more justified in the case of Moscow.

The Crusader.

Friday, April 16th, 1920.

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Business Communications
To the Secretary,
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Shall we be less Energetic?

Some children are natural bookworms and eagerly read and absorb everything which comes their way. But how often one hears parents remark: "I wish the children were more fond of reading. Books do not seem to hold their interest." This is very often an indication that these young people have not found the kind of literature which would really appeal to them.

"Do not think the youth has no force because he cannot speak to you and me. Hark! In the next room his voice is sufficiently clear and emphatic."

Do not think boys and girls do not like reading just because, with unerring instinct, they reject much which comes their way. Many Crusaders may not know that the "Explorer" is a paper which appeals to all types of boys and girls. It has a real human interest and contains Nature talks, "Alive" stories, and useful information on many subjects.

H. G. Wells, in his "Outline of History," complains that our method of teaching history gives our children a narrow and national outlook rather than an international one. The "Explorer" has an international circulation and seeks to give young people an international outlook. Its motto is "Love Conquers All."

The review in last week's "Crusader" of Annie Matheson's book, "Our Hero of the Golden Heart," shows how imperative it is "to save the rising generation from the ghastly wickedness of the whole blood-red business, not only in its bodily anguish and horror, but its moral tragedy and proved futility."

I came across a little friend one day as he emerged from a lending library hugging a book of "Glorious Deeds." He had recently lost his father, who was in the Royal Marines. His little mind was full of dreams of the glorious deeds he would perform later on. He remarked: "I shall join the Royal Marines when I am old enough." I said to him: "I hope the war will be over long before you are old enough to do anything like that." But, nothing daunted, he replied hopefully: "Mummy says perhaps there will be another war by that time."

A schoolmaster during a drill lesson recently remarked to one of his boys: "That chest will be no use for the war with America and Japan." Shall we be less energetic than the exponents of the glories of war? To those who want to prevent future wars, to those who desire to spread the gospel that "Love Conquers All," we appeal to introduce the "Explorer" to their boy and girl friends. The subscription is 2/6 yearly post free. We suggest that Crusaders who are interested in Sunday School or Guild work and who have to buy prizes should allow boys and girls to choose between a prize and a year's subscription to the "Explorer."

We gratefully acknowledge the receipt of a voluntary monthly subscription of 5/- from Mr. Theophilus Brooks, Church-Cookham, and 10/- to cover 20 weeks' voluntary levy towards the Thousand Sixpences Fund from Mrs. Colman, Peterborough.

THE PLOUGHMAN.

A Notable Discussion.

By far the greatest event of the past week was the discussion, at the I.L.P. Conference in Glasgow, concerning the attitude of that body towards the Third International. The matter is dealt with elsewhere in our columns, and I do not propose to go into it here, except to call attention to one fact.

It is significant that discussion, in Socialistic circles, is centering to-day, not around the possibility of a revolution, but, as to the method by which it is to be brought about. The revolution itself is taken for granted. And this is true not only of Socialists but also of those interested in maintaining the present order of society. These latter, by their panic-stricken measures to stave off the inevitable, betray their consciousness that great changes are near.

The Kingdom of God is at hand.

The situation is remarkably like that revealed in the Gospels. Jesus preached the fact that the sovereignty of God—the Kingdom of Heaven—would be revealed to that generation. This announcement was unconditional. It did not depend on the attitude towards the coming Change of those who listened to Him. They might resolutely defend the old order of things, or be indifferent to the signs of the times, but the manifestation of Divine Power would, in any case, take place. If they adapted themselves it would be a manifestation of increased life and joy and peace and freedom, but, if they failed to change their attitude in response to the revolution prophesied, then destruction and suffering would be the consequence.

The One Thing Needed.

Blind resistance, or still blinder indifference, cannot stave off the inevitable. Capitalism is doomed. The Power of God is upon us. Adaptation, reorientation to the Apocalypse of Divine Energy alone can save us from unspeakable horrors.

A crisis has come in human affairs. It has not come through us; it has come to us. It bears down upon us like Fate, and there is no escape from it. It will affect the conditions of every individual and family. Like a great tidal wave, it will pass over us, and none of us will be left as it found us.

There is, therefore, only one thing needful. We must get into line with this New Power. We must dig the channels whereby it may prove, not a devastating flood, but a life-giving stream, irrigating the whole domain of human society.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

Says Dr. Orchard, in a recent sermon, "The slowest mind must be aware of a growing change in the mental attitude of our generation." I think those of my readers who speak in public will have noticed a distinct change in audiences, not only in Church but everywhere. There is certainly a new responsiveness to any appeal which is based solely on spiritual intuitions. Life is viewed more simply and more fundamentally than it was five or six years ago. The primitive emotions are having freer play, and the ultimate questions of the soul are being asked again. And, as I have said, this is true not only in Church but everywhere. Indeed, I should go so far as to assert that audiences outside the Church are often more sensitive and responsive to direct spiritual appeal than congregations gathered within Church walls. There is certainly a remarkable change of tone and atmosphere, and I should be glad to compare notes on the subject with other speakers.

* * *

I see that the returns of the Religious Census taken in the United States about three years ago are now available. The total Church membership is nearly 42 millions, and the increase in ten years has just about kept in step with the growth of population. The Protestant Churches are shown to have increased more than twice as fast as the Church of Rome, and of all the religious organisations the Mormons have made the most rapid gain, having doubled their figures. Their membership now stands at 700,000. The percentage of men has increased in nearly all the Churches in America.

* * *

I was sorry the other week to find that the "Challenge" felt me neglectful when I intended quite otherwise. In welcoming their purpose to publish a quarterly art supplement I failed to say that they had long been publishing a finely-produced picture with each issue. Let me make amends by saying how much I for one appreciated those pictures, and how much I miss them. We are sure many are looking forward to the promised supplement.

* * *

Ireland is a troublesome subject. Looking out through its office window, the "Methodist Recorder" delivers itself: "Obviously things have come to a head. Whatever be the consequences, steps must be taken to preserve at least a form of authority. Ireland cannot be permitted to boil up into entire chaos. The police seem powerless. But 'the resources of civilisation' are not confined to police." After having given his readers the benefit of this gentle hint of the really Christian character of English civilisation, the writer calls upon the Government to restore order—"even if it means the proclamation of military law from one end of Ireland to the other." And then he adds, "Nobody wants to see the army take control; but somebody must take control." Really, it is difficult to write with patience regarding such stuff.

Has our contemporary no book to refer to which might give the Irish point of view as well as that of the English Government? We are not justifying outrage, but we do say that of all remedies for it the most foolish is the one suggested, namely, that the army must take control. That remedy has been tried again and again in Ireland, and if the long and terrible history of the Irish people has any lesson at all for us, it is that the British Army will never settle the Irish question. Why, it is the presence of the army that creates the Irish question. And yet we are told that the way to cure the trouble is to give Ireland still more of the army. We are invited to cure our man by adding to the disease from which he is suffering! I turn to the "Baptist Times" for relief.

* * *

Dealing with the same problem, that paper says: "We had Lord Robert Cecil opposing the Bill (i.e., the Home Rule Bill) on the ground that the restoration of order in Ireland ought to precede legislative reform. This sounds plausible, but the doctrine would be fatal if applied in the present case. It overlooks two facts. The first is that the present disorder in Ireland is the fruit of our own policy. The second is that the restoration of order without the redress of admitted grievances is impossible. To attempt it would lead to bloodshed which would make Britain a byword to civilisation."

* * *

Mr. Basil Mathews treats of Industrialism in China and Japan, in the pages of the "Methodist Times." It is made clear that conditions are truly disgraceful. Mr. Mathews quotes from a letter from a Y.W.C.A. Social Service secretary who had paid a visit to a big cotton mill in Shanghai. This is what she wrote: "Indelibly impressed on my heart and mind are the quick movements of the little, little hands of the children, seven, eight, and nine years old. Never shall I forget the scrutiny which an older girl (perhaps fourteen, but she seemed ages older than myself) gave me as I slipped into her aisle. Do you suppose she knows there is love in the world, a love which will some day change those conditions for her? You doubtless know that these people work twelve hours and longer without stopping, and earn ten to sixteen coppers a day. A physician told me that most of them must live near the mill; also, that in the one-storey huts two floors are laid, so that each hut becomes a three-storey tenement as it were; there they sleep. In some instances the floors are used day and night. I must not write at greater length, except to add that the mill is owned by foreigners from a Christian land. Someone told me yesterday that some foreigners in business out here are declaring 300 per cent. dividends. Do you wonder that the Chinese, studying the effects of Christianity, are puzzled?" Mr. Mathews strongly recommends the Government's "Report on Japanese Labour," by Oswald White. It is issued by H.M. Stationery Office, Kingsway, W.C.2, and is to be had for the modest sum of 3d.

The Exile.

There are few more pathetic figures than that of Dante, the exile. Repudiated by his native city, Florence, and cast out upon an unfriendly world, "a pilgrim and almost a mendicant," he wandered through the length and breadth of Italy, seeking food and shelter, and leisure for writing, wheresoever he could find them.

An exile he was in more senses than one. His perception of the corruption of Church and State and the fierce intensity with which he exposed the wrongs of his time isolated him from the careless crowd, content to accept the world as it found it. Isolated, too, he was by the love which had purged his whole being, and by those visions which so few at that time could share with him. If ever a man had reason for casting off his allegiance to his fellows and accepting the creed of misanthropy, it was Dante. But listen! this is what he said in the "Convito," written at the close of his life: "Since it was the pleasure of the citizens of the most beautiful and the most famous daughter of Rome, Florence, to cast me out from her most sweet bosom (wherein I was born and nourished even to the height of my life, and in which, with her goodwill, I desire with all my heart to repose my weary soul, and to end the time which is given me), I have gone through almost all the land in which this language lives—a pilgrim, almost a mendicant—showing forth against my will the wound of fortune, with which the ruined man is often unjustly reproached. Truly I have been a ship without a rudder, borne to divers ports and lands and shores by the dry wind which blows from doleful poverty; and I have appeared vile in the eyes of many, who perhaps, through some report, may have imagined me in other form." I have quoted this passage at length because I wanted to put in its full context of wrong endured the poet's pathetic wish to return to end his days in the city which had cast him out.

A fellow-feeling might well link together this mediæval poet with the millions who to-day are exiles from the wealth, beauty, leisure, and freedom of civilisation. We are exiles in our own country. The land that was our fathers has been taken from us. The means of life, freely bestowed upon all mankind, are in the hands of a few usurpers. For them we toil; for them we eat and drink and sleep, that we may work the harder for them on the morrow. For them we bring up families, that, when we are worn out, other slaves may be ready to take our place.

The wealth we have created for them stares us in the face. In the early morning we pass their park gates, securely locked, on our way to the distant mine or factory. As we trudge homeward their motor cars glide past us, splashing the mud in our begrimed faces. The books in which they record their travels look at us disdainfully from the book-stalls. Their culture, purchased by our unceasing labour, mocks our uncouthness. Their ready speech smiles at our inarticulate longings.

These things are near us, yet we cannot enter in. An invisible barrier shuts us out from their world.

We belong, in their estimation, to another race. We are pilgrims and almost mendicants. Exile has branded us with its curse from our birth.

As we share, in that respect, the lot of the wandering poet, can we share also the magnanimity which drew his pilgrim feet back to the city that had disowned him? We have ample excuse for misanthropic views. It would scarcely be strange if we forswore all human relationship with those who have thus branded us as serfs. Not to be wondered at would it be if, contemplating the doom now menacing the cities of our masters and persecutors, the tears of pity refused to flow.

Fellow exiles, I think I know your hearts. And I think that the very passion of our protest is begotten of our faith in human nature, and our love for this most wonderful world. Our fierce denunciation and grim prophecies of coming catastrophe hide a wealth of pity. Exile has not soured us. Injustice has not made us cynical. As Dante was maintained by his vision of the time when Florence would be proud to have been his birthplace, so can we keep strong in love by contemplating the day when we, pioneers of the New Order, shall be honoured in the cities that have cast us forth. To lose our humanity is to lose all. To forfeit our love of men in our fight for men is to make our victory of no effect. Those who waged the war of the last few years with a bitterness unknown in history, and imposed a peace as cruel as war itself, have now, as their reward, fallen foul of one another. So shall it be with us if in our conflict we lose the spirit of humanity. The seeds of the bitterness begotten in the strife will be blown back by the winds of nemesis to sow themselves in our midst. We shall reap what we have sown. Disunion will wreck our Paradise. Enmity will rear its head in the cities of the Future to repeat the tragedies of the Past.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

OPEN AIR MISSION.—We are in great need of more speakers for our meetings, and if there are any who would like to help, but feel they should first join a class, this could be arranged. At present we have only quite a small number of speakers, upon whom a rather heavy strain is consequently placed. If friends are at all doubtful as to the need of these meetings we can only urge them to attend one or two announced week by week in this column. It can truly be said of our work here that the harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are terribly few. Friday, 16th, at 5-45, Marble Arch, C. Paul Gliddon. At 7-45, Walthamstow, Hoe Street, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. Monday, 19th, at 7-45, Leytonstone, outside G.E.R. Station, Horace Fuller and W. H. Hancock. Tuesday, 20th, at 5-45, Marble Arch, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. Wednesday, 21st, at 7-45, Lewisham, Market Place, Rev. Frank Fincham, Horace Fuller. Thursday, 22nd, at 7-45, Kentish Town, outside Trinity Presbyterian Church, Rev. James Fraser, C. Paul Gliddon.

OTHER MEETINGS.—The speaker at St. George's Hall, Old Kent Road, on Sunday, 18th, at 3-30 p.m., is W. H. Hancock. On the following day Friar Douglas and the Rev. Bernard Walke speak at the King's Weigh House, at 7-30, on "How to make the Church militant."

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

Can a Christian be an Investor?

The Rev. H. J. D. Astley, M.A., Litt.D., asks this question and seeks to answer it in an article in the March issue of "The Financial Review of Reviews." The subject is one we are all, in these days, having to face.

Broadly, Dr. Astley believes that investment is Christian, but that gambling in futures and deliberate speculative investment is not legitimate.

The article, however, is exceedingly difficult to add up, as self-contradiction and obviously incomplete assertion give the reader a sense of bewilderment not only as to what the writer means but where he is himself. But for the sake of one of the last paragraphs we would persevere.

As to what is religion, we would accept Dr. Astley's suggestion that we "all call ourselves, in the sublime and inspiring language of religion, children of God. It is an immense pretension!—and how shall we justify it?"

But when we plunge into a definition of Socialism, we pause. We have heard it all before—and it is too threadbare for so grave an article.

The Vast Plain.

"Socialism, we know, whether it takes the form of Collectivism or any other, teaches the inherent equality of all men, not merely in the Christian sense which is expressed when we say: 'God is no respecter of persons,' but as implying that no man should ever rise above his fellows, 'nor that he should fall below it, whether by his own or others' fault'; that a general level of mediocrity should be the hall-mark of the perfect State. Society, in a word, should exhibit no heights or depths, no diversified effects of mountain and valley, hill and gorge, but should be all one vast plain, and, of course, the corollary of this fundamental assumption is that all men should have only the same as each; that no matter what a man's ability or the lack of it may be, he should earn the same as his fellows and live upon that."

No modern Socialist believes in the "Vast Plain" theory, but some Socialists, and certainly many Christian Socialists believe that a man's physical, mental, or his moral "greatness" should lead him to be the "Servant of All"—and to shrink back from gathering to himself riches and privileges.

We are told that in such a socialised State there would be no room left for investment, as each day we should earn sufficient to cover our needs and have nothing over.

The "Capital" Misconception.

We are not, alas, spared the fallacy that Labour objects to Capital. Yet Labour is fully aware of the value of Capital—so aware that it prefers that Capital shall be socially owned.

Yet in truth the writer is with us, for he says:

"For this purpose (labour of man by brain and hand) Capital is required; for Labour must be fed while it is toiling, and before the fruits of its toil are garnered or turned into useful products. And Capital is nothing but the accumulated savings of previous toil invested in the industry which has in the first instance produced it."

The Real Difficulty.

But it is when we approach the actual action of investment that Dr. Astley finds himself in the difficulty which we all more or less share.

In one paragraph he recommends that a man puts his savings in some—

"Company, as to the nature of whose operations he has very little knowledge, but which gives him a safe return. Thus a community of interests is established; he receives interest on his money in the form of dividends, and if the company is successful, his capital increases in value, and he enjoys the fruit of his own past toil, or it may be that of his father or some other person from whom he may have inherited his capital, and the present toil of others."

This does not help those who are worried over this question. Why should the capital increase in value? If by the "present toil of others," who has the right to it? For not only the workers but the whole community contribute.

Dr. Astley affirms that religion sanctions "interest," but draws the line at "usury." He gives us no quotations from the Early Fathers against interest and usury, but allows that in the Middle Ages the people invested their money in glorious churches, cathedrals, monasteries. But "the ages of faith are past"; the modern man requires a more immediate return for his money, and the psalmist's description of the pious man who did not "put out his money to usury," he dismisses, saying it was a "counsel of perfection, and can hardly have been carried out in practice."

The Archbishops' Report.

It is worth while to quote from the report of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York's Committee, set up on "Christianity and Industrial Problems," for the sake of the writers' comment.

"Since industry is a public function, no persons are entitled to an income for which no service is rendered, and that it is the duty of those engaged in it to offer the community the best service technically possible at the lowest price compatible with the adequate payment of those who provide it and with the growth and extension of the industry itself," and, further, that "it is the duty of Christians to urge that after the necessary charges upon industry have been met any surplus should be applied to the benefit of the community."

"This," says the writer, "is on the whole wisely said, but it does not meet, and certainly does not afford any solution to the difficulties of the individual shareholder, and how can it be said that 'no persons are entitled to an income for which no service is rendered,' unless it be granted that service is rendered by the investment of capital, which deserves its due return, although the individual may be quite ignorant of the manner in which it is employed? The report is indeed entirely well-meaning, but, owing to the socialistic proclivities of many of its members, such as Mr. George Lansbury and others, it is full of fallacies, dangers, and pitfalls.

No; this article does not help me in my quest, but I join hands with the writer in one of the final paragraphs:

"Religion teaches that co-operation for the common good is a better thing than competition for private profit. Co-operation is, in fact, the translation into industrial life of our belief in the love of God, and those who have that belief cannot but regard commerce and industry not as a mere means of making money, but as a form of common service."

T.W.W.

The Nationalist

By

The Tragedy of Eighteen Months.

The statements which I made in my recent article, "Militarism in Germany," respecting the attitude of the various sections of German society towards Militarism, have been completely vindicated by the Kapp Dictatorship and the events which have followed it. Yet, conscious as I was of the intense longing for revenge—due, obviously, more to the Peace than to the Defeat—among certain sections of the extreme Right, I did not anticipate such a bold and immediate manifestation of that feeling as that which was made ten days ago.

It was not to be expected that the Prussian military spirit would vanish in a day. Time was needed—time and a spirit of reasonableness. But the tragedy of the last 18 months has been that the Entente, blinded by fear, greed, and a desire for revenge, has done precisely those things which were calculated to foster the evil it feared. Hunger, undoubtedly, has played a great part in bringing about the recent rising. There is keen suffering among the professional and official classes of Germany to-day, and a proud people would rather fight than beg. I personally know of cases where scientific experts and university professors are receiving salaries whose present purchasing power does not exceed £30 per year. One hears that there is much real distress among the students. Certainly, a Peace which perpetuates a condition such as this can scarcely be expected to engender goodwill.

The Coup. Nevertheless the Nationalist "coup" took everybody by surprise, even the Communists, the Independents, and a few Pacifists, who had produced important facts and offered repeated warnings to the Government. And yet, strange to say, at a small gathering of friends on the evening of the 11th, a Communist said to me: "Do you scent anything unusual in the atmosphere just now?" "Evidently you do," I replied. "Yes, I do," was the answer. "It has come quite suddenly. But I feel that something very unusual and probably important is about to happen." Knowing the person who uttered these words, I could not help reflecting upon them; and I thought of them again some 36 hours afterwards.

A Military Dictatorship. On the evening of the 12th I arrived at my lodgings rather late, but observed nothing unusual or untoward. The night passed quietly. Next morning my hostess appeared rather earlier than usual with my newspaper and coffee, and related in an excited manner a story in which a "Putsch,"* "soldiers in the street," "an overthrown Government," "a General Strike," etc., got hopelessly mixed together, and left me with an exhortation to get my coffee drunken, read the newspaper, and go outside and see for myself.

Stupefied, but incredulous, I turned with amused seriousness to my newspaper and learnt in few words that a few thousand soldiers had turned out the Government and established a Military Dictatorship.

A Military Dictatorship! And so it had fallen to my lot to witness that so-called prince of evil beasts, and to be at its mercy. Naturally I was very-anxious to have a look at it, and, more or less dressed, I hurried into the street. At the first corner I encountered two soldiers who, to my surprise, allowed me to pass without question. At the next turning I came upon the Reichsbank, around which were several small military patrols. To the north, towards Unter den Linden, where are many Government buildings, several of the streets were closed and held by soldiers and barbed wire. In order to visit a neighbouring Post Office, I had to show my passport. I then walked down to Spittelmarkt for the latest newspapers in order to gain more light. Not a sheet was to be had. Also, further issues were for the time being forbidden; the newspaper offices were possessed—as were the stations and all the important buildings. In places, cordons of soldiers and barbed wire fenced in huge blocks of buildings.

Public Puzzled.

But everywhere the people were good-humoured, and for the most part the soldiers were not unfriendly. As yet the public were not able to comprehend the situation, to understand what the thing was into which Germany had so suddenly been metamorphosed. The streets were studded with small groups of people who discussed the situation. There was very little excitement, and a sense of amusement was general. Posters soon began to appear, and bills to be distributed from motor cars and aeroplanes. It was then that the people began to realise what had taken place. When the Dictator said that his object was neither reaction nor monarchism, but to improve Germany's economic position, to cheapen food and to bring the Workers' Utopia (providing they worked hard and gave up striking, which they must now do under penalty)—which Utopia included the formation of a Chamber of Workers—the mind of the Prussian militarist stood revealed. The answer was understood.

The next day, when the seriousness of the situation was more fully realised, excitement grew. So far as I was able to judge, quite 80 per cent. of the people of Berlin appeared to be against the "Putsch." I spent the morning going round a working-class district, and found the inhabitants greatly moved. Everywhere they stood in groups discussing. They argued with the soldiers and the policemen, and spoke their minds. In the afternoon I ran down to Potsdam, and there found a quite different atmosphere. Soldiers seemed to be as numerous as civilians, while the latter, for the most part, appeared secretly satisfied with the turn events had taken. I witnessed a train load of troops depart for Berlin amid much rejoicing.

The General Strike.

By this time notices authorising the General Strike were placarded in every part of the city. It was all secretly done, but it was done. And the strike, it was stated, had the support of the displaced Government.

* "Putsch"—a riot, unsuccessful rebellion.

ing in Germany.

LOCK.

This was indeed a new and significant situation: a Military Dictatorship by the Right and a General Strike authorised by the Government! Such events will not be without consequences.

From the feeling which prevailed on the Sunday, one knew that the success of the strike was assured. Already the trams, the tubes, and many other services were at a standstill. Indeed, such a strike there has never been, not even in Berlin. It was impossible, after Sunday, to carry on any kind of service. It is now the 23rd, and for nine days we have had no newspapers, letters, trams, trains, gas, and almost no electric light. At night the streets, which are interlaced with miles of barbed wire, are in complete darkness. Thousands of people have not tasted hot food or hot drink for days. For several days the Dictator, Kapp, issued numerous bulletins against the striker, threatening pickets with death, etc., but without effect. Prussian militarism, at any rate among the industrial classes, was dead: the proof was complete. I spoke with the workers in different parts of the city, and without exception they held firm to the international. No more militarism, no more wars against our own comrades, they said. As for the business people, they argued that in Britain and America a better feeling towards Germany was growing, which the "Putsch" would check. Hence they were angry. They also recognised that the "Putsch" would bring still lower the value of the mark, re-awaken the Bolshevik agitation, and send the entire Labour movement further Left. I encountered no one who dared to advocate a return to monarchism.

Street Fighting. On Wednesday afternoon the city became placarded with the news that Kapp had capitulated, and that the Baltic troops had been given notice to leave Berlin by Thursday evening. People began to breathe more freely. But not all the troops obeyed the order, and many of those who did returned again later. The result was that during the next few days it was not safe to be abroad in Berlin. The utmost confusion reigned. Street fighting of a most frightful and senseless character, that no one seemed able or had any authority to stop, proceeded in every part of the city. Two sets of troops hunted one another about and shot at each other whenever they encountered. Naturally such a situation offered incentives and opportunities to small groups of desperate Spartacists to make a bid for power.

An Escape. On two occasions I accidentally and unavoidably found myself in the midst of two scuffles. The first was on Thursday afternoon on returning from a visit to the south-west of the city. I noticed a moderate crowd of people as I approached the Schöneberg Town Hall, but all seemed quiet. It happened, however, that as I approached from the one side a few soldiers approached from the other. I heard a shout, a scream of women, and then the people before me ran to left and right. Before I realised what had happened, I saw myself before a few soldiers who were opening

fire straight in the street where I was. How I escaped with my life I do not know. I ran with the crowd down a side street, but the soldiers looped round and fired into us there. In all four volleys were fired. I enquired the cause, and was told that some Spartacists had tried to rush the Town Hall. Whether such was the case I do not know. Perspiring and excited, I walked up Potsdamer Str. and every 200 yards or so encountered six or eight soldiers, fully armed, spread out across the street, and often trailing a machine gun. I could not help noticing the look upon their faces; I saw there the dangerous fascination of the power of a fire-arm among a defenceless population. It was a horrible sight.

Next morning I paid a visit to the British Consulate, in Pariser Platz. I was just leaving when an armoured car came along and stopped right opposite the door, in Unter den Linden. I decided it was better for me to stay where I was until I saw what was going to happen. Presently there was a shout, and within five seconds the car was pouring out shot on all sides. It was unbelievable. I ran into the Consulate. Ten seconds later a crowd of shouting, screaming people followed me, and on the other side of the Platz one could see men and women trying to squeeze themselves into impossible places. After a time the shooting ceased, and while we waited a Red Cross car glided on to the scene. What it took away I could not see.

The Left. So things raged till the week-end; then the atmosphere changed. But a new enemy appeared. The Left, whose warnings to the Government had been justified, and without whose aid the strike could not have been successful, desired assurances. They demanded, and still demand, that the Government shall adopt a strong policy of Socialisation, with workers' control, and that the task of safeguarding the city shall be placed in the hands of the Trade Unions. And to this end they are insisting upon the continuance of the strike. The result is that the Government fear a Bolshevik rising, and have barricaded the streets on a larger scale than ever. Each evening, after dark, one can see armoured cars and waggons of soldiers proceeding to the working-class districts of the city. But little has occurred of an untoward character, and from what I hear I don't think there will. My present impression is that the strike will fizzle out and that the Left will go back to work, yet full of grave apprehension and discontent. What will the Government do? Will they carry out a rigorous policy of socialisation and thus appease and win the Left, or will they lean to the Right and attack and persecute the Left? The "Putsch" has taught a dangerous lesson: it has shown what a few thousand troops can do; it has also served to push the whole Labour movement further Left. It is early yet to prophesy, but it seems to me that unless the Government act with great care they will bring about a situation which will cause the nation to have to choose between two Dictatorships.

Bookland. "THE MEANING OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION"

(H. Hamilton Fyfe). Cecil Palmer and Hayward, 3/6 net.

A Change in Thought.

The author starts off on the presumption that the Revolution is now in progress and is in fact "a change in the thought of mankind."

He believes that "nearly all of us are affected by changes of belief without being aware of them. We cling to the forms of our old convictions without any longer putting them into practice."

Instances given of this change include:

"The empty and fleeting nature of all earthly pomp and dignities will then be seen so clearly as to arouse wonder that importance could ever have been attached to such trifles."

"When the Revolution is complete, it will be held that until all have had enough it must be shameful for anyone to have more than enough."

"National greatness will imply a self-supporting, self-reliant population engaged in active, healthful toil, scornful of theories, and holding fast to the realities we know—work and recreation which induce not alone vigour of body, but also clearness of mind, the affection of home, the enjoyment of nature and the copying of nature by art; friendly relations with all men. So far as government can encourage national greatness of this kind, government will be valued; otherwise the world will have no use for it."

The world, thinks the author, is suffering from too much government—which, begun as a means to an end, has become an end in itself—a monstrous hindrance to the attainment of the ideal of securing the free and undisturbed development of individuals forming communities.

He urges that in this worship of the machine, Government is transformed from protector into tyrant, from an assurance of security into a source of unceasing danger and alarm.

The End of the Ruling Classes.

"The wish to govern, to give orders, to enforce obedience, is the mark of an intolerant, tyrannical, inferior mind. The reason why the personality of Christ compels everybody's admiring affection is that, of all characters known to anybody, His has in it the least desire to impose authority, and the most desire to persuade."

Mr. Fyfe believes in leadership, of the true kind, but not in hereditary or artificial leaderships.

"Aristocracies have no ideas," but they give dinner parties—they subtly flatter. "You are one of us!"

We are led through a vivid chapter on the "Curse of Industrialism" to a contemplation of "The Comfortable Million or so." The following quotation from Arnold Bennett gives the point of view:

"Chief among the characteristics of this class—after its sincere religious worship of money and financial success—I should put its intense self-consciousness as a class. The world is a steamer in which it is travelling saloon. Occasionally it goes to look over from the promenade deck at the steerage. Its feelings towards the steerage are kindly. But the tone in which it says "the steerage" cuts the steerage off from it more effectually than many bulkheads. . . . Curious social phenomenon, the steerage! In the saloon there runs a code, the only possible code, the final code, and it is observed. . . . It is this class which has a grim passion for the status quo."

But it is the "artificial gulf" fixed by the superior people which the author deems the real root of bitterness. He believes that if the "ruling classes" had given themselves no airs it might have stirred no anger.

On War.

Mr. Fyfe pleads that the aim of living is life, and has great hope that the world has discovered that there need be no more war. At the same time he still clings to the possibility of some good coming out of wars for "freedom," and that there may be wars outside the rank of the civilised nations which will hear no argument but that of force. One wonders where he will find any nation inside the rank of civilisation. But his scorn of war engineered by Governments is extreme, and, after describing the creation of a war fever, he says:

"It is impossible to oppose such folly. It is unsafe to keep a steadily-balanced mind. Any man who refuses to be deceived by stories which are generally accepted is liable to abuse and insult. If any Christian were bold enough to preach Christianity in war-time, he would be solemnly tried and shot. . . . It would be wise, so long as war lasts, to close all our churches, and only to open them when their precepts are not being openly flouted."

Too Much Government.

This is the theme upon which the author feels most deeply:

"Power, like a devastating pestilence,
Pollutes whatever it touches."

"The English people have allowed bureaucrats and politicians to build up a system which so cunningly prevents anyone from being found individually responsible for anything, that observers have fancied we did not care whether we were well governed or not. The chief aim of officials is to avoid taking decisions. This pusillanimity poisons public life. To it we owe the habit of government by committee, which results in marvellous compromises, poor-spirited delays, all the inconveniences and disasters of nerveless indecision.

To make up their minds and to act is an agony for men of weak fibre."

The author is appreciative of the new spirit amongst the possessing classes. He believes that "what we are now witnessing is a death of the civilisation based upon the belief in the all-importance of material wealth."

At the same time he believes that there are many still who have surprise awaiting them.

"Deaf they are to the stirrings of the new spirit. Blind to the evidences on every hand of the heaven already working, to the writing on the wall which tells those who have failed to guide and protect the people. "Ye are weighed in the balance; ye are found wanting. Your reign is o'er."

"Yet even to these the new spirit will show mercy. They were victims of the old spirit, the bad spirit of competition. . . . Many have torn their blinkers off, and are ready to take their places in whatever fresh social system may succeed that which is passing away. This is the most encouraging aspect of the coming revolution."

T.W.W.

Christian Materialism.

It has been the habit to contrast the pursuit of material wealth with that of real or immaterial riches. The teaching of the gospels has been interpreted to mean that we meddle with the problem of material welfare at our soul's peril. The pulpit has cultivated a lofty indifference to such things, and people claiming to be spiritual have spoken and written as though the subject of wealth was too sordid for their serious attention.

It will surprise such people to discover that Jesus regarded the right ordering of our economic life as an indispensable condition for obtaining that wealth which neither moth and rust can destroy. His language is clear and emphatic, His meaning unmistakable: "If therefore ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches?" (Luke 16, 11). In language, the clarity of which nineteen centuries have not obscured, Jesus declares that only as the result of the faithful discharge of its economic duties can mankind find spiritual life.

This teaching throws some light on the function of matter.

That function, according to the writer of an article on "The Modern Renaissance," in a new book of essays entitled "Recent Developments in European Thought," is to be "the material through which alone man's vague ideal can become definite and actual, just as an artist can only get to his own conception through the effort to embody it in visible form or audible sound." To use another illustration, material things are the grindstone on which we sharpen, not only our wits, but, still more, our spiritual perceptions. In mastering our material environment and making Man the lord of Things, we fulfil our highest vocation and are on the high road to spiritual development.

The demoralising results, in the past, of riches were due, not to the fact that men were dealing with material things, but that they were not dealing with them in a thorough and masterly way. They allowed themselves to be possessed by their possessions. Someone has said that either love will conquer economics or economics will conquer love. It was the latter that took place. Man's soul became subordinate to the things he owned. Hence the mere fact of "possessing" things was sufficient for him. The labour of producing things, of actually impressing his personality on the rough material of nature was divorced from the legal possession of the things produced. Capitalism is the system in which this divorce of possession from the labour of production is crystallised. Capitalism stands for the subordination of Man to Things. Labour stands for the mastery of Man over Things.

We must, if our inner life is to be developed, put not less but more into our wrestling with economic problems. We must deal with them as the painter deals with his pigments, forcing them to express what is finest in our nature, all the dignity, all the fellowship, all the faith of which we are capable. Our reward will be that our inner life will grow in dignity, in the sense of fellowship, and in the faith that links us with God.

It is in this truth that we find the greatest source of hope to-day.

If there is one thing certain about this generation it is that it has made up its mind to order afresh its economic life. It has determined that, at all cost, it will be faithful in its dealing with the unrighteous mammon. The insistence of the physical and material cannot be missed wherever you look. It obtrudes itself in the increasing importance of industrial over political organisation. It is revealed in the drifting of thousands from those churches which refused to deal resolutely with social matters into organisations definitely Socialistic. It has startled the world by the challenge flung out to our whole existing civilisation by the Russian Revolution. Herein, I say, is our hope. It is in this direction we are to look, if the words of Jesus are any guide, for the winning of those true riches, that imperishable wealth, which is the real reward of industrialism. Struggle with the forces of nature and with the chaos of our present economic life will bring into play the moral and religious forces of human nature. These have not, up till now, had their chance because they have not been pitted against their toughest foe. Spiritual life has languished because we thought it sufficient to deal with poverty by means of individual charity. The human spirit in these days, with a faith scarcely as yet conscious of itself, has tackled the whole economic system based on private possession of the means of life. It is its greatest feat, its most heroic adventure, and the resultant increase of spiritual life will be proportionately great.

Herein we find the solution of the problem whether a change of spirit must precede the social revolution or whether that revolution will bring about the changed spiritual outlook. Neither of these views are correct. It is in attempting to change the economic foundations of society that man experiences the spiritual revival. It is in action that he finds himself. If he were to wait till an inner change had been mysteriously produced in him before he took action he might wait for ever. If, on the other hand, a new order of things were to descend upon him, without creative effort on his part, from heaven, his spiritual life would in no way be augmented. The painter clarifies his vision by trying to embody it. The poet and the philosopher come into fuller possession of their own thoughts by endeavouring to express them. Man will realise his spiritual life in the process of expressing it in the material forms of an ordered society.

That is the case for action. We must set to work now, by propaganda, by organisation, by education, to bring about the revolution. There is nothing to wait for. If our conception of what we want is hazy, if personal power is lacking, if faith and hope are weak, these defects can only be remedied by getting to work. For the indispensable condition of spiritual life is loyal attention to the right ordering of our economic life. "If ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches?"

PETER THE HERMIT.

The Challenge of the City Child.

It would be impossible to convey to those not present the "moving picture" of child life in Bow, given in the absence of Miss Doris Lester by Miss Pullen, at the King's Weigh House on Saturday; but in these days, when the impression still abounds that the workers are now rolling in wealth and comfort, it is perhaps worth while to make some attempt.

Flowers.

We may watch the children raking in the gutters and the dust-bins for some throw-aways, or follow the worker as she goes down the street with flowers, being asked all the way along for "Just one flower, miss!" We may see the eager children having flowers divided amongst them, or sit by the bed of the boy who cried himself to sleep because he had had to go home early and "missed the flowers."

In the Country.

Yes, a day by invitation, to a big house, a garden, and a field, to a dinner such as none had ever tasted before, to games, rides in a motor car and a pony cart.

When the children were asked afterwards what they enjoyed most, out of 30 children only one or two said the dinner, a few the garden, more the bath room. "Fancy, miss, real hot water from the tap!" They washed and washed, in a state of bliss. But the largest number said, "We liked the field best, miss, where we could pick as many flowers as we wanted!" No asphalt walks, no park keeper, liberty!

At last they could see colour, apart from the gay colour and flare of the public-house, the only bit of brightness in their street.

The twittering of birds was also a delight, and one lady complained that a young visitor she had invited for a fortnight was difficult to get up in the morning. "He revels in his bed!" When the boy was remonstrated with, his answer was simple. "You see, miss, at home, I've never slept in a bed to myself—there's always been three, and I have always been the middle one."

When the boys and girls "confessed" in a game, the thing they hated most was "holidays at home," and their greatest joy was "camping out."

Education for Freedom.

At the evening conference at the King's Weigh House, Mr. Langdon Davies gave us an inspiring address, in which we grown-up people were commended to "face our wisdom before the coming of the child."

The teacher, said the lecturer, found himself struggling against four different loyalties—the loyalty to the child, to the parent, to the country, to humanity. He insisted that the loyalty to the child was the primary claim.

Incidentally, he stressed that Government must always be of necessity out of date. It is always the declining generation which legislates for the coming one. Therefore, if your child is not a rebel he has not been properly educated. His development is not complete if he only thinks as his father of sixty thinks. Mr. Langdon Davies did not except his own boy and girl whom he expects to see and go far further than he has ever seen or gone.

Teachers have to be aware that prophets arise. They are rare, and they are always stoned. But in a child we have that thing which is greater than ourselves. We must encourage and allow for the development of every potentiality the child possesses. The scorn of scorns was poured out upon those who are out to "mould" the child.

Which of two methods?

(a) The Dogmatic.

In the dogmatic method the teacher is in fact a god, and the parent is a god, or some other person may be a god. In an hour of illumination the child discovers that the teacher and his parent do not agree—that there is, as it were "war in heaven."

"Servility to authority," said the lecturer, "is a vice. Firstly, it definitely makes for the manufacture of the herd-mind. The herd-mind is created through the desire to obey. Secondly, it makes for intellectual sluggishness. If boys and girls believe this, that, or the other because the teacher says so, then, in adult life, they will believe anything they

Homes and Filth and Babies.

It was necessary that Miss Pullen, in her housing descriptions, should make us all feel the hypocritical folly of talking about purity in the home. Purity under Bow housing conditions is, perhaps, a miracle.

"You couldn't be good, if you lived as we live!" said a girl protesting. By "good" she meant "pure."

And perhaps the most moving picture of all was the description of the motherless twins, and the horror of filth and lack of garments which Miss Pullen found, and the way the baby crooned so happily in her arms, as at last, clean and in a blanket, she carried one, and her helper another, through the rain back to the Day Nursery.

Morals.

The social wrongs under which these boys and girls suffer actually breed in them the spirit of revenge. "Tit for tat" is the royal rule. "We have been through it; let others go through it!" Even in a discussion of punishments they agreed that "punishments do no good—they just make you hard!" yet forthwith voted for punishments.

Uncontrol is also a marked feature of the life they are compelled to live.

Ideas of God.

Broadly, they think of God as a "Cruel monster," and nothing else. One girl argued that as our bodies consumed away after death we should not feel the flames. "These children are thinking," said Miss Pullen, "and we are determined to face out with them this question of God and hell."

In the discussion that followed, it was strongly urged that not only is it up to us to help the individual children, as Miss Lester and her workers are doing at Bow, but that the land question and the whole social order has to be fearlessly faced if we are to discover the true answer to this challenge of the city child, which is one with the challenge of all children everywhere to help them to a life of joyful co-operation rather than to one of greedy scramble in a soul-destroying competition one with another.

are desired to believe, and will protest 'we saw it in the paper.'"

And, thirdly, it develops a strange ferocity as seen in the Prussian development.

(b) The Sceptical Method.

That is the method of enquiry and criticism. The teacher is no god. He is the guide who unlocks doors.

Education involves the answer to three questions.

What is that person doing?

How is that person doing it?

Why is that person doing it?

In this method it is no crime to break rules. This method produces the open mind. There are no taboos.

We may have respect for tradition and for the achievements of the past, but we are not bound by them. We are not the slaves of any master. True freedom demands that we shall not only refuse to be slaves, but we shall refuse to be masters.

The sceptical method also produces alertness of mind, and a quickness to seize upon new ideas. It counteracts all that contempt for something new which a dogmatic method stimulates. "No change is death!" said Bright.

It brings about a spirit of the untranslatable word "sittlichkeit," "sweet reasonableness," in which you desire to fit in to the other person's atmosphere. Your desire to have the respect of others for your own opinion makes you anxious as to the opinion of others.

In the physical sphere Mr. Langdon Davies insisted that the same principles held. Games were better than drill. The objects of Governments was to crystalize the present order and form of civilisation.

Anything may be done through one generation of school discipline. Our difficulty is to free the children from authority, and to leave them free when we have got them.

On Easter Night.

I went to church on Easter Sunday evening and heard the average sort of sermon. The preacher spoke very well, in his cultured voice, about the danger of going with majorities—but he did not say in what ways the voice of the majority may be wrong or in what ways a minority may have clearer insight; he spoke of the example of Christ as a thing to follow, but did not say in what this example consists. If he had spoken out, it may be, the church walls would have fallen down as did the walls of Jericho at the blast of the trumpet, and the preacher might have felt a clear call to take his message into the streets and follow his leader, where Christ went of old—among the crowds, with the majority. A God of the minority can never be ours; the Saviour of mankind does not separate Himself; He came to give Himself for the world, not for an elect few, and it is no longer enough for some of us to stand apart and witness in His name as a chosen people. Christ did not even suffer alone, as we sometimes flatter ourselves is the godlike way; He was betrayed and tormented in the sight of crowds and was crucified before the eyes of a multitude. Is not this the way we must take, then, to be like Him?

Coming home a long way through the streets and by underground that Easter Sunday night, I found myself among many of those unconsidered ones who make up the majority, and, indeed, it was hard to say that their voice, if unified, could in any way be a right one, for they looked like armies of the lost—"hugging their bodies round them, like thin shrouds wherein their souls were buried long ago." But look again, and you see one cry made visible—a cry in which the happier minority have no part—a cry which we know God gave Himself to answer and in this prove Himself for ever the God of majorities—a cry of need.

These women with the faces of ghouls and vampires—what has life robbed them of that they should look like this? Seeing how many, how very many they are, and how they pass continually to and fro, seeking—one wonders how the men, one's own men, ever get through. And the young, strained, hungry, questing faces—how many, how very many they are, not knowing what they desire, but stopping at any spring that offers refreshment, careless if it be poisoned or not! And the carelessly happy, who we know will soon come to look like these others—and the old in soul, who look as if they desired nothing—what an army it is!

It is hard to die and to see others die of cold and starvation, especially when we consider our responsibility towards those abroad. But is not the life more than meat, and the body more than raiment? And in the midst of wealth and the multiplication of pleasures, why are so many of our own people starved to death? They desire life, and beauty, and love, and joy—all good things, and you would think poured out free for all like the sunshine; how does it come to pass in these days that the majority is shut out from the light? The spirit of Christ, as of

old, goes about among them and finds no resting-place; what is it drives the eager love from His home in the hearts of men and women to find it, maybe, in lonely places where only the few can go, where there is a stillness and a depth from which there may be born a vision?

A vision—what chance have these crowds of a vision in the London streets? Mocking sky-signs, blatant posters, invitations to drink and to all the cheap and nasty amusements that our money-grubbing civilisation can devise! There is money, doubtless, in the life-size picture of a half-clothed girl calling up her lover on the telephone; and there would be none, doubtless, in fine reproductions of Raphael's Madonna or Watt's "Love and Life" displayed on the walls of tube stations, without notices of somebody's soap or cigarettes as their excuse for existence; but would not a display of beauty of this kind here and there go some way towards satisfying the urgent human need one can read so plainly in the thirsting faces of the robbed, who do not know they are robbed?

You speak of love and Christ in the churches—but the people who need most to hear of Him don't go to church; you hang glorious pictures on the walls of public galleries—public indeed, but how many of the beauty-starved go to visit them? How is the call to be made that will reach the ears of all the unhappy ones whom God meant to be joyful; how can we fill these hearts with the love for God that proceeds from the pure, unselfish love of human-kind? There is a way; it must be found; it must come first by the breaking down of barriers and the elimination of fear; it will come next by belief in the limitless possibilities of growth and renewal in men and women; it will come by faith in the limitless love of Christ that sets us free; but it will never come by separating ourselves from the majority.

ANNA LENNOX.

SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND.—Mr. J. E. Pickup, 231, Barkerhouse Road, Nelson, Lancashire, an able and experienced elocutionist, offers his services for entertainments, etc., on behalf of the above fund or kindred organisations. Out-of-pocket expenses only required.

CLERICAL WORKERS.—The voluntary help of two or three friends is urgently needed to address labels for the "Crusader." The work, which can be done at home, will take about 1½ hours each week. Anyone able to help in this way please communicate immediately with Mr. R. T. Wood, Glenside, Weetwood Lane, Headingley, Leeds.

TO CHRISTIAN INVESTORS.—Those desirous of investing in non-industrial concern, with security and reasonable interest, and also helping to solve grave social problem, should communicate with Frank Griffiths, 54, Alkham Road, N.16.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3-15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6-30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

Through a Worker's Eyes.

We give below extracts from a letter written to a "Crusader" friend by a girl employed in a large factory in the Midlands. The writer is herself keenly appreciative of the "Crusader" and declares that of all the papers she sees it is the one she enjoys most. The passages we quote speak for themselves:

"There is not quite so much Labour unrest at present, well, not in our factory; for really and truly the workers, from sheer necessity, are having to concentrate their minds on the grim struggle for existence. Quite a large number of people, mostly non-workers, appear to think that we are now in receipt of a fabulous wage, which enables us to 'down tools' for any silly little detail, and yet that is far from being the case. Some workers certainly are financially better off than they ever were before, but the majority are not really any better off, and if out on strike, those weeks that brought them no wages would, as of old, be weeks that meant a lot of pinching and scraping to keep the wolf from the door, and that fact alone steadies the worker and makes him truly reluctant to go out on strike, unless it be to fight some deep-rooted evil or try to win some big lasting gain. Capitalists, and many of the people living in the lap of luxury, are bemoaning the fact that it is education which is making the worker so dissatisfied and rebellious, and yet I feel certain of this—that it is education which is going to make better workmen of our workers, better conditions for the workers, and better life and laws for all. I have absolutely proved this, that it is not the educated worker who is the inferior worker, always grumbling and ready to strike. No; it is the more ignorant ones who do that. The knowledge that education brings makes him, not blind and hasty to act, but far-seeing and reasonable-minded.

The educated among the workers are not always

eager to strike like the more ignorant ones, but when they do strike they strike hard and high.

It is Tuesday to-day, and yet only since last Saturday I have witnessed two incidents that seemed horribly unfair. On Sunday morning, the little boy, aged twelve, who lives just below us, was kicking an old rubber ball in the middle of the road and another young boy was kicking it back to him. A policeman (a horrible, pompous man who is on duty around our streets) came along, took the ball from the boys and also their names and addresses. In all probability the mothers of those two ragged little urchins will receive a summons and have to pay a 5/- fine at the Court over the affair. To-day, dinner-time, as I was coming home from work, I saw a policeman taking a piece of rope from off one of the street lamps (a rope that had been used as a child's swing), and a little girl running up the street for dear life, evidently in deadly terror lest the policeman should take her along with her rope. . . . Those two little culprits, or rather victims of the law, had nowhere in which to play ball or have a swing but the street. They had no big garden, field, or spacious nursery for their play; home conditions compelled them to play in the only available places possible—the back yards or the street—and, by the way, children don't often choose to play in the back yards, as they usually get their ears cuffed by the women who have to monopolise the space in the yard trying to dry their clothes on their various washing days. And then—as on Sunday and to-day, when the kiddies take their pleasures in the streets—they are robbed of their poor little makeshift toys, and regarded as law-breakers. So you see how it is that bitterness and rebellion creep into the hearts of the budding workers even before they are workers."

Prison Health Resorts.

Can it be a joke which "The Globe" is playing when it offers us a "special," headlined: Prison better than home: Punishments which do not fit the crime: Present-day laxity: Officials and need for sterner measures.

It appears that Major Mylton-Davies, who has just retired from the Governorship of Pentonville Prison, states his belief that present-day laxity in prison treatment is partly responsible for the recent recrudescence in crime. "Prisons," he says, "are in danger of becoming health resorts."

Another Pentonville official says:

"The era of what is called prison reform began about 20 years ago. It reached its high mark recently, and we who look after criminals of all kinds, believe that on the worst characters it has the same effect as kindness to a cannibal . . . The only punishment they have is loss of liberty.

"Some time ago the theory was put forward that it would be a good thing to teach men trades instead of wasting their time picking oakum. In the case of young criminals that has worked to their good. They enter the prison as unemployable, and often they come out smart workmen. One man I know learned engineering from the theoretical standpoint, and was about to get a job almost as soon as he left prison. But there are other cases. There is more than one case where older prisoners have turned the trade they learned to use in carrying on their burglarious and criminal career.

"Fancy giving prisoners concerts, libraries, lectures, and films! To some of these men prison has not only no terrors, but it is better than their home outside. Instead of being punished, they were merely restrained. The treadmill was hard, but taught something—the penalty of wrongdoing."

"We have," said another, "so many well-meaning people to-day who mistake pampering criminals for being kind, that they ought to have a year or two looking after the prisons. . . . To be sent to prison to some men means merely being sent for a quiet rest."

Christian Commonwealth Fellowship.



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscriptions for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, pendants, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Postage 1½d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

Between Ourselves.

We often speak of the C.C.F. as a family, not because we wish in any way to limit its size, or to admit only those who have some mark of heredity upon them, but because Fellows do feel that they are more closely related to one another than to others who are not yet Fellows. We have entered into a new world, and life has not been quite the same to any of us since we discovered the wonder and joy of real Fellowship. We may have given lip-service to such words as Fraternity, Brotherhood, Solidarity, Communism, and so forth; we may have been prepared to do battle for our belief in the Gospel of Fellowship; yet we may have eaten our hearts out in dreary isolation, particularly in regard to the deepest things of our lives. Then Fellowship found us, we found comrades, we became one of an ever-growing family, and free of all the family had to offer.

The House of Fellowship.

But if Fellowship brings new joy and hope, it also brings new obligations. One of our Fellows suggested in last week's issue that older members of our "family" should register a vow that they would do their part in welcoming new members. The C.C.F. does need Welcomers, strong hands that can give a warm hand-clasp. Every Fellow is indeed a centre of Fellowship wherever he or she may happen to be, and is responsible for the spread of the Fellowship spirit in that neighbourhood; but we need certain Fellows to stand, as it were, on the doorstep of this House of Fellowship that is ours, ready to bid each new guest welcome in the name of us all, ready to make some small contribution in the shape of personal experience of what the C.C.F. has meant, what it can do for each member, and a suggestion of what each may expect to find in it. There are some who never get much farther than the doorstep, because, although they desire to explore the House, they find it difficult without a guide, or they are a little doubtful of their position all the time. We want the reception on the doorstep to expel for ever all doubts and hesitations, and to encourage such Mr. Fearings.

Guardians of the Fire.

We can all be lighting fresh torches all the while, by our interpretation of the Fellowship spirit day by day. And thus we pass on the flame to others. But there may be lights that are but as farthing dips, flickering, trembling flames that any strong

gust of wind may blow out. May not some of us constitute ourselves guardians of the flame, "the Fire that is called the love of man for man, the love of Man for God"? We need fire-makers, and torch-bearers, but we also need guardians of the fire that we or others may have fanned into life. Who shall measure the effect of an encouraging letter or two upon a new member who enters but slowly into the meaning of Fellowship? Who can say, for instance, what lies behind such a word as this from 3849 (Maidenhead): "When I joined up I did not intend to correspond, as I am not a good letter-writer. However, one of the members, 525 (Kingston), was good enough to write me a letter of welcome, and I have kept up the correspondence ever since." Or this, from 3036 (Perth): "One or two real Fellows have written to me, and I enjoy getting their letters so much that it is possible I may attain to their standard. I mean to try."

Welcomers.

Will you be a Welcomer? Will you share with a new Fellow something that *you* have gained from Fellowship? Even if you can only write to one new member a month (12 letters per annum!), will you do it? If only 100 Fellows would promise to do this, a new member could hardly pass the doorway without that handshake. Or if it is quite out of the question for you to add another to your many letters, will you do as 850 (Skegness) does? She says: "One missed the Fellowship Column. Even if I did not write to those introduced, I could send them a 'God bless you' thought."

Introductions.

These wait upon the doorstep for your welcome:

5359 (Wood Green), will be glad to correspond with men afloat, or with those interested in the sea. He knows a good deal about sailors, and is interested in Politics, Socialism, and Adult Schools.

5355 (Ilfracombe) is anxious for the abolition of war, vivisection, and vaccination, is interested in temperance and other social questions, and will gladly correspond with any lonely or suffering ones, as far as her own health will permit.

5357 (Saskatoon), an Englishman in Canada, desires to link with an English girl, especially one living in France or interested in French literature; he is also keen on sociology and theology, and is rather lonely; "with a good deal of an Englishman's reserve."

Answers to Correspondents.

4329 (Arnhem): Members in Holland pay their subscriptions to our Dutch Organiser, who remits a proportion to Headquarters. But Headquarters is always glad of help towards the Stamp and Literature Fund.

Annual Subscriptions and New Members.

We acknowledge, with thanks, the following annual subscriptions:—J. R. (Amsterdam, 2/-); J. F. (Southport, 3/6); M.E.S. (Banbury, 2/6).

We welcome the following new members:—R.B.M. 5353 (Glasgow, 4/6); L.R., 5355 (Ilfracombe, 1/9); W.D., 5357 (Saskatoon, 2/-); C.N., 5359 (Wood Green, 1/6); P.A.E., 5361 (Lagos, Nigeria, 1/6).

We acknowledge, with thanks, as donations to our Stamp and Literature Fund:—G.B. (Newcastle, 4/7); F.P.E. (Sneinton, -/6).

SIDELIGHTS.

THE NEW JERUSALEM.

Says the "Observer":—

Some men are born cynics, but I daresay Reuter's special correspondent at Cairo is one of those milder men who have cynicism thrust upon them. He explains the disturbances at Jerusalem:—

It should be mentioned that the Moslems are celebrating the feast of Nebi Moussa, the Jews the Pass-over, and the Christians Easter. Therefore there is always the risk of collisions.

The connection between celebrating Easter and coming to blows with others engaged in religious celebrations, is not as clear as it might be.

CONQUEST BY SUFFERING.

Endurance was the keynote of the speech of the new Lord Mayor of Cork. "The contest they were engaged in was not on their side a rivalry of vengeance, but one of endurance. It was not they who could inflict most but they who could suffer most would conquer."

EXPLOITING SAVAGERY.

Mr. Kennedy Jones, one of the founders and directors of the "Daily Mail," has written a book entitled "Fleet Street and Downing Street," in which some very frank avowals are made with regard to the type of reader to which the Yellow Press deliberately appeals. Here is a sample passage:—

"As regards sensationalism, the term is vague, but I take it to mean an appeal to the cruder emotions without a too exact regard to facts or reality. The 'Daily Mail' openly appealed to the popular taste, and its enormous accretion of readers testified that its policy was sound. A new class of readers had come into existence as the result of the Education Act of 1870. They were the children, the grandchildren, and the great-grandchildren of a people accustomed to public hangings, public whippings, pillories, ducking-stools, and stocks. Was the taste engendered by such sights during the centuries to be outbred by the cheap schooling of a single generation?"

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, some years ago, asked what the poor manufacturers would do if there were no reservoir of unemployment to draw upon. The Majority Report of the Dockers' Inquiry has, we are glad to see, put its foot down heavily on that aspect of the capitalist system. "In one sense," it says,

"it is a convenience to authorities and employers, whose requirements are at the mercy of storms and tides and unforeseen casualties, to have a reservoir of unemployment which can be readily tapped as the need emerges for a labour supply. If men were merely the spare parts of an industrial machine, this callous reckoning might be appropriate; but society will not tolerate much longer the continuance of the employment of human beings on these lines."

IRISH WIT.

A recruiting poster is being displayed in Ireland, says the "Worker," which states—Join the R.A.F. and see the world! Someone who understands the business has written in pencil below—Join the R.I.C. and see the other world!

DIGGING THEIR OWN GRAVES.

"Capitalism carries on a more effective propaganda for us among the masses than we ourselves could ever hope to achieve by our own efforts. The international profiteer is our best propagandist. It is true we owe much to war, but I do not fear peace, for the incurable avidity and corruption of the capitalist classes will survive and paralyse its healing effects. The cost of living, instead of diminishing, is still increasing steadily in most countries. The lust of gain of the international exploiters, bourgeois financiers, manufacturers, and tradesmen is still unslaked, and they are conspiring to prevent return of normal conditions, totally unconscious of the fact that they are preparing their own destruction."—NIKOLAI LENIN.

ANARCHISTS.

We often read of dark and bloody crimes,
Planned by misguided men,
Who, in the struggle for existence,
Have been beaten by their fellows.
And the injustice of it all,
Rankling in their hearts,
Calls forth the passions of the baser man.
Hence they would wage war against some king
These are anarchists.

But not the only ones.
Far greater crimes are planned—
And, mark you, carried out—
Not upon some one man
Who, by the sport of chance,
Has been made a chief,
And ruler in society;
But against whole classes,
Women, children, men who toil.

Yet the ones who do the deed
Are not wild-eyed men
With the stamp of frenzy
On their brows;
But smug respectability,
With rotund form,
And cheerful smile,
Who have their pew,
And with a liberal hand
Give to some mission
In a far-off clime.

Yet they do not use the dagger
And with one fell stroke
Send their victim to eternity;
But they take the little child,
And, drop by drop,
Wring the life blood from him;
Prolong the agony of years,
Then turn this blood—into cotton;
Thence into coin.

These are also anarchists.

—Marcus W. Robbins, in the "Worker."

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The Outlook.

IT cannot be said that Mr. Chamberlain's Budget is revolutionary. At the first blush it has the appearance of a determined effort to meet the financial situation, and the "Daily Herald" and "Daily News" have hailed it as a step in the right direction. We are more inclined to agree with the "Daily Express," which calls it "a rich man's Budget" and one which "suits the profiteer." There is no doubt that the community as a whole will have to pay in one form or another for these extra burdens. The excess profits tax has been met in the past by all sorts of wasteful methods of expenditure, and there can be no doubt that it will be dodged in similar fashion again. So long as the profit system remains it is futile to attempt to check its evils by such half-hearted legislation as this last Budget of capitalist finance.

* * *

THE victory of the Mountjoy prisoners over the Government is notable not so much for its completeness as for the manner in which it was secured. The new Lord Mayor of Cork was reported in our last number as saying: "It was not they who could inflict most but they who could suffer most would conquer." The hunger-strikers have

verified that to the letter. Aeroplanes, tanks, and the whole army of British militarism were impotent before their quiet and firm determination to endure. Scarcely less significant was the national unity by which the general strike was supported. On the whole, Ireland may well be proud of her bloodless victory.

* * *

THE verdict of the Cork jury in charging the Premier and others with murder strikes a note which deserves the most earnest attention. Serious as is the responsibility of those named in the indictment, it is not only they who are responsible. Everyone in this country must share the guilt of organising the terror in Ireland. We are all partners in this national crime, nor can we exculpate ourselves until either the policy of the Government representing us or the Government itself is changed.

* * *

A NOTEWORTHY exhibition of the international sympathies of Labour has been given in connection with the Dutch dock strike. Mr. Harry Gosling and Herr Döring, representing the British and German transport workers, and Edo Fimmen, acting officially for the International Transport Workers' Federation, have intervened in what might have been regarded as a purely Dutch affair. It is encouraging to find this evidence of the International in being. Much discussion has taken place as to which is the real International. For the time it exists in such practical manifestations of sympathy between the workers of one country and those of another.

* * *

MR. J. P. LLOYD, president of the London District Council of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives, in a statement to the "Daily News" on Tuesday, said:—We have received about 100 working-class housing schemes from the Ministry of Health. We have examined some of them, and we do not think they're fit to live in. . . . He said his Executive was examining the schemes closely, and a manifesto would be issued to the members calling on them to refrain from taking part in any of these schemes.



Daylight.

THAT dull weather and many of our commonest diseases are nearly related I have long suspected. And now comes scientific confirmation of my suspicions. Sir Arthur Newsholme, writing on

"The Prevention of Tuberculosis," says:

"The duration of vitality is much less when the tubercle bacilli are exposed to SUNLIGHT [capitals in original]. Koch found that in direct sunlight they died after an exposure varying from a few minutes to several hours, according to the thickness of the layer exposed. Diffuse light has the same effect after an appreciably longer time."

Analogies, I know, are dangerous, but I cannot help feeling that there is a close connection between the statement quoted and the effect on social diseases of the light of publicity.

What foul moral plagues were hatched in the underground bureaus of secret diplomacy, we all know. The assumption that only a special caste could understand the mystery of foreign affairs and that the general public must be content to accept the "expert" advice of these plotters, has been killed, one hopes, by the publication of the Secret Treaties. That act of the Russian revolutionaries was like the lifting of a stone beneath which all manner of evil-looking insects have been sheltering. It exposed to the daylight one of the plague spots of civilisation.

But it is a mistake to suppose that secret diplomacy is confined to foreign affairs. Parliamentary discussion of political matters is but a screen behind which the leaders of the various groups bargain for and buy each other's support. Some day we shall have an exposure of the diplomatic methods adopted in connection with domestic politics as startling and as beneficial as the publication of the Secret Treaties.

There was a time when revolution and conspiracy went hand in hand. Mazzini thought it inevitable that freedom should be won in that way. The nationalist risings of the last century were largely engineered by secret societies like the Carbonari of Italy. This belief in the need of conspiracy is characteristic of a certain phase of the struggle for freedom. It belongs to that stage in which the revolutionary movement runs in nationalist and political channels. It is essentially a bourgeois characteristic. In striking contrast in this respect is the movement which is stirring the world to-day. From the first, Karl Marx fought the conspirators and their methods in the Socialist cause. His quarrel with Bakunin was largely on this ground. He objected to secret plotting of all kinds. It is a notable feature of the movement he inaugurated that, from the beginning, its programmes and methods have been discussed in the full light of day.

If ever the revolution in this country arms the proletariat it will be after a full discussion on some such public platform as that of the recent Glasgow Conference. Democracy is opposed to the idea of esoteric bodies sheltering their designs behind the excuse that the general public is indifferent or opposed to their principles or that the people are too ignorant to be trusted with the knowledge of what is being planned on their behalf.

Conspiracy feeds the sense of self-importance. I mistrust the little whispering groups of people who meet in carefully selected committees to plot the salvation of the world, and are as much afraid of publicity as a bat is of the light. And I will have nothing to do with those conspirators who are out to permeate the world and save mankind without mankind tumbling to what they are up to. It is all too much like the insects under the stone. It smells of self-importance and the sense of superiority to the common people. It may give a pleasant feeling of importance to the busybodies that pull the wires and attempt to manage the world's affairs in secret conclave, but it is essentially pharisaic and undemocratic. For God's sake, let us have some light of the scene! Let us talk in plain language to the people! Let us tell people what we want in a vocabulary free from vague phrases and airy nothings! Let us shout from the house-top!

The main thing, it seems to me, is to force your opponent into the open. And this can only be done by taking the offensive against him. There never was a falser adage than that which counsels us to "let sleeping dogs lie." The falseness lies in the fact that your sleeping dog is not really sleeping. The latent evils in the body politic, though they may make no fuss until disturbed, are no more idle than the microbes of disease in the body physical. It has been a great gain that the aggressive tactics of Labour have compelled Mr. Lloyd George to issue his challenge and openly defend capitalism. That event has cleared the air. It has let in the light. We feel healthier, as after a sun bath on the open moorland, for this refreshing candour. The trouble with most of us who have been nurtured within the Church and the social conventions associated with it, is that we have walked stealthily for fear of waking the devil. Out of sight was out of mind, and it was easy to forget a devil that so modestly hid himself and gave us so little trouble. But the Apocalypse of Evil is at hand. The world's hidden sores are being revealed. The Pharisees are becoming a trifle less sedate and comfortable. They are looking choleric, and blurting out something that sounds like "Crucify Him." That is all to the good. Not the least of the benefits conferred on the world by the challenging character of Jesus' life, and His consequent crucifixion, was that it revealed the real character of the Jewish Church and of Roman imperialism. It was a heavy price to pay for the exposure, but it opened the eyes of men, it let in the light. Even to-day we think less of the pietists who give themselves airs, and of imperialists who strut and swagger before us, because they once crucified Him. If He did nothing else, Jesus made the devil show his claws.

THE TRAMP.

In the Grip of the Financiers.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

I was interested in the quotations from the article by the Rev. H. J. D. Astley, M.A., given in last week's issue. "Can a Christian be an Investor?" is a question which, I think, will become less difficult to answer as the evil results of the whole system of interest become more obvious to the lay mind. The trouble with most people who are sincerely anxious to do the right thing in this matter is that the subject of finance, currency, and banking has been made so complex that few seem to be able to grasp it in all its bearings. Even in the Labour and Socialist movement this subject was, until quite recently, regarded as almost impossible for any but the keenest expert minds to tackle. I am glad to find a more enlightened attitude among the workers towards what is undoubtedly the greatest evil in our midst to-day, and it is all to the good that books and pamphlets on this "dry" subject are now being read to thousands of people who have hitherto been content to leave the matter severely alone on the plea of its extreme obtrusiveness.

At a recent Labour conference in the Midlands, a clear-headed Labour councillor, who is also a business man, made this emphatic assertion: "The cause of high prices, of lack of houses—all forms of robbery, in fact—is interest!" I have what I regard as a somewhat unfair advantage over many of my friends who are troubled about this question. With the exception of something under £15 which my comrade of the household tells me has been placed to her credit at the local "Co-op," and which is interest-bearing, I am quite conscience-free in the matter. That fact probably adds to the heartiness with which I endorse the dictum of my Labour councillor friend!

However much we may endeavour to defend the system of interest—even "reasonable" interest—I believe we shall always come back to the question that is bothering Miss Wilson: If your capital increases in value as the result of the toil of others, who has the right to the increase? Let me devote the rest of my space, not to a reply to that question, nor to an "expert" enquiry into the whole system, but merely to the statement of a few simple facts that are slowly but surely beginning to impress themselves on the minds of the workers.

I write before the Budget is announced, but I do not anticipate that anything I am writing will need revision because of effective measures taken by the Government to deal with this scandal. On the contrary, the probability is that the position may be even worse as the result of the present Government's policy of allowing the big financial interests to fasten their grip still more firmly on the people.

To begin with, let us take the matter of the country's war debt of £8,000,000,000. The advertisement hoardings are plastered with posters announcing the fact of this enormous debt and pleading with

the workers to "produce more" in order that the country may be able to meet its liabilities. The posters omit the very important fact that no less than £4,000,000,000 of this debt could be cancelled immediately if that sum, which represents the acknowledged result of war profiteering, were returned to the community. Another important item not considered by the "More Production" propagandists to be of sufficient relevance to the question is the fact that the workers are being asked to produce more in order to pay the interest on this huge debt, AND THAT IN 20 YEARS (PROBABLY LESS) THEY WILL HAVE PAID THE WHOLE OF THE £8,000,000,000 IN INTEREST AND STILL HAVE THE PRINCIPAL HANGING LIKE A MILLSTONE ROUND THEIR NECKS!

Then take the question of housing. It is estimated that one million houses are wanted for immediate use by the workers of Britain. The Minister of Health reports that he has "approved tenders for nearly 100,000 houses," but that housing schemes are being held up all over the country because of the lack of money. Municipalities are trying in vain to raise money at 6 per cent., and they cannot do it because the moneylenders can get 8 and 10 per cent. or more in other concerns. There is an obvious conspiracy to keep the rate of interest mounting higher and higher, and municipalities which a few years ago would get all the money they required at about 3 per cent. will now be forced to offer 7 per cent. in order to get money to provide the houses so sorely needed by the workers. And what does 7 per cent. interest mean to the £3 10s. a week man with a family needing a six-roomed house? Just this: The average cost to-day of a six-roomed house with a bath is £1,000—and it will not be a mansion at that. FOR EVERY £1,000 BORROWED AT 7 PER CENT. FOR HOUSE BUILDING NO LESS THAN 28s. A WEEK HAS TO BE ADDED TO THE RENT OF THE HOUSE FOR INTEREST ALONE. This will bring the "economic rent" of such a house up to about £2 a week!

The following extract from an article in the financial columns of the "Manchester Guardian" of October 7, 1919, is quite topical:

"While the railwaymen were on strike for higher wages than the Government proposed to pay, the financiers of London, quite unostentatiously, were engineering a movement to secure a higher rate of interest upon their loans to the Government. The financiers, of course, did not need to go on strike, but they did the same thing in effect by withholding money. The consequence was that the Government had yesterday to announce that they will pay 1 per cent. more on Treasury Bills. The money market has taken advantage of the Government's necessities."

That 1 per cent. put an extra £15,000,000 a year into the pockets of the moneylenders. I could fill several pages with similar facts, but perhaps the above may lead my readers to investigate the subject for themselves. I hope it may, because interest is the basis of the whole capitalist system.

The Crusader.

Friday, April 23rd, 1920.

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To the Editor,
Business Communications
To the Secretary,
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"Crusaders" for Germany.

Writing from Hamburg, whither he had gone after the exciting events in Berlin, recorded in his last article, Wilfred Wellock says:—"I find keen interest in our work wherever I go and a great readiness to receive the "Crusader." The difficulty in getting subscribers is the valuation. Scores of people would like to receive it, but they can't afford it, and it is impossible for me to promise more free copies. The interesting thing is how many people have heard of the 'Crusader' and know of our movement and want to know more." We want to make it possible for Wilfred Wellock to "promise more free copies," and suggest that some of our readers may care to subscribe on behalf of German readers, so that our international message may have an international audience. Donations for this purpose will be gratefully acknowledged.

Another Message.

Writing later from Bremen, Mr. Wellock says: "Last evening I addressed a small syndicalist gathering and later a large meeting (1,800) of Independent Socialists, on conditions in England, the pacifist-revolutionary movement, and our own organisation in particular. Although I spoke in very indifferent German, the audience listened to me with wrapt attention, and excused, without a smile all the blemishes I made of their tongue. The feeling was beautiful to experience, and, considering the state of things in Germany and how the people are suffering from the Blockade and the Peace Treaty, it was a wonderful time."

A Notable Example.

It is hoped that readers will turn from these messages to the article in which a Nelson friend records what is being done in that town to interest people in the "Crusader" and its work.

Special May Day Number.

A special opportunity will occur on May Day for introducing our paper to those taking part in the celebrations. We shall issue a special "Labour" number in the hope that our readers will make every effort to dispose of extra copies.

May Day Procession.

The announcement will be noted elsewhere that the Fellowship of Reconciliation will march in the May Day Procession to Hyde Park. The Church Socialist League will also be represented. Particulars will be given next week. We hope that Crusaders will not only do their best to swell this demonstration, but will use the opportunity to sell the paper. Those willing to render this service are asked to apply at the office.

What Shall I Please To-day?

"What shall I please to-day?
To-morrow I must be Pippa, who winds silk
The whole year round to earn just bread and milk;
But, this one day, I have leave to go--"

There is ample evidence that May 1st this year is to be treated as a real Labour festival. Thousands of Trade Unionists have a day's holiday. For a brief spell they are going to forget that they have to grind the whole year round to earn just bread and milk.

In various parts of the country there will be processions, mass meetings, open-air rallies, and may-pole dances for the children—the latter only if the Labour element is strong enough on the local Councils to permit the use of the parks.

Men and women, rejoicing in the day's freedom, are asking themselves "What shall I please to-day?" They would be doing effective service if they would arrange to carry a "Crusader" poster and sell copies of the "Crusader" at their meetings on May 1st. The "Crusader" issued on April 30 will be a special Labour number. We should be glad if Crusaders would bring this appeal to the notice of anyone who is organising or taking part in such activities.

Many Labourites are trying to support families on an impossible wage. They are more or less always tired and hungry. Yet they give every spare minute to the cause of the workers. Their dispirited, joyless and oftentimes bitter look hurts and haunts one. I offered a "Crusader" to one such, and his attitude was enlightening. He remarked "Religious, isn't it? Wouldn't appeal to me. I'm off religion. Right off."

What he and thousands of other people usually mean when they say this is that what has been called religion does not satisfy or seem real to them. To such people the "Crusader" makes a special appeal when once they realise what it stands for. As a reader said, "There's no humbug about the 'Crusader.' It faces things."

One friend, writing from Brighton, encloses form with the names and addresses of people likely to be interested. He is a C.C.F. member, and adds "I should like to say how much I enjoy reading your paper and how much I regret not having seen it prior to last month." This sort of thing is continually happening. We urgently appeal to those in Labour circles and to all Trade Unionists to get extra copies for circulation on May Day and to apply to our office for a supply of posters to carry in the procession.

We are glad to acknowledge a gift of £1 "as a small token of a worker's appreciation," from M. Bowtle, of Loughton. Also £1 from a friend at West Hampstead, who "hopes that the appeal for the Thousand Sixpences Fund will meet with a gratifying result and serve as a reminder to others who—like myself—had intended to send a contribution—some time." Our thanks also to Mr. Theodore Wood, Headingley, Leeds, for his remittance of quarter's voluntary levy of sixpence per week.

THE PLOUGHMAN.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

At last! A Christian assembly has called for a revision of the Peace Treaty. At the annual meetings of the Congregational Union of Leicestershire and Rutland the following resolution was passed, and passed unanimously: "That this assembly, moved by the present appalling distress among the peoples of Central Europe, expresses the hope that the British Government may see its way to take early steps for such a revision of the Peace Treaty as shall permit of the re-establishment of industry in Central Europe, for the saving of the famished populations, and for the good of the world." The resolution is very mild, but it is a big step forward, nevertheless. It breaks away definitely from that utterly tame submission to the State and its doings which has for so long characterised the representative assemblies of the various branches of the Christian Church in this country. May it lead to much more. It is interesting to note that the mover of the resolution was a minister well known to the assembly as an out-and-out pacifist, while the seconder was a minister who described himself as having been a whole-hearted supporter of the war.

* * * * *

The Prime Minister has sent the following telegram to the new Archbishop of Wales: "Hail to the successor of St. David. As a Welshman, I send heartfelt congratulations upon the event and choice. —Lloyd George." But when our Prime Minister says something, it often reminds us of something else he has said. And so it is in this case, and the "Church Times" points it out. "Successor of St. David" (observes that paper, in its comment on the telegram) is certainly an improvement on Mr. Lloyd George's earlier description of Dr. Edwards as the "Yahoo of Welsh politics."

* * * * *

The Pioneer Players have been pioneering. They have been so bold as to produce a play which is a religious story. It is significant, too, to find that such a play was received with great appreciation. The performance took place on a recent Sunday evening at the Strand Theatre, London. The play is called "The Higher Court," and is by Miss M. E. H. Young, a Roman Catholic. The theme is conscience. The story is of a girl who chooses a good conscience rather than riches. Says the "Universe," "It remains to be seen whether there is a theatrical manager with courage equal to that of the Pioneer Players. If there is, the country will have a fine lesson of loyalty to principle, and the stage will have taken a step higher as an elevating influence."

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I am sure it would be a relief to many if a kindly, restraining hand could be laid upon the "Former Berlin Correspondent" of the "Christian World." I am sorry to see he has written yet another bitter-hearted article about the Germans. Is it not time to call a halt? Moved by a sense of decency, the Religious Press, generally speaking, has put aside these crude rancours now peace has been signed.

But this one writer continues to humiliate us all. What conceivable good can it do to go on and on, week by week, ceaselessly talking about German bad faith and the absence of repentance in Germany? God knows Germany has sins enough to answer for, but who are we that we should lecture her, or anybody else, about bad faith and the need for repentance? Have we no "skeletons" of our own? And even if we had none, is there no place in a Christian mind for generosity, mercy and forgiveness to an enemy? And has our friend, with all his store of learning and great gifts, no knowledge of the share that Russian, French and British diplomacy had in that evil international situation which finally broke out in open war? And then our friend is continually telling people how unwilling Germany is regarding the Treaty. One would think that he, a Christian man, writing in a Christian journal, would blush to mention that disgraceful document. Has he read Mr. Keynes' exposure of the Treaty? Everybody else has. And—quite apart from the rights and wrongs of the case—surely the awful sight of the anguish of the defeated, stricken nation should be enough to compel at least silence for a time.

* * *

"The Methodist Times" has shown no little courage in speaking, as it is now doing, to rich men in the Methodist denomination. Says that paper (taking its life in its hands!): "What a sinful scandal it is that Christian men to-day should live in luxury, and devote their powers to accumulating fortunes, and not be ashamed of it! Prominent Church members die, and their wills are proved at tens and hundreds of thousands of pounds. They leave to religious and philanthropic institutions a few paltry hundreds, and votes of thanks are forwarded to their executors acknowledging the generosity of the deceased. Why do we not clear our minds of cant and have done with such hypocrisy and humbug? Instead of passing resolutions we should be better occupied in condemning 'the laying up of treasure on earth.'" Such writing is very welcome, and a hopeful sign. Many think these things, but few say them. Now let the rank and file show that they will support any leaders bold enough to break with the fatal tradition of being careful not to speak the truth to the rich man in Church.

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A possible re-union of Christendom is being talked about in all the religious papers. "The Church Times" publishes a memorial now, as a counterblast to the Mansfield College manifesto. While the battle thus sways from side to side, here is a little story to be going on with. It is from a Methodist source and recalls the well-known lines: "We are not divided, All one body we, One in hope and doctrine, One in charity." Five local preachers walked five miles to the same village to speak to five attenuated and dispirited congregations, and walked five miles back.

Ireland and Labour.

"The Irish question is a social question, the whole age-long fight of the Irish people against their oppressors resolves itself in the last analysis into a fight for the mastery of the means of life, the sources of production, in Ireland." So wrote James Connolly (executed May 12th, 1916), in "Labour in Irish History." That sentence contains not only the gist of the book from which it is quoted, but the essential point in the Irish situation.

The question of national self-determination is of only secondary importance. Its solution would only pave the way for a conflict of a profounder character. It is political rather than social and economic. Even if it were settled to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned, it would still leave unsettled those larger matters to which Connolly refers, and which to-day are threatening revolution in every part of the world.

The American Colonies.

An analogy might be found in the revolt, and final separation from Great Britain, in 1789, of the American Colonies. That was a question as to whether certain dependencies should or should not be self-governing. In that instance it was settled in favour of the Colonies, which then became the United States. But the settlement of the political issue left for the future the problem which will form the centre of controversy and conflict in the States and elsewhere, namely, whether it shall be within the power of one-eighth of the population to own and control the lives of their fellows. The question of self-direction has yet to be settled for the great mass of American citizens—for their lives are conditioned far more severely by the Trusts than ever were the lives of their forefathers by the English Government. In winning his victories against the British troops, Washington merely touched the fringe of the question of self-direction for the mass of those who should thereafter people the States.

So in Ireland. The withdrawal of our troops, the absolute freeing of Ireland from all Imperial ties, would still leave the great majority of Irishmen in the hands of those who by one means or another have acquired possession of the means of production. Land in the vicinity of Dublin would still be held up in the way it is at present, and the housing conditions of that city continue to be the scandal to civilisation they are to-day. And the impoverishment of the Irish people by those who are one with them on the point of national sentiment is a far more real denial of freedom than any political control exercised by our Government.

Ireland and the International.

It is not possible to-day, I believe, for national liberation to be effected apart from and without the aid of the forces making for economic liberation. The political revolution in Russia, the overthrow of the Tsar and the establishment of a Republic, was brought about by social and economic forces rather than by those whose aims were merely political. And in Ireland it is significant that while the old

Nationalist party is practically dead, Labour, uniting north and south, Protestant and Catholic, is taking an increasing share in the Sinn Fein movement. Connolly, from whom I have already quoted, is the prophet of the movement, its most constructive thinker, and Connolly's standpoint is evident from the quotation with which this article begins. That the Irish question was, in the main, a social question was the leading principle with the writer of "Labour in Irish History."

The course, therefore, for the Sinn Feiners seems to be obvious. They are looking for help from the Irish in America. They are anticipating that Irish blood is thicker than all the waters of the Atlantic. They are hoping that their own historic struggle for independence of Britain will stir sympathy in the American public for those now in the bondage of Imperialism. And probably their expectations are well founded. So far as the purely political and nationalist aspects of the question are concerned, the attitude of the United States may prove to be the decisive factor. But, if Connolly was right, and the Irish question is, at bottom, a social and an economic one, then it is useless to look to capitalist America for the liberating forces which will finally and fully set Ireland and the Irish free. These must be sought elsewhere. The Nationalist movement in Ireland will find its true allies in the International of the Social Democracy. By coming into line with that, it will take its place in a world-wide revolution. It will avail itself of those forces which by overthrowing capitalism everywhere, will overthrow Imperialism.

Ireland's Contribution to the World Revolution.

On the other hand, Labour has much to gain from the Sinn Feiners. A nationalist movement from the nature of the case has different characteristics to those of a revolution moving simultaneously in three continents. It is more intense. It appeals with greater success to tradition. It moves on a plane of sentiment and emotion which the proletarian revolution has not reached. In the case of Ireland, imagination plays a large part. The mysticism of the Celtic temperament adds a factor of special value. These are all big contributions, but the largest gift that Ireland has to give to those struggling for economic freedom is the method it has adopted. Like the Jews, they have had a long experience of Imperial persecution, and like the Jews, they have learned the futility of armed risings and the greater effectiveness of passive resistance. Not in vain has Ireland suffered if she is able to hand on to the proletariat of all lands the fruits of her experience in this way, and can show how a united people, resolute and heroic, can by endurance and suffering, by the courage that stares in the face, undismayed, even death by hunger overcome the strongest foe.

It may be that the Mountjoy prisoners, by fearlessly facing starvation, have set moving the force which shall release from starvation the blockaded peoples of the Continent and the exploited millions of the industrial world.

The Blockade of Beauty.

By HORACE SHIPP.

There is a certain terrible pathos about the way in which whole classes of the community accept ugliness as their portion in life. Ugly houses, clothes, furniture, pictures, streets—everything around them is either positively hideous or negatively dull. They may make occasional pathetic attempts to achieve the beautiful, but the environment wherein it is denied is usually too strong, and the result of the sparse efforts is mere tawdrums. So beauty, the strongest link between man and the great purpose of the universe, is lost; loveliness becomes a joke, a subject for scorn.

For generations this denial of the beautiful to all save those few whom money and education have made receptive, has gone unchallenged. Ruskin, with his ethical basis to his theories of art, questioned the fundamental economics which governed its production. But it is with a broadening conception of the whole of the economic inter-relationship of society that we realise the failure of the artists to perform their part of the communal work. It is not sufficient for the creators of beauty to demonstrate that they are people who work as hard as their fellows (a fact which is usually evident when one has knowledge of the output and the technical demands of art work). We ask now, and have a right to ask, for whom and for whom is this work done? It is here that the real economic problem of art arises. For in the light of that understanding of values which recognises as of supreme importance the production of necessities, we are forced to the knowledge that art has depended throughout the whole economic history of the race upon some form of patronage—that the artist has been, in the narrow sense of the term, parasitical. Yet one realises that this work is of such importance that we should be able, in a civilisation which has any standard of living above the barest necessities, to make provision for these seers and creators. They are the keener senses of the race: the eyes that see and by re-creating their vision teach us to see; the ears that hear and in their music teach us to hear; the teachers; the mediators between us and nature. This, surely, is a work which we can afford to have performed, and when a man shows that his own value lies along these lines, it becomes the obvious wisdom to release him from the production of basic necessities so that his higher powers may serve his fellows. This, indeed, is what has happened in some confused way amid the blind anarchy of our social system. The only artists served the tribe or the nation, the Church or the State. In the changing fabric of the social systems it was but a step from such service—that of the rulers of State and Church, and again from that to the private service of the governors of the world ruled by plutocracy. Thus it is that the work of the artist in these days is the property of the coteries and their patrons. The names of even the great contemporary artists are unknown beyond the select few who move in the remote orbits which circle around the studios and salons. The people are denied

the beauty which by long hours of drabness and toil they make possible. Beauty is a thing to be bartered for.

If this is the result on the one hand, it has an equally tragic reflex. For the rewards which accrue to successful art are the gifts of those whose demand from art is pleasure rather than truth. No longer is the artist a free man, able to pursue his vision wheresoever it may lead him; he is the servant of his patron. He dare not tell the whole truth, but has to accept the accepted conventions, the shams which make it possible for the few to believe that this is the best of all possible worlds. On this basis have been erected elaborate conventions, about men and women (particularly about women), about institutions, about nature and about God. One needs but to examine the service of art to the institution of patriotism and its concomitant, war, to realise how tremendous this force has been. It is one of the surprising features of the recent war that so many of the young artists were in revolt against it, and revealed in poem, picture and prose the truth concerning an institution which from the beginning seems to have been one of the special preserves of the romantic tradition. Granted we were not spared a full measure of the spurious sentiment, and its burgeoning in such appalling work as the Cavell Memorial; but side by side with this, and more lastingly potent one hopes, there were the writings of Sassoon, of Barbusse, of W.W. Gibson, the pictures of Nevinson, Nash and Roberts, to name but a few of those whose truth to their own terrible vision was more important than the giving to the art-purchasing public what it wants.

What, then, is the way across the gulf which denies to the artist the birthright of vision, and to the people the work of creation for which their toil is the payment?

It must come partly in the granting of wider leisure, much wider leisure and opportunity to the people, that the full value of beauty may have some need of appreciation. It must come through the broadening of education to the demands of culture. (It is of enormous importance in this respect that the policy of educational authorities should be watched, and any attempt to lessen cultured education in the interests of commercial be challenged by all those of us who desire beauty to be part of the daily life of the people.)

There is yet one other line of approach, and that from the further side of the gulf. If the artist feels his mission as teacher, as servant, as visionary for those without sight, he will demand that his work shall reach the great audience from whom it has for so long been withheld. That is no easy task. The people themselves will for long remain indifferent, scornful, unintelligent; but they it is who need beauty. It is the call to service—to the service of the highest truth rather than to the debasement of shopkeeping in shams.

The Manufac

Another title which I might have chosen for this article is "The Evolution of Revolution." What I want to do is to show the process by which a very common characteristic of human nature is worked up into the finished article which we call revolution.

The Raw Material.

We must not be shocked by the crudeness of the material with which we have to deal. That material is nothing more than the craving, common to men everywhere, for the means of physical life. Hunger is the driving power of history. It was that which led our forefathers to emigrate from the continent of Europe and plant themselves on this island. It is that which, on countless occasions, has led tribes and races to seek lands of greater fertility, and has thus produced the distribution of peoples which we see to-day. At the present time, emigration, in the ordinary sense, is no remedy for poverty. But the urge which sent other generations across the seas will send this generation across the Great Divide which separates the capitalistic era from that new age in which the motive of service rather than the acquisitive instinct will govern society.

Nor need we be ashamed of the crudeness of the raw material. In a very old and familiar story it is related that a certain young man having "wasted his substance" was overtaken by famine. And when he began to be in want, we are told, and could obtain only the meanest form of employment, he came to himself, and said, "I will arise and go to my father." It should not seem strange, to those who have accepted that narrative as a parable of the return of the soul to God, to find the same process repeated in the conversion of a society which, by reckless living, has brought upon itself the horrors of world-wide famine. From the pangs of hunger to the cry "I will arise and go to my brother" may seem an infinite distance. But that it is being traversed to-day there seems no doubt.

Of this raw material there is in the world at the present time an abundance. It was a hungry mob which started the Russian Revolution, and there are now hungry mobs in almost every European country. It is this insistent craving, this terrible passion, capable, as it is, of igniting the whole world and reducing our civilisation to dust and ashes, with which we have to deal. It is no good dealing with it simply by denying its importance and telling men that there are other things to live for besides food and clothing. The sense of physical need must be directed. If it is to be prevented from doing irreparable harm it must be educated, disciplined, transformed.

Hunger Begins to Think.

And the first thing to do is to enable it to understand the reason why the world is in its present evil condition. To the blind, passionate protest of the hungry must be added intelligence. To the kindly sympathy and moral indignation of those in posi-

tions of security must be added science. Passion and sentiment, blind unreasoning protest carry us nowhere. It is only when we have brought our minds down from the lofty "spiritual" realms in which they have been working to the consideration of these "sordid" themes that those of us who are above want can put ourselves in a position to help our less fortunate fellows.

So far as the needy themselves are concerned, this process is advancing rapidly. Socialism is no longer a merely passionate protest, an inarticulate cry; it is a science and a philosophy. The constructive intellectual work that has been done in the name of the workers is enormous. We have now a clear diagnosis of the world's economic disease. We know why we are hungry and that it is due to a false organisation of our social and industrial life. We have found the place which our present order occupies in the development of society and can foretell the next stage with something of the accuracy with which astronomers prophesy an eclipse. In mill and mine and factory are men and women who are thinking their way out of the tangle. In them the crude physical craving for more and abundant life, the blind impulse that bids human nature, like seeds planted in the earth, reach upward is becoming intelligent and articulate.

Workers of the World, Unite!

And this discovery of the solution of the problem has led to a movement which may be termed the socialisation of the needy. In the first stage of hunger two ravenous beggars will fight each other over a heap of street refuse. But it is becoming clearer every day that that way lies defeat and still greater destitution. The system under which we live actually encourages disunity between the workers. It demands competition in the labour market. It counts upon the greed of the unsuccessful to bring down the wages of the successful. Understand that system, and it becomes obvious at once that those who are of the under-world, before ever they can hope to win their victory, must forget their individual ambitions and merge their interests with those of their class. Herein lies the moral value of class-consciousness.

A generation or so ago the individual workman of ability hoped by industry and thrift to escape from the working-class. His ambition was to set up in some small business of his own. Biographies of the captains of industry, à la Samuel Smiles, stimulated this ambition. But to-day conditions are different. The "small business of his own" is no longer possible. The only kind of salvation obtainable is social salvation. Proletarian ethics, therefore, demand that individual abilities shall be enlisted in the cause of the workers as a whole. Sectional grievances must be taken up by larger and larger aggregations of Labour. National differences must be overcome in the interests of industrial unity. The members of the industrial class must be

of Revolution.

organised for the taking over of the means of production.

But this process of unification cannot be effected merely by economic pressure. Material interests are not sufficient to fuse into a living organic whole the various sections of Labour nor to make one the workers of the world.

To create the necessary esprit de corps, to secure an actual fusion, to bring about the self-forgetful devotion by which movements triumph, there must be an appeal to the imagination, to sentiment, to the sanctions of morality as these are understood by those concerned.

Here is the function of the artist, the idealist, the prophet. It is theirs to inspire the movement, as a nation becomes inspired at times with the traditions and enthusiasms of patriotism. They must create a new type of patriotism centering, not around a certain territory, but around a community of persons.

The Labour movement cannot dispense with the incentives created by art and idealism and morality. The fact that it has endeavoured to do so and has failed is made clear by the industrial conscription measures to which the Russian revolutionists have had to resort. Such coercive measures would be unnecessary in a community united, not merely by economic pressure, but also by those higher motives to which reference has been made. On the other hand, the efforts of moralists, and idealists, poets and others who refuse to descend to the physical plane must prove futile simply because they are ignoring the raw material out of which the garment of beauty is woven.

The manufacture of revolution is, so to speak, from the bottom up. It is the evolution of a crude passion. And it is only by descending that we can uplift. It is only as morality, idealism and poetry become the servants of the evolving mass that they themselves can fulfil their true functions.

The Faith that Overcomes.

One further stage remains to be noted. While the sense of individual responsibility for the creation of a better world is necessary, its sustained strength will depend on whether or no we have realised that we are fellow-workers with forces beyond our own individual control. No movement can hope to be finally and permanently successful that has not consciously realised its place in a divine order, and has not accepted its responsibility in response to the urge of what one may call a divine vocation. The whole universe is in travail to bring forth a new social order. You and I can, at best, only co-operate with the forces of birth. It is not we who, by our propaganda, bring this thing into being. Rather is it that the economic and spiritual necessity for a social re-birth has inspired and directed our propaganda.

It is this sense of working in co-operation with the whole, of having caught some glimpse of the purpose behind and within history, and of being enlisted for its service, that will lift the revolutionary movement on to the religious plane, and give it the crowning characteristic by which it will become a conquering power. It is here that the person and message of the Carpenter became so urgently relevant. For, if the Divine Peasant, with His all-embracing humanity, His insistence on the value of physical life, His passionate belief in love and service as the basis of society, does represent the Fatherly Purpose which is at the back of our human efforts, then we have all the encouragement that is necessary for the utmost effort and sacrifice.

This it is that finally transforms the struggle for material welfare into a struggle for the Kingdom of God. This it is that gives to that struggle its highest sanctions. On this plane the movement of an exploited class becomes a crusade to recover this Holy Land, which we call the earth, for the Children of God. Here the economic and religious become one. The broken and distributed bread at last achieves sacramental value.

PETER THE HERMIT.

"INTERNATIONAL HOLIDAYS."

Wilfred Wellock writes:—Quite recently the "Free German Youth" has purchased a Coast Guard Camp on the Isle of Sylt, the northernmost German island in the North Sea. It is intended to make this a holiday centre during the coming summer for the youth of all lands. The camp, which is called "Klappholtal," is capable of accommodating from 250/300 guests, and has 80 bedrooms, in addition to dining and assembly rooms, a library, etc. It is not a luxurious hotel, nevertheless it possesses everything necessary to reasonable comfort, such as bathrooms, electric light, etc. Both sexes are admitted, from 14 years upwards. A free, social and natural life is furthered, and at a reasonable cost—about 2s. per day. Lectures and discussions will take place in order to develop in definite ways the spiritual life, and special regard will be paid to international questions. Festivals, dances on the heath and the shore, and musical evenings will be arranged.

The island, which is 20 miles long, and one mile broad in the vicinity of the camp, contains beautiful and romantic scenery, composed of hills, heath, sea, woods and dunes. English friends are specially invited, and full particulars may be obtained from Dr. Knud Ahlborn, Freideutsches Haus, Johns Allee 54, Hamburg.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

TO CHRISTIAN INVESTORS.—Those desirous of investing in non-industrial concern, with security and reasonable interest, and also helping to solve grave social problem, should communicate with Frank Griffiths, 54, Alkham Road, N.16.

Mountain Reflections.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

I am writing in the hotel on the Brocken, the highest of the Harz Mountains. My being here is as great a surprise as the view before me is wonderful. "Where do you intend to spend Easter?" my friends in Göttingen had asked. I had even forgotten that Easter approached. "Easter?—of course—why, in Hamburg." "You can do nothing there if you go," they replied. "Everybody will be on holiday—so why not stay here?" I was astonished, and, with a measure of disappointment at the loss of three or four days, pulled out my map. It looked very dull—till my eye fell on the word Harz, quite on my route to Hamburg. At once the poems and word-pictures of Heine flashed upon my mind; the colours on the map began to live. Easter in the Harz! I breathed deep. Next morning I took a ticket for Goslar—and here I am, on the Brocken, with its renowned outlook.

One of the pleasures of my prison life was the reading of Heine's "Harzreise." This book, which, like all good "travel" books, describes people as well as scenery, is essentially a social satire, as from first to last it contrasts the simple, peaceful homely life of the peasants, with the outward, grasping, and discontented life of the bourgeoisie. Heine lived in the early decades of the 19th century, when capitalism, materialism, and militarism were taking root. He challenged their right to existence—and was banished for his pains. The little-souled people whom he satirised triumphed, and their progeny are to-day the rulers of the earth.

On Thursday evening I sat in a corner of the guest-room of a small country inn and listened to the conversation of the villagers. They discussed the threatened strike, the Red army in the Ruhr district, and Bolshevism. They were the same simple, good-hearted folk that Heine knew, but their minds had been poisoned by the Press, and they knew little of what they spoke. During the discussion, one of the speakers appealed to me. I had to take part. They were not long in discovering that I was not German, and eventually I explained myself and my mission. They listened to me with keen attention and showed me great friendliness. Then I described to them life in the towns of the workers and of the capitalists; the part capitalism had played in causing the war and during the war, and detailed its manifold oppressions. In spite of their peasant outlook they showed great sympathy for my view, and we spent a very pleasant hour together, becoming quite international. We were one in heart and spirit, and were able to regard each other as brothers. Next morning, as I walked through the main street of the village, I observed some newly-posted bills calling upon the German youth to arise and save their fatherland from its greatest enemy—Bolshevism.

Yesterday I passed through many of their villages unable to procure food. Bread was impossible. Eventually I secured two eggs at a farm. The shops were almost empty. And yet these same folk will leave their villages to fight "Bolshevism" in the

interest of the men who have brought this starvation—the spiritual descendants of the men who banished Heine.

As I write, some dozen "Wandervögel" arrive, full of life and gladness. They are dressed in the roughest garments, and carry knapsacks, and all the food for their holiday. For the most part they are well educated. They bargain with the host for cheap lodgings, otherwise they must sleep under the trees. The host, happily, is a decent fellow, and in a whisper quotes a much lower price than normal. There is general rejoicing. As I know many "Wandervögel" in Berlin, I introduce myself, and we are soon friends. We gather together at one end of the room, the laute tones its soft music, and we commence to sing. Across the room are two or three small groups of bourgeoisie with wine-glasses before them. They glance towards us as though we were animals, although they try to tolerate us with a good grace. They would have no account mix with us. We are not of their race! They belong to the class which banished Heine. And some day they will try to banish us, or kill us, which is nowadays much easier.

Away to the north-west lies Hanover; I can just see it. Farther west is Essen. I see it in my mind's eye. There men struggle to be free. Perhaps in a wrong way; but they despair. Poverty, spiritual oppression, and all the tyranny of capitalism and class distinctions, endured so long, are wearing them out utterly convinced that the capitalists have lost their souls that they see no hope of rescuing their freedom, their lives from the dominion of capitalism, other than by the sword, and as they know it to be. The struggle which was begun by Heine now reaches its final stage.

Is the gulf unbridgable? I fear it is not possible to build the bridge in time. We must endeavour to awaken our age to the facts and demands of the times, and when the crisis comes make the best of it, be tolerant and charitable, with our eye fixed steadily on the ideal.

The clash which approaches is symbolised in this room. Does the truth rest with these gay laute-players who drink cheap coffee, or with the yonder bejewelled dames who sip costly wine? I look into their faces and I have no doubt. Warmth, comradeship, love of service, on the one hand; coldness, exclusiveness, self-indulgence on the other. Creation, destruction. The two mentalities are as wide apart as the poles. And the soul-destroying mentality is in the ascendant.

Beautiful sunshine glorifies the expansive valley. Love as beautiful might glorify the lives of men were they free, and none were masters or betters.

Decades ago Heine stood on this spot and meditated these self-same problems. But Heine was banished. To-day thousands of men who hold his views are being murdered by the descendants of his persecutors. To-morrow—to-morrow depends upon you and me.

Who is Responsible?

Responsibility was the keynote of Bernard Walke's sermon at the King's Weigh House on Sunday night. He was speaking of the practical value of the Cross. The Cross stood for Jesus' sharing in the suffering and sin of mankind. He came to take the responsibility for all that man had done. It was difficult to-day to get people to accept individual responsibility for the evils around them. Outrages in India, such as Amritsar, the coercive measures now in force in Ireland—none of these things stirred the ordinary citizen. He was glad to be able to put the responsibility for such happenings on the shoulders of Parliament or the Cabinet. Because the flag was flying over the House of Commons, indicating that the House was sitting, the conscience of the people felt itself relieved. They were content to record their votes every five years. And there—

for them—the matter ended. Or else they declared that they, and all of us, were the victims of an order of society which we were powerless to change.

Jesus took the responsibility for the world, which we must share with Him. That was the meaning of the Cross. In spite of the fantastic theories concerning the Atonement, there was a practical value in that doctrine which was of particular importance at the present time, when there was such a lack of moral courage and sense of oneness with the rest of mankind.

The sermon was an earnest plea for the relevancy to the needs of the hour of the Cross. It brought the fact of Jesus' death down into the midst of the world's moral chaos. It left one feeling oneself a partner in the crimes of our generation.

The Crusade at Nelson.

A movement of considerable interest to readers of the "Crusader" is developing at Nelson, Lancs., the home of our esteemed comrade, Wilfred Wellock. For some years prior to the war Mr. Wellock was the leader of a reading circle under the Co-operative Education Committee of Nelson. Many of the students have been under Mr. Wellock's influence from childhood, and it is not surprising that several of the young men have stood, as he stood during the war, for the ideal principles of Christianity against all the clamour of public hostility and passion, though the cost was imprisonment and suffering. Fortunately for the cause itself, when Mr. Wellock was imprisoned it was possible to secure continuity of this work, first under the leadership of Rev. J. Pipkin, of Colne, and for the last two sessions under Rev. Ernest H. Pittwood (secretary of the Primitive Methodist Fellowship of Freedom and Peace during the war).

For the past session, October to March, the subject has been "Tolstoy's Essays," which, as all Crusaders well know, is spiritual dynamite in all matters of social and religious interest. The influence of past tuition and especially of Mr. Wellock's own work, had prepared the ground for the appeal made recently through the "Crusader" for help in the ministry of reconciliation, particularly for books and journals for German students of the international movement, and also for immediate help for the starving and suffering children of Central Europe.

At the request of the reading circle, Rev. E. H. Pittwood made a public appeal for support, and at the same time a social was organised by the circle on behalf of the fund. A generous response has been made, and the sum of £21 has been collected, together with several copies each of valuable books required, viz., Benjamin Kidd's "Science of Power," Bertrand Russell's "Principles of Social Reconstruction" and "Roads to Freedom."

Where so many friends have helped generously it is perhaps invidious to mention names, but special mention should be made of the enthusiasm of Mr. Johnson and Miss Hartley of the reading circle. Mr. A. Pickup, Miss Chester, and Mrs. Wellock contributed recitals and solos to the social, and subscriptions in aid were sent by the F.O.R., the Nelson Labour Women's Committee, the Co-operative Society's Hill End Staff, and many other friends. A retiring collection at Mrs. Snowden's meeting, taken up by the I.L.P., realised the sum of £6 9s. 6d.

Needful as is the material help thus collected, the spiritual passion for the International, awakened and stimulated by the whole movement, is great beyond all computation. The International is being born in the hearts of the common people with a passion and intensity that blinded and reactionary Governments are incapable of understanding. The "Crusader" is helping that great movement in no uncertain way, and the Nelson example may be commended to Crusaders throughout the country.

MISS THEODORA WILSON WILSON, on "Self-Interest or The Community," Brotherhood Church, Southgate Rd., N. (Bus 21, 76, Car 41 from Moorgate), April 25, at 3.30. At 7. J. Robertshaw.

CHRISTIANITY FROM THE QUAKER STANDPOINT.—

Public addresses will be given on Sunday evenings in April, at Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, E.C., at 6.30 p.m. April 25, "Christianity is Dead, Long Live Christianity," by Arthur Le Mare, M.A.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3-15. Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6-30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

Bookland. Shakespeare and Democracy.

April 23rd is, as everyone knows, the birthday of our national poet. This year special efforts are being made to celebrate the occasion fittingly. It may be well, therefore, to devote a few words to the subject.

The myth has been carefully cultivated that Shakespeare rises superior to the limitations of his own age, and belongs to all time. A literary superstition has taught us to regard him as a sort of impersonal dramatic deity who would fit into any period as well as he fits into that in which he actually lived.

This is not true of any man, and it certainly is not true of Shakespeare. The myth concerning the impersonality of the dramatist and the idea that he escaped the limitations of his age are going the way of other superstitions. Not only did the poet share the limitations of his generation; in some respects he was behind his time. The Elizabethan age was one of bursting life. New religious and political forces were stirring in the heart of Old England. A sensitive ear might have heard warnings of the storm that was to break out in the next century, destroying in its path the monarchy and carrying away many of the religious traditions of the people. Puritanism was beginning to show its head. Political democracy, though not yet born, was already conceived. From this throbbing life that was to mean so much to the future, Shakespeare turned away. Like his own Hamlet he found the problems of his time beyond his powers. The amours of princes, the jealousies of lovers, the intrigues of statesmen, these he could deal with; but the great questions the world was beginning to face were not for him. As he grew older he seems to have retired further from the vital issues of the day, and the philosophical detachment of Prospero represents, perhaps, more closely than any other of his creations, his final outlook on the world.

Were we able to read the dramas to-day with unbiassed judgment and escape the spell of their rich pageantry and the varied interplay of motives, we should, no doubt, be struck with the undemocratic tendencies they manifest. Walt Whitman was not wrong in calling Shakespeare feudal or in declaring that "the low characters, mechanics, even the loyal henchmen—all in themselves nothing—serve as capital foils to the aristocracy."

The people—"the greasy mob"—are always the butt of the poet's humour, and rarely, if ever, the object of his pity and affection. No tender feeling crept into his representation of their vacillating moods. They are pictured as the easy tools of nimbler wits and as probably deserving the fate which their crassness earns them. Leaders of popular revolts, like Jack Cade, are treated with a contempt that ill consorts with our modern respect for those ill-fated risings of the people. He could not see the significance of the Lollard movement. The wrongs of a Lear, the fate of a Cæsar moved him profoundly. But the sorrows of the common people were not within the compass of his canvas.

He shared, too, the national prejudices of his countrymen. Henry V. is a strutting militarist of

the deepest dye. If he had not been a king and a soldier he might have been a leader-writer for the "Morning Post" or the "Daily Telegraph." The play which bears his name is nothing more than a piece of patriotic rhetoric. The poet's treatment of Joan of Arc is so strongly tainted with national prejudice as to be, not merely unchivalrous, but brutal. A music-hall artiste's representation of a militant suffragette, at the time when women were struggling for political recognition, could not have been in worse taste.

It is useless, in face of these blemishes, to plead that Shakespeare, both on account of his genius, and by reason of the nature of the dramatic art, did not and could not "take sides." He did "take sides," and the side he happened to take was that which was in favour at the Court and among the majority of his countrymen. We do not blame him. It was probably the only condition under which he could have bequeathed his dramas to the world. It is, moreover, too much to be expected that one man should combine in himself the genius of a Shakespeare and the insight and passion of a social prophet. But it is not the less necessary to realise that the Shakespeare myth is exploded and that the superman of dramatic art was, after all, like the rest of us, limited in his outlook and circumscribed in his sympathies by the conditions of the age in which he lived.

RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

"The New Social Order."—Rev. A. Cheetham. Published by J. B. Lansdown and Sons, the "Wiltshire Times," Trowbridge. 1/6, by post 1/8. (A contribution to the discussion of economics from a Socialist and Christian standpoint.)

"What Everyone should know about the War," by Richard Lee, M.A. Messrs. C. W. Daniel, Ltd. 2/- net.

"Britain's Guilt in the Great War," by Richard Lee, M.A. To be obtained from the author, 4 Morgan St., Dundee. 1/2, post free.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

LABOUR DAY PROCESSION. — We are glad to be able to announce we are this year to take part in the First of May celebrations, and that the Rev. R. W. Sorensen will be our speaker at the Hyde Park demonstration in the afternoon. We are taking part in the procession which marches from the Embankment to the Park, and all readers of this paper are asked to FORM UP BEHIND OUR BANNER ON THE FIRST OF MAY. The procession leaves about 2 p.m., and our exact position in it will be given next week. All who believe that Christianity and Labour are forces which must be brought together are asked to join us, whether they be actual members or no.

OPEN AIR MISSION.—Friday, April 23rd, at 5-45, Marble Arch, C. Paul Gliddon. At 7-45, Walthamstow, Hoe Street, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. Sunday, 25th, at 3-30, Ealing Common, Basil Tritton. Monday, 26th, at 7-45, Leytonstone, outside G.E.R. Station, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. Tuesday, 27th, at 5-45, Marble Arch, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. Wednesday, 28th, at 7-45, Lewisham, the Market Place, Rev. Frank Fincham. Thursday, 29th, at 7-45, Kentish Town, outside Trinity Presbyterian Church, Rev. James Fraser, Rev. R. W. Sorensen.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

Th' Loonie.

When I started to walk from Hanley to Corbridge a fresh breeze was blowing, but before long it dropped and the heat became well-nigh unbearable. By noon I had left Swaunston behind and was out in the lanes again, more than ready for an early dinner. A stile offered a convenient seat: I mounted it and found myself looking over a broad expanse of meadow, with an allotment at my feet.

A little elderly man was at work among the raspberry canes. He saw me, plucked a great cabbage leaf, piled it with berries, and stepping carefully among his plants, came and thrust it into my hand; then stood and watched me eat the cool, sweet fruit, with childlike satisfaction.

His was a wrinkled face, burned brown by the sun. A hundred little lines were traced about the mouth and eyes; it was easy to see they came from much smiling. His ready smile was singularly sweet. I found myself watching for it and greeting it with a strange pleasure.

We discussed lotments, then went further afield. I soon found that I was in the company of one who loved not only the green growing things among which he worked, but bird and beast—and, above all, little children.

When, somewhat reluctantly, I made to move, he refilled the empty leaf and held it out to me, smiling. Hesitating—but the man was evidently a poor man—I pulled out a coin.

He smiled and shook his head.

"Keep thy silver," he said. "I've no use for it."

"No use for a shilling?" I laughed.

"Nay," he said. "What do I want wi' it? To die not worth the clo'es I stand up in! I'll not get that high, but maybe I'll get somewheres near it."

"A queer ambition that," I said, wondering.

He looked at me, with a sudden question in his mild blue eyes, then, as if he had found me worthy of confidence, began to speak.

"Queer! Ay, I'd ha' thought so once. I cannot remember the time when gowld hadna' gotten howld o' me heart. At school I'd trade me marlies and turn 'em into pennies. At sixteen I was 'prenticed to th' building, and everything I touched turned to gowld. I took me money to th' bank, fur I'd the sense to know that 'tis there that money breeds, but I'd ha' liked better to ha' kep' it somewheres where I could see it and feel it. Th' year I was twenty-five me mother died. When they came about her stone, I'd me answer ready: 'Her'll lie as quiet under grass.' They went away, but all that week I argy-bargied in me mind, and no quiet could I get, though I cursed meself for a fool.

"When Saturday night came I went up to th' 'Star.' I was never a heavy drinker, me head wouldn't stand it, and I hated partin' wi' th' money, but 'twas good for bus'ness to keep in wi' th' boys, so I took me glass wi' th' rest.

"At half-past eight or thereabouts I came out agen, steady on me feet, but wi' me eyes burnin' and the thoughts swirlin' in me head like a mill race. The light was dying, but there was plenty left to see by. By Sutterly Lane a beggar stopped me, a youngish man. I cursed him and went on.

"When I come to th' big stone I sat down and dropped me head betwixt me hands. Me thoughts went swirlin' rownd and rownd, and in the middle of em' all was a tombstone.

"Presently someone near by said, 'Benjy.'

"I looked up. The beggar was sitting by me side.

"'Benjy,' he says agen.

"'Who towld you to Benjy me?' I growled.

"'I was in th' 'Star' jest now,' he says, 'and I heard you and the rest o' th' boys talkin'. Politics,' he says. 'You called yourself a free man. You're no free man, Benjy.'

"'What am I then, you fool?' I says.

"'You're a slave,' he says, 'and I'll show you your master.'

"'Wi' that he put his hand in his pocket and 'Look here,' he says, and there in his hand was a gowld suv'rin.

"'I might ha' thought 'twas a queer thing that him as had begged a penny should show me a suv'rin, but I didn't. I jes' sat and stared at th' gowld.

"'Here's your master,' he says agen, 'and I'll prove it. I begged a penny from you five minutes gone by. You'd ha' liked well enough to give it me, but your master cracked his whip and you come to heel. And you'd like well enough to stop argy-bargy in your mind and put a stone over your mother,' he says, 'but you cannot because gowld's your master.'

"I made answer to say 'It's a lie,' but the words stuck in me throat, for I knew 'twas God's truth.

"I sat and stared at the suv'rin, and after a while I saw sommat else, and I said: 'What's that mark in yer hand?'

"'Tis the mark of an owld wound,' he says.

"'How did you get it?' says I.

"'A nail,' he says.

"'It must have been a mighty bad tear,' says I. 'What's your trade?'

"'Carpenterin',' he says, 'though I've done a bit of fishin' too in me time.'

"'There's not much to be made out of carpenterin',' I says.

"At that he begins to laugh softly to himself.

"'Ay,' he says, 'that's true. Th' day that nail went through me hand,' he says, 'I wasn't worth th' clo'es I stood up in.'

"A queer feelin' came over me, but look away from his hand I couldn't.

"After a time, 'When was it done?' I says.

"'Many a long year ago,' he answers me.

"At that I started, for I could see th' red blood tricklin' from th' wound and droppin' on th' grass.

"'Many a long year!' I cried. 'Why, man, 'tis bleedin' now!'

"'Ay,' he said, 'and will bleed, Benjy, 'til you and such as you have changed your master.'

"At that I looked up and met His eyes. I tell you 'tis a fearful thing to look into His eyes, though I swear they held nothin' but a great pity.

"I knew Him then. I cried aloud and covered me face wi' me hands, and when I looked up I was alone, and not a sound was there but th' wind in th' trees."

A couple of hundred yards down the road a cart passed me. The carter walked beside it, a straw between his lips. I suited my pace to his, and asked who owned the allotment by the stile.

A slow grin overspread his face.

"Him," he said, "he's a loonie. Loonie Benjy they call him. Give away his peas and 'taters to any old woman, he will. He'd give away th' coat from his back, and has many a time. Goin' to Corbridge, Mister? I'll gi'e thee a lift for sixpen'."

Organised Public Service.

At a small Round Table conference last week a few men and women met for serious discussion as to Christianity and business.

Malcolm Sparkes led off with a deeply interesting account of the Building Trades' Parliament. In order to achieve the New World we want, we must get hold of certain principles. Amongst these were (a) that our aim should be to achieve a Self-Governing Democracy for Organised Public Service.

(b) That each industry should first set to work to put its own house in order, for it is the people in the industry who can really understand what is needed. That such an effort will develop the team spirit.

(c) That such concentration of the industry for the industry must be based on the ideal of public service, and that, therefore, the greatest safeguard to this end would be the public declaration of all surplus earnings and how surplus was used. That such reserve funds should go neither to employers nor employed, or rather, shall we say, to individual members of the industry, but be used for education, research and public use.

(d) That the whole argument as to whether production for service rather than for profit is the practical road for industry must be settled by trial.

(e) That Bad must be conquered by the Better. That this struggle is a battle between ideas—and the best men can be got for the best idea. In a conflict of ideas, the whole object is to get the programme right.

Malcolm Sparkes emphasised the advisability of voluntariness of any adoption of a new idea. It was being realised that the power to control labour was slipping from the grasp of the employers.

As regarded the immediate future, the lecturer again affirmed that industry must not be for plunder but for service, and he suggested that some kind of interim arrangement to bridge over the change from one system to another might be found in some scheme for exchanging the system of interest for one of guarantee for money supplied.

The conference then proceeded to range round the subject of Christianity and business, and it was clear that those who spoke from practical experience in business were under the firmest conviction that they could not act Christianly under the present system.

A member in the tailoring trade revealed to us many things which made us realise the extraordinary difficulty of any kind of honesty under competition, and a commercial traveller frankly demonstrated to the little company that if we are in truth to act according to Christ's teaching, we must, in justice to our own consciences, do our utmost to bring about the change which will remove the unwilling hand from the throat of a brother.

We all felt that we were "in it," and that, together with the world around us, we must bear the sin and the shame of the present evil system.

A desire was expressed that we might continue these conferences, for the matter could not be left as we were obliged to leave it.

A Crusader in Denmark.

When travelling abroad one is forcibly reminded of the increasing oneness of the human race; we are all members one of another. In Europe to-day all countries are faced with the same problems in varying stages of acuteness, and in all countries is being waged the same battle of ideas for mastery in the solution of these problems. It is too early yet to tell what will be the dominant ideas that will decide for our civilisation its new orientation.

Here in Denmark, for example, there are earnest Christian people who have a deep sense of the failure of the orthodox Christian Church, and who submit the same solution to present-day problems that the "Crusader" is proclaiming in England. True, they are not numerous, but they have lit the torch that will show the way out, in Denmark, of the impasse of our present civilisation.

During the last fortnight, as English readers have learned through the daily Press, there has been a grave political crisis in Denmark. This crisis has afforded Danish Christian pacifists a fine opportunity of bearing witness to the Light that is within them.

The situation was complicated by several factors, but the main cause of the crisis was the adverse result of the plebiscite taken in the Flensburg zone of Schleswig. The Peace Treaty stipulated that South Holstein should be retained by Germany, that North Holstein should be ceded to Denmark, and that Lower Holstein, or the intervening region, of which Flensburg is the chief city, should be the subject of a plebiscite, as both Denmark and Germany laid claim to this region. This plebiscite was taken in the middle of March, and resulted in 28 per cent. of the votes being cast for Denmark and 72 per cent. for Germany. In spite of this

decisive verdict against Denmark, a violent agitation was started to repudiate the result of the plebiscite, although Denmark and Germany had equal opportunity of putting their case before the inhabitants of the district. It was this sinister agitation that was the main cause of the sensational dismissal of the Prime Minister, Zahle, by the King, to which the workers replied by the threat of a general strike. For the present a compromise has been arranged, and a general election will be held here on April 26th, when the people of Denmark will have an opportunity of expressing their will. However, this election must not be interpreted as in the nature of a plebiscite on the Flensburg problem, as naturally other questions are involved in a general election.

It was in the middle of this crisis that the Danish Christian Peace Society, in their bi-monthly paper, "Freds-Varden," edited by Holgar Larsen, published a strong protest against a continuance of this agitation for the inclusion of Flensburg in Denmark, in the face of the result of the plebiscite. This manifesto not only was signed by the committee, but received the endorsement of over a hundred of the Danish clergy. Sad to relate, this witness to Christian principle raised the "patriotic" ire of the Dean of Copenhagen, who wrote an angry letter to the Press, condemning the manifesto. No wonder Danish congregations have diminished to insignificant proportions in most churches. Perhaps this is an inferential expression of the sanity and spiritual health of the Danish people, and merely preparatory in this age of unbelief to the fuller and more perfect expression of the spiritual life of the people in the days to come.

Christian Commonwealth Fellowship.



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscriptions for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, pendants, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Postage 1½d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

"The White International."

During the war, we of the C.C.F. were proud that our members were able to do so much for Fellowship; to overleap barriers, and to find Fellows among those of other nations as they did. There are still barbed wire entanglements left, beneath which we have to get, and we have special opportunities in our correspondence and in the fact that our paper, the "Crusader," finds its way into many forbidden areas created by prejudice and suspicion. "I feel strongly," writes 4017 (Brynmawr), "that the C.C.F. can do a great deal towards bringing about that international goodwill which seems to me such an imperative necessity at the present time. I hope you will be able to get more and more members from countries outside England. I am glad to tell you that I was able to write to a German the other day. He is a Saxon, and had cherished hopes of great things for the League of Nations." We have in our hands as a Fellowship a power that in a way is unique—to spread the spirit that will establish a League of Nations; for we have members all over the world, and they have become members because of something in them that was ever reaching out to their Fellows. This week a Nigerian Catholic joins us in Lagos, and an Indian girl student in Hyderabad, both anxious to make friends with people of other lands. We have before us a letter from 2607 in Germany, an early member who did some splendid Fellowship work in an internment camp during the war. "I was pleased beyond measure," he says, "when I received your welcome letter bringing the glad tidings that our Fellowship had found a new home. Though I knew the White International could not be shelterless long, I could not help thinking that the search for new quarters might prove somewhat difficult. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the 'Crusader' for taking us in. The paper is not altogether strange to me; I had a copy of it while interned in England."

What we can do.

Will you remember 2607 sometimes in his efforts to demonstrate the truth of our motto in troubled Germany? And will you help us to prove worthy of the beautiful name he has given the Fellowship, by linking up as much as possible with members of other nationalities? 5095 writes from Bilthoven, Holland: "I would be so glad if you could put me in touch with any foreign Fellows who can write English, particularly in Austria, Hungary, Belgium, or China. I should make it part of my international

business to get in touch with them." We shall be glad to do our best to help other Fellows as internationally-minded to do their part.

Our Means of Service.

But—but—Fellows, this is all pious verbiage unless you all make use of the means that lie in your hands. What avail to lament international and interdenominational ill-will and a degenerate Press, if we do nothing? Are you doing your bit to make known the paper that has given us our new opportunity? Some Fellows write to say that they cannot get the "Crusader" from the newsagents. Our reply is: "Keep on till you can!" There is no other way to bring such a paper to the notice of newsagents. In the pre-war days one did not often buy suffrage papers from newsagents, but from persevering women who stood in rain, or in pitiless heat, and sold them, hour after hour. We want something of that spirit now. By hook or by crook get the "Crusader" and get it regularly. But, if you believe in the paper, don't stop there. See that all your "links" take it regularly, post specimen copies to friends, send back numbers to those who cannot buy it; worry the secretary of the local branch of whatever society you may belong to till it is circulated among the members, get it into the churches, leave it in trams and buses and trauus. "Just at present," writes 4361, from an Incurable Home in London, "I think I can best help by introducing the "Crusader" to a few new friends. No doubt its Labour sympathies and its red-hot earnestness about social and international righteousness will be rather 'strong meat' for some of the Fellows; but it is scrupulously Christian in tone and temper, even when most vigorous in condemnation of wrongdoing. Very hearty congratulations and warmest wishes for long and happy comradeship between Crusaders and Fellowshipippers, to the welfare of the Christian Commonwealth which we combine to build." Now, Fellows, your reply?

Introductions.

5363 (Lagos), engaged in teaching, a member of the "Apostleship of Prayer," and keenly interested in religious, social, and literary matters, wishes links with young people.

5367 (Hyderabad), a Hindu woman student, is anxious to correspond with young women.

Fellowship Wanted and Offered.

M.H. (Vienna) asks for two books: Prentice Mulford's story (edited by W. Rider and Son), and "The Swamp Angel," by Prentice Mulford. He will send four German books, of good quality, in return.

"Will you put me in touch with a young correspondent, interested in good books, history, and everything in everyday life," asks 4901 (Meltham). She has recently returned home to keep house, after having been in charge of several girls in a workroom, and needs a young friend.

3507 (Liversedge) would like to get into touch with some advanced student of New Thought, one able to teach another how to overcome those things that prevent us from being possessed of the "real true spirit."

4149 (Helston), a farmer, Methodist local preacher and Socialist, asks for links with Fellows near. Will he write to 4049 (Penryn), also a local preacher, and 4423 (Truro), a French master, on trial as a preacher.

SIDELIGHTS.

APPEAL TO MR. BONAR LAW.

Readers will be interested to know that shortly before the release of the hunger-strikers from Mountjoy Prison was announced, the following letter to Mr. Bonar Law was delivered to him at the House of Commons by certain members of the "Crusader" group:—

To the Right Hon. A. Bonar Law.

Sir,—On behalf of a number of Christian men and women, who believe that Government by fear and violence will never bring about the happiness, contentment, and highest good of any people, I write to say that we view with profound grief and indignation the present methods of His Majesty's Government in Ireland, and especially the continuous imprisonment of Irishmen without trial.

Such methods are anti-Christian, and can only result in present and future evil, and we would therefore urge upon you, sir, the vital necessity of supporting an immediate and fearless policy of self-government for Ireland, and that your first attention be given to the freeing of the prisoners now dying in Mountjoy Prison and the withdrawal of the forces of the Crown.

I have the honour to remain,
Yours faithfully,
Chairman of the "Crusader" Group.

THE NEW CENSORSHIP.

We referred recently to Upton Sinclair's recent book, "The Brass Check." The Glasgow "Forward" has this note on the methods being employed to suppress its damning indictment:—

Upton Sinclair's remorseless indictment of the methods adopted by the Capitalist Press to poison the minds of the people is being sabotaged by the Paper Trusts. The first edition of "The Brass Check" was gone in a few weeks, but he is being hauled and baffled at every turn in an attempt to secure paper for the second print. Why? In the "Paper Trade Journal," of New York, an explanation is to hand, for in an editorial of the February issue the claim is made that the paper trade, and it alone, has the power to destroy "red revolutionary Radicalism." Perpend, ye believers in a free country, free speech, and free Press:—

"If you want to effect the genuine cure, you just wipe out the source of supply. . . . Let us choke off the supply of paper to these enemies of government, of law and order, and our daily bread."

The editorial goes on to suggest a secret conference of paper manufacturers without delay, "for dangerous seed is being rapidly scattered to the four winds, and is falling on fertile ground." As Herbert Henry Asquith would say, "What could be better for a nation than private enterprise?"

INDIAN CHRISTIANS AND NATIONALISM.

Indian Christians are discovering that their allegiance belongs to their Motherland and their fellow-

countrymen rather than to the British bureaucracy. The following is from a Hindoo paper—"The Standard":

We are the sons of the soil and yet act as though we are not. We have spent our energies in cultivating the sympathy and the patronage of English officialdom, and what wonder, then, that we have alienated the affection of those whose earnest endeavours have been directed to get possession of the reins of administration from the hands of the present foreign rulers. It is true, that till now the bureaucracy whom we were cultivating, and whose support we have been courting, had till very recently entrenched itself behind what appeared to be a very formidable rampart, viz., the doctrine that Indians were incapable of managing their own affairs; no matter what his Indian fellow-countrymen of another creed thought of his conduct, the Indian Christian thought his position was strategically sound; but now the rampart has been breached, due to the sustained assaults made on it by the forces of nationalism, and the trenches are no longer safe, and are in eminent peril of being stormed, and, may be, our protectors may have to evacuate them, and then what becomes of us?

THE TRAGEDY OF STARVATION.

A tragic side-light on the famine conditions prevailing on the Continent is given in a report from the Society of Friends that two Vienna University students who went to bed from hunger and exhaustion were found dead some days later, while it is added that "one often sees the students' coats buttoned up to conceal the absence of a shirt." From the same stricken city, not long since, came news that old people were voluntarily committing suicide in order that more food might be left for the younger ones. Conditions which are responsible for such tragedies among adults are indescribably terrible for the children, and five million little ones in the famine lands are in hourly peril of death from dis-

ease and starvation. The Save the Children Fund, with its head office at 26, Golden Square, London, W.1, branches throughout the Kingdom, and international headquarters at Geneva, exists to save these innocent victims of cruel circumstances.

THE SALVATION ARMY.

The Salvation Army wants £500,000 for its Self-Denial Fund, for a vigorous and sustained campaign against poverty, suffering, and crime. General Booth seems to be in blissful ignorance of the belief that these afflictions, so-named, spring from a denial of God's justice.—"Land and Liberty."

SPECIAL May Day Number

OF

The Crusader

ON

FRIDAY, APRIL 30.

Articles on the Labour Movement.
Special Contributions.

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DON'T MISS IT!

The Crusader

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Twopence.



The Outlook.

THE usual optimistic reports are given out by the Press as to the results achieved at San Remo. But the serious thinking world is not heeding either San Remo or the rumours emanating therefrom. It has bigger business on hand—business which will make of none effect the artificial relations established by such as those now in conference. Signor Nitti seems to be the most sensitive to reality. If report speak truly, he is prepared to recognise Russia in every way.

* * *

PALESTINE, we find, is to be left in British hands. Downing Street is to control the affairs of Jerusalem and Nazareth, as once Rome controlled them. But though Imperialism may possess itself of the empty sepulchre and set its seal on the hills of Galilee, He who made these places holy lies beyond its power. Ah, if only they could capture Him! Then, indeed, they might regard themselves as secure.

* * *

IT is scarcely realised in this country that the Irish rebellion is something more than a negative protest against the British Government. As the "Nation" says, "A strong national organi-

sation, orderly and imperious, is creating a rival Irish authority." The Irish Parliament, Dail Eireann, keeps a controlling hand on the whole national movement; and makes laws dealing with details of economic or agrarian policy, which are respected and executed.

Here is a hint for Labour, pointing to the need for organising its forces for the control of the nation's economic and industrial life. If the example of Ireland means anything, it means that in an emergency, even under the eyes of overwhelming military forces, the united workers could set up their own organisation and exercise real authority. The strike is a negative attitude. The work of a proletarian republic within the shell of the Capitalist State would be positive and constructive.

* * *

TWO Labour delegations are about to start upon missions of enquiry. One is going to Russia and the other to Hungary. It is only a little while ago that a similar deputation visited Ireland.

The need for personal inquiry on the spot in these cases is a severe criticism both of our Press and of Government reports. If either of these could be relied on for accuracy and fair-mindedness, there would be no need for these investigations on the part of Labour.

* * *

IT is becoming increasingly evident that the eyes of the workers must take in a larger view than the European situation. The use of coloured troops in Germany would have been impossible if the African native had not been conscripted. This conscription of natives is the immediate and urgent concern of Labour. As was pointed out by Mr. E. D. Morel at the meeting called by the Women's International Association, black troops are now available in France in overwhelming numbers for the suppression of industrial revolt. That these or similar troops would be used in this country in an emergency is easily within the range of possibility. Labour should be ready to make its own the cause of democracy in whatever part of the world that may be threatened.



The Vagabond

The tramp is at the bottom of the social scale. Even the exploited worker looks down on him. To such he is a loafer, a good-for-nothing. The man who is not sure that his job

will last over next week professes contempt for the precarious existence of the vagabond. Themselves busy in laying up goods in other men's barns, the members of the industrial class find in the tramp's freedom from toil subject matter for scorn. Condemned to economic despotism, they yet cannot appreciate his immunity.

It is true that this member of the community performs no useful industrial service. But neither does the munition worker, the employees of firms engaged in supplying the luxuries dictated by passing fashion, the large army employed in breweries, public-houses and such like places. If only those engaged in real social service were entitled to respect, then many thousands of industrious workers, not to speak of the idle rich, must share the social disgrace of the vagabond. In a society where it is difficult to find employment really dignified and worthy of a man's best effort, it is a question whether the abstention of our nomadic friend is not a virtue.

This belief in work (any work, work for anyone, work under any conditions) is one of the superstitions imposed on us by the ruling class. The professional tramp has discarded it. He has dared to challenge one of our most cherished social conventions. And he has his reward. Nor can it be said, though he has refused to serve under the industrial conscription of capitalism, that he performs no social service. The cultivation of indolence is not without its value. Where, on the one hand, you have this superstitious regard for labour as an end in itself, there is room on the other hand for a corrective. I confess to a certain joy in the sight of the tramp's wayside idleness. His luxurious and extravagant spending of time cools my feverish and unreasoning haste. That he is of no industrial use, I grant. But that is also true of the anemones and foxgloves among which he lounges. I wish to retain the tramp, while the present order of society lasts, for the same reason that I wish to leave unmolested those flowers of the field which toil not neither do they spin. Why should not some men have a vocation for indolence? I verily believe that there are those who have. Would to God they could impart their gift to those busybodies whose meddling activities and feverish desire to "do something" is the cause of so much mischief!

I think that we of the vagabond fraternity may claim, too, some use in a world which has set overmuch value on "possessions." A tin can, a clasp-

knife and an old pipe are not enough to wean the soul from the simple joys of the roadside. Care for them does not come between us and our delight in the songs of birds. Jealous concern for such trivialities does not sour our temper and make us churlish toward the village children. It is a great freedom to carry all your worldly goods on your back and in your pockets. It begets, I assure you, a spirit of contempt for the tenants and even for the owners of the villas and mansions we pass on our way.

This freedom from the burden of property sets us at liberty in another way. We have no ties to bind us to this or that locality. We are literally citizens of the world. Because we have set up no fences, no fences bar our way.

"Afoot and light-hearted I travel the open road,
Healthy, free, the world before me,
The long, brown path before me leading wherever I choose."

Have not such wanderers some use among a population "cribbed, cabined, and confined" in one narrow walk of life? If they bring the freedom of the heath across which they have footed it, and the vastness of the starry sky under which they have slept, into the stuffy quarters of people packed in their little house-boxes, may they not claim some gratitude, spiritual and material?

The tramp is a beggar, but the bargain he strikes is not altogether one-sided. If he receives a chunk of bread or a spoonful of tea, may he not give intangible gifts far transcending these in value?

Not all populations have been so churlish as ours. In olden times the wanderer might look, not without hope, at least in rural districts, for some human recognition of his social value as a living protest against industrialism. If he could pipe a tune or tell a good story he could at least be sure of a supper and a bed. Even to-day, in America, hospitality to the hobbo is extended on a scale that would shock people here. I think that in this treatment of the vagabond there is something of the same spirit which governs certain peoples in their attitude towards the insane—an attitude of mingled pity and reverence. The idiot, among such folk, shares the prestige of the prophet and the diviner; he belongs to a mysterious species; his madness is not easily distinguished from genius. So with the tramp. To people trapped in the prison house of industrialism this creature of the wilds belongs to another world, another species. He has dared to do what they in their wildest dreams of freedom would never venture. And therefore—so runs the unconscious argument—he must be sent on his way fed and warmed.

The tramp is a protest against industrialism. But he will have a function to perform even when the present phase of society gives way to its successor. The next stage in social development is not likely to under-value industry. It will probably conscript and discipline labour for the community. Perhaps under those circumstances the tramp's will be the only voice lifted in the name of freedom. Perhaps he survives in order that some day he may provide recruits for a movement of protest against the coercion of labour in a Socialist State. I have hopes that he is the destined champion of artists, poets, and all who can work only at times and under conditions chosen by themselves. THE TRAMP.

Hard Lines.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

The following is a true pen picture of the Soullessness of Capitalism.

The factory whistle had just blown, and a big stream of women and girls of all ages was slowly passing before the little hole in the wall, behind which sat the manager, doling out the wages to each according to the book in front of him. As each woman and girl grabbed her precious packet, one could detect a wolfish gleam in her eyes not at all pleasant to see: it set one wondering what would happen in the event of one of those packets dropping down a sink. To the girls at the back it seemed an eternity before they could get within reach of the pay-table, and there was a lot of unseemly pushing and struggling among them.

Suddenly the procession stopped dead. Someone was speaking to the manager through the pigeon-hole. A moment later a grey-haired woman staggered back and would have fallen but for the friendly aid of a girl who caught her and set her on a box by the wall.

The stream moved forward once more. A few kindly souls asked about the woman on the box. She paid no heed to their enquiries; either she could not or would not answer them.

At last all were gone except the woman, the girl who had helped her, and the manager. There was a jingle of money and keys and the banging of doors as the manager made everything safe for the weekend. He stepped into the passage, with a satisfied look on his face and a cigar in his mouth, and was about to leave the works when he noticed the woman and the girl still there.

"Not gone yet, Mrs. Smith," he asked, with a trace of irritation in his voice.

The woman rose unsteadily and walked towards the door.

"No, sir," she replied, tremblingly. "I thought I would like to make quite sure you meant what you said just now. Must I really go next week? Oh, sir! you can't serve me like this after all these years. I've been with the firm now ever since my man died—and that was nigh thirty years ago."

She caught him by the sleeve of his coat and burst into tears.

"Please let me see the guv'nor on Monday," she entreated between her sobs. "I'm sure he doesn't mean to turn me off like this. I haven't a friend in the world to go to, and nobody would take me in if I left this place; I should have to go to the work-house or starve. It's cruel hard at my age. Do, please, do what you can for me."

"I'm very sorry, Mrs. Smith," he said in a softer tone; "very sorry indeed. But you know your work has been very bad lately, and if I don't turn out good work the guv'nor will get someone else who will. You see my position, don't you? I'm only a paid servant, as you are. The fact is that the last bundle of work from you was not good enough to

send out, and I was told to sack the operator who did it. I really can't help myself in the matter; and it would be quite useless for you to see the guv'nor—in fact, he would 'nt see you on any account."

He flicked the ash from his cigar and made for the door.

"But cheer up!" he called back to the woman. "You've got a whole week in which to find other work; and a lot might happen in a week."

The woman shook her head despairingly and went out leaning heavily on the arm of her companion.

"Hard lines on the old girl," muttered the manager, as he locked the factory door. "But there, it can't be helped. When a machine is worn out it must be scrapped. After all, business is business."

* * * * *

At the inquest a number of witnesses testified to the brave struggle for existence the "old girl" had made. The landlady who rented her a room for a few shillings weekly told how the deceased had spent all her savings on advertising and seeking for work; how she had met with the same reply every time: "Sorry, too old."

The lock-keeper told how he had heard a splash just as the sun went down, and by the time he had got to the spot she had disappeared.

The jury, with grim sarcasm, brought in a verdict of "Suicide during temporary insanity."

* * * * *

A month after the inquest the name of "the guv'nor" was in all the local papers in big type. A certain church wanted £1,000 to clear itself of debt, and he had come forward "with his usual large-heartedness and generosity," etc., etc., and given a cheque for £500 as a start to the fund. His gift was gratefully accepted by the trustees, and the congregation breathed his name piously. And everybody who was anybody in that town said how proud they were to have such a gentleman in their midst.

CHURCH SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

PUBLIC MEETING On Tuesday, 11th May,
at 2 p.m., at Caxton Hall, Westminster.

"THE REDEMPTION OF MAN."

The Right Rev. BISHOP GORE, D.D.
Mr. GEORGE LANSBURY.
The Rev. Father PAUL R. BULL, C.R.

ADMISSION FREE.

A few Reserved Seats at 2 6. Particulars of the League, and specimen copy of *The Church Socialist* (Bi-monthly Organ, 2/- per annum, post free), may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Mr. F. G. DENT, 9 Woodfield Avenue, London, W. 5.

The Crusader.

Friday, April 30th, 1920.

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May Day.

May Day has been fittingly chosen as the occasion on which the workers of the world unite to make holy-day. It is the time of bursting life, of youth, of promise. What could better symbolise the cause of Labour? There are organisations with longer records, with more wealth, with greater experience. But while they look to the past, we have our eyes on the future. They glory in what they have done, we in what we shall do. They worship the god of their fathers, we the god of our children. Theirs is the beauty of autumn, ours that of the spring.

"The best is yet to be."

We must see to it that this spirit of truth does not die out of our ranks. It will be necessary in that case to take care that Success does not overtake Hope. We must fix our goal at an infinite distance, and set our demands beyond the range of the politicians' narrow vision. Labour is never so successful as when it asks more than seems possible, never so practical as when it throws expediency and compromise on one side. Therefore, let our programmes come nothing short of a demand for a new heaven and a new earth.

"Never Satisfied."

One of the commonest criticisms is that the workers are never satisfied. Would that it were true. We must accept that criticism and make it our boast. No finer thing can be said of any movement than that it is never satisfied. That means eternal hope and everlasting youth, a springtime that never fades.

That unquenchable spirit can only be ours if we draw our inspiration from beyond the narrow realms of the visible and fix the anchor of our faith in the love and power of the Father of us all.

May Day S.O.S.

"Crusader" sellers for London May Day Procession urgently needed. Go to Embankment as soon after 12 o'clock as possible. Look out for the "Crusader" taxi, from which copies of paper can be obtained. Follow procession to Hyde Park. When demonstration is over, sell at Park Gates, NOT INSIDE PARK.

Lots of People are Saying.

By means of this special May Day Labour issue, the Crusader Group desire to greet and link up with comrades all over the world.

The "Crusader" is not a party paper. It stands for a revolutionary Christianity which will establish a new social order. An order wherein men and women will not fight and grasp in order to gain the mere means of subsistence. The "Crusader" is out to secure a full and a free life for every individual.

We confess to the ambition of unifying the struggling bodies and isolated individuals who constitute the forward movement in social ethics and religion. We should indeed be proud to think that we had done something to hasten the process of co-operation between all those who have set their faces towards the future.

To-day the "Crusader" is being sold in the processions and at meetings all over the country. We hope that those who read the "Crusader" for the first time will order a weekly copy and draw the attention of their friends to the paper. Some of our leaders are feeling that there is a new and refreshing response to any spiritual appeal. Some, again, are feeling that we are passing through a "slump" period. What do you think about it? In any case, we appeal to all to do their utmost on May Day to increase the circulation of the "Crusader." In many towns and suburbs Labour has a home where Trade Unionists meet regularly. In one such home, where about forty branches of Trade Unions meet, and where the twenty odd rooms are occupied for various meetings every evening, the secretary has agreed to have copies of the "Crusader" on sale. We appeal to other secretaries of Labour institutes. They may only take a few copies at first—on sale or return—but the possibilities are great.

We hope that new readers will fill in the following form and hand to their local newsagent, or forward to us.

THE PLOUGHMAN.

Lots of People are Saying!

"I only wish I had discovered the 'Crusader' before."

Why are they saying this?

The paper speaks for itself. Read it and then order a weekly copy (2d.) from your local newsagent, or sign and forward this slip to 23, Bride Lane, E.C.4.

Signed.....

CHRISTIANITY FROM THE QUAKER STANDPOINT.—

Public addresses will be given on Sunday evenings in May at Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, E.C., at 6.30. May 2nd, "A Brahmin's Idea of Christianity," by J. N. C. Ganguly.

Friday, April 30th, 1920.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

The report that a minister (Rev. P. S. Carden, of Norwich) has been experiencing "persecution" owing to his outspokenness on behalf of Labour, has created some interest in Labour circles. It is well that the matter should be taken up by men in the Labour movement. A man so speaking has a right to expect the co-operation of those for whom he speaks. Many a brave man has gone down because he was left to fight it out almost alone. We all need to get together and support one another far more than we have been accustomed to do.

* * *

And now, while I am on the subject, let me emphasise the fact that the preacher on social problems to-day is presented with a singular opportunity. It is quite clear to thoughtful people that we have reached a transition period in the history of social institutions. This is the preacher's chance, for it is the moment for the re-assertion of first principles. There is no need for him to entangle himself in that maze of controversial detail which so frequently keeps men from seeing the wood because they are paying so much attention to the trees. Let the man stand clear and speak as the prophets of every age have done. This is a transition period marked by the break-up of an old order of life. Why is this dissolution taking place? Because certain great religious truths (such as the value of the individual, and the oneness of the community) have been left out of count. How can a better order of life be assured? By taking account again of such truths. To-day is, as I say, the preacher's great opportunity. Let him cease to tithe mint and anise and cummin; and let him draw attention to the weightier matters of the law.

* * *

In a note on the Labour situation, the "Christian World," recording the settlement come to in the dockers' dispute, makes the following comment: "Unhappily, the dockers' success has only led to discontent in other industries, which are using it as a lever for fresh demands, and a very difficult situation is being created by the prevalence of the idea that if one important section of workers secures a levelling up of wages, every other section should be levelled up in proportion." And elsewhere in the same paper I read: "Several big labour disputes are in prospect, and the next few weeks are likely to be anxious. The cotton operatives, the railwaymen, the tramwaymen, the postal workers, the general workers, the shop assistants and others are all demanding big wage increases. . . . Miners, railwaymen, transport workers, steel workers, agricultural labourers, tinplate workers, steel workers and others have all had substantial advances. For the rest of us, all this means an increase in the cost of living, for these extra wages are sure to be passed on to the consumer. The 'vicious circle' is in full operation again, and nobody seems powerful enough to break it."

It reads like the howl of an animal caught in a trap! And so it is. Those who support the capitalist system of industry are finding out that they are caught in their own trap. The system is closing in upon them. They talk of a "vicious circle." So it is. The evils of the system are becoming evident now even to those who have long been its darlings. The modern theory of economics was founded in defiance of the first principles of the Christian religion. It left out God, it left out the sacredness of the individual, it left out the oneness of the community, it left out the spiritual nature of life, it left out the moral nature of duty: and now Christian people are crying out that they are in a pit! Let them look to the very first teachings of their own faith and they will see why. There is an old text which says, "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." The present industrial impasse is a case in point.

* * *

To tinker the thing is useless. The benevolent employer who introduces profit-sharing, benefit societies, bonuses, welfare work, and all the rest of the things which are at present being tried, is not touching the problem a bit. He himself may be a man with the highest intentions and with genuine sympathy for the worker. But the real problem is not touched at all by the alleviations he applies; indeed, the measures used by such employers only tend to make matters worse, in that they tend to obscure the true issue. To tinker the thing is the wrong way to handle it. The present position has developed from the acceptance of an inhuman, morally wrong, and unChristian political economy. And it is time some of us owned up to it—and acted.

* * *

But the transition? What of that? Yes, Mr. Critic, I realise how difficult the transition to any other order will be, for when we have been doing wrong for years we find we have literally imprisoned ourselves in the wrong we have done. But as false ideas led us in, so, we may confidently affirm, better ideas would lead us out. I believe that a really new world only awaits a determined will on our part to create it. Meanwhile things go from bad to worse, and the papers tell such terrible stories as the following, which I take from the sympathetic pages of the "Challenge."

* * *

"Joseph John Keen, aged 33, a demobilised soldier, had been found drowned in the Thames. His mother stated that for 14 years he had been in the employ of Messrs. ———, bootmakers, of Oxford Street, as store-keeper. He volunteered in 1916, and joined the Leicester regiment. Demobilised last September, he tried to get employment with his old firm, but they told him his place had been filled. He tried to get work at hundreds of other places, but was unsuccessful. He was greatly disappointed at Messrs. ——— not taking him back. So the Lambeth Coroner spoke his mind, and the jury returned their verdict." And the name of the firm is suppressed!

H. G. Wells looks at Christianity.

In the last number of Mr. H. G. Wells' "Outline of History" he deals with the advent into the world of Christianity. There is nothing strikingly new in this survey of the early history of the movement, but the following passages sound a note so frequently struck in these pages that readers of the "Crusader" may like to have them:—

Jesus' Appearance.

Just as the personality of Gautama Buddha has been distorted and obscured by the stiff squatting figure, the gilded idol of later Buddhism, so one feels that the lean and strenuous personality of Jesus is much wronged by the unreality and conventionality that a mistaken reverence had imposed upon his figure in modern Christian art. Jesus was a penniless teacher, who wandered about the dusty sun-blit country of Judea, living upon casual gifts of food; yet he is always represented clean, combed, and sleek, in spotless raiment, erect, and with something motionless about him as though he was gliding through the air. This alone has made him unreal and incredible to many people who cannot distinguish the core of the story from the ornamental and unwise additions of the unintelligently devout.

Revolutionary Teaching.

This doctrine of the Kingdom of Heaven, which was the main teaching of Jesus, and which plays so small a part in the Christian creeds, is certainly one of the most revolutionary doctrines that ever stirred and changed human thought. It is small wonder if the world of that time failed to grasp its full significance, and recoiled in dismay from even a half apprehension of its tremendous challenges to the established habits and institutions of mankind. It is small wonder if the hesitating convert and disciple presently went back to the old familiar ideas of temple and altar, of fierce deity and propitiatory observance, of consecrated priest and magic blessing, and—these things being attended to—reverted then to the old habitual life of hates and profits and competition and pride. For the doctrine of the Kingdom of Heaven, as Jesus seems to have preached it, was no less than a bold and uncompromising demand for a complete change and cleansing of the life of our struggling race, an utter

cleansing, without and within. To the gospels the reader must go for all that is preserved of this tremendous teaching; here we are only concerned with the jar of its impact upon established ideas.

The Jews were persuaded that God, the one God of the whole world, was a righteous god, but they also thought of him as a trading god who had made a bargain with their Father Abraham about them, a very good bargain indeed for them, to bring them at last to predominance in the earth. With dismay and anger they heard Jesus sweeping away their dear old securities. God, he taught, was no bargainer; there were no chosen people and no favourites in the Kingdom of Heaven. God was the loving father of all life, as incapable of showing favour as the universal sun. And all men were brothers—sinners alike and beloved sons alike—of this divine father. In the parable of the Good Samaritan Jesus cast scorn upon that natural tendency we all obey, to glorify our own people and to minimize the righteousness of others.

Private Wealth.

And not only did Jesus strike at patriotism and the bonds of family loyalty in the name of God's universal fatherhood and the brotherhood of all mankind, but it is clear that his teaching condemned all the gradations of the economic system, all private wealth, and personal advantages. All men belonged to the kingdom; all their possessions belonged to the kingdom; the righteous life for all men, the only righteous life, was the service of God's will with all that we had, with all that we were. Again and again he denounced private riches and the reservation of any private life.

Politics.

It was not merely a moral and a social revolution that Jesus proclaimed; it is clear from a score of indications that his teachings had a political bent of the plainest sort. It is true that he said that his kingdom was not of this world, that it was in the hearts of men and not upon a throne; but it is equally clear that wherever and in what measure his kingdom was set up in the hearts of men, the outer world would be in that measure revolutionized and made new.

"Is it any wonder," Mr. Wells asks, "that to this day this Galilean is too much for our small hearts?"

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Will friends help to INCREASE OUR CIRCULATION by forwarding to 23, Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E.C., this form filled in with names and addresses of those likely to be sympathetic, if possible, with stamps to cover expense, to whom we may send a specimen copy of THE CRUSADER.

Name

Address

Name

Address

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

MAY DAY PROCESSION.—We are having our own contingent in the May Day Procession, our speaker in the Park being the Rev. R. W. Sorensen. Will all members and readers of the "Crusader" please form up outside William Morris' house in Red Lion Square (F.O.R. offices) at 1.15 on Saturday? We shall leave to take our place in the procession at 1.30 precisely. The main procession leaves the Victoria Embankment at 2 p.m.

OPEN AIR MISSION.—The weather has been unkind to us during the last week, but the meetings that have been held have been most encouraging. We should be most grateful for support at the following:—Friday, April 30th, at 5.45, Marble Arch, Horace Fuller, W. H. Hancock. At 7.45, Walthamstow, Hoe Street, Alfred Cordell. Rev. R. W. Sorensen. Saturday, May 1st—FIRST OF MAY DEMONSTRATION—Hyde Park, F.O.R. speaker, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. Sunday, 2nd, 3.30 Ealing Common, C. Paul Gliddon. Monday, 3rd, 7.45, Leytonstone, outside G.E.R. Station, Alfred Cordell, C. Paul Gliddon. Tuesday, 4th, 5.45, Marble Arch, Horace Fuller, C. Paul Gliddon. Wednesday, 5th, 7.45, Lewisham, the Market Place, F. O. Brown, Rev. F. Fincham. Thursday, 6th, 7.45, Kentish Town, outside Trinity Presbyterian Church, Rev. James Fraser, Horace Fuller.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

May Day: An Essay in the Imperative Mood.

By HORACE SHIPP.

It was May Day in that almost prehistoric period before the war. She was a member of that great army of middle-class women who daily haunt the West-End shopping thoroughfares, and she turned from her entranced contemplation of silken hosiery to glance at the procession. Then she recorded her impression to the eager-eyed little girl at her side: "They're the unemployed, dear; come along." One watched the long files of the passing workers, the rude banners swaying, and realised that there was little to contradict such a judgment. Only the children accepted May Day as a revel, a carnival. For the rest, it might have been one of those pathetic, half-pleading, half-threatening demonstrations of the people from the abyss, demanding work.

May Day, if it is to be anything, must be a social gesture. Those of us who are concerned with the theatre have found that gesture is the visual expression of an emotion, and that its success depends upon eliminating for the moment all other impressions, forcing the attention of the observer by a determined movement which expresses one thing perfectly. But it necessarily depends upon the actor knowing exactly what he wishes to convey. This, then, is the problem of our May Day Festival demonstration. We have chosen to make this old holiday of the people, with its wealth of meaning and associations, an expression of the group of emotions centred upon our belief in the unity and triumph of the world's workers. We have called to our aid the powers of pageantry, and that of oratory; often, with a wisdom greater because it is unconscious, we devote the evening to real revelry. But how little we utilise the enormous forces that lie to our hand; how pathetically the gesture miscarries!

As I write there lies on my table a volume of designs by that great artist, Gordon Craig. One is called "Enter the army," and he has captured the irresistibly dramatic nature of the subject. The banners point forward, their very angles express purpose and unity, beneath them the army marches—mere blurred masses—but we know they are confident, victorious; and the onlookers grouped in the foreground are caught up in it.

It is that spirit which we must have in our May Day pageantry. Enter the army—the army of the world's workers—with banners streaming, using beauty and colour, music, song, symbol and oratory to express their confidence and joy. One still remembers how the suffrage women taught us the possibilities of pageantry—those miles of processions governed by a sense of colour and of dramatic fitness. The art of oratory was superfluous to convince us of the rights of their cause. Theirs was the note of certitude and joy rather than one of mere protest; and that must be ours. Indeed, methinks the movement doth protest too much. Certainly May Day is not the time for such negative expression; when we could be establishing our claim to our

rights there is a waste of energy in mere proclamation of our wrongs. Let the workers' holiday be a festival, and in the expression of its joyance let there be consecrated all that is lovely.

Our very banners betray us. The appalling hideousness of the average Trade Union banner is the most telling argument I know against the workers' claims. People who cannot make a beautiful banner cannot make a beautiful world. They are the expression of the worst of the bad, old world—commercial, vulgar, failing pathetically to convey anything except inability to do an attempted thing. Yet there are artists—good artists—who would be willing to design symbols of lasting beauty, whilst in the ranks of the workers are the skilful hands waiting to execute. It is the same with the rest of our efforts at expression. We are in touch with life at its source, we have everything to convey, yet the symbols fail; the artist mind is lacking or is thwarted. One dreams of a May Day of noble pageants, with music, colour and flowers, tableaux of real appeal to the imagination; in the parks, music and dancing, folk-song and spectacle; and at nightfall, torchlight processions back through the streets of our great cities.

Commandeer the artists; they are wanting to help. There is hardly a producer in the world who could resist the opportunity offered by the request of the workers of a great industrial centre to organise and design their May Day Carnival. Demand of your play-producing societies that they should arrange performances of the great plays expressing the people's lives; of the League of Arts, that it should be at your service; of your local councils, that the Town Hall shall be lent for a workers' ball. Always the gesture should be bold and uncertain, so that the apathetic can make no mistake in understanding what it is intended to convey. There should be dignity and power in everything we do as a class; for only thus can we establish our claim to power and dignity.

May Day is a wonderful opportunity for an appeal to the imaginations of the indifferent. Beauty has for so long been the preserve of the leisured classes that its utilisation in the bodying forth of our ideals and aspirations would indeed be a great advance—a re-capture of territory, which is ours by right. It would be more. It would prove a link between the classes, and upon the forging of many such links may depend the difference between a joyful and staple revolution of thought and the misery and doubt of a revolution of force.

Let us see to it that our May Day celebrations are emphatic expressions of power and intelligence; beautiful pageants; joyous carnivals; festivals of faith. Co-opt the artists, and so achieve convincing gestures, as sure and dramatic as the creative minds in our midst can make them.

Enter the Army!

The People

What the Labour Processions Mean.

There is more than meets the eye in the processions that march through our streets on May Day. With but a little imagination, the whole thing becomes symbolic. Here is something representing a movement that stretches right across the ages—here, in fact, is **THE** movement of the ages. History is nothing else but the March of the People. And it is an amazing story.

The empires of the ancient world were largely dependent on slave labour. Just for that reason, one after the other, they fell. No nation whose greatness depends on the exploitation of its labouring population can stand. Such nations are blocking the way of the people's advance, and they must go.

During feudal times the workers were serfs. They were bound to the land and part of the lord's estate. Though they enjoyed a certain measure of independence, they were not free to transfer their services. But feudalism could not stand. It fettered commercial enterprise. It stood in the way of the expansion of industry. The towns became more important than the castles around which they clustered. The citizens, organised in their guilds, came to weigh more in the realm than the nobles. There were quarrels between the barons and the merchants, and risings of the peasants. The people were on the march again, and feudalism had to go. The labourer was set free to sell his labour where he chose, or, rather, where he could.

There succeeded an age during which the people suffered more than ever. Their liberty proved elusive. Their new lords were no improvement on the old; plutocracy was as bad as aristocracy. When the industrial revolution came they were herded together in the neighbourhood of mines or mills or factories in great masses of misery and poverty. Their children were taken from their games to supply labour for the remorseless machines. The barbarity of the Poor-Law system was as bad as the evils it was supposed to remedy. Those who suffered under these grievances had no political power by which they could directly influence Parliament. They were forbidden to combine among themselves to obtain redress, and those who offended against the Combination Laws, as they were called, were deported. But the March of the People could not be for ever stayed. Political power was extended. Education commenced its work. Trades Unionism sprang into existence. Co-operative Societies multiplied. Chartism came to the rescue. And, at last, Socialism was born. The People were on the March again. The procession was moving. A new hope was animating the ranks. Beneath their red banners, men and women moved with a new confidence. They made the discovery—dangerous for the powers that be—that it is on their labours the whole of society subsists, and they realised that while they labour communally the means of production are held by a few who do no labour at all. The

people have seen a new vision of communal ownership. They are pressing forward to realise their dream of fellowship in the enjoyment of earth's abundant resources and in the fruits of labour.

That is the meaning of the processions that will march on May Day. They are the vanguard of a great host trailing back into the obscurity of the past. They are the head of that army, the movements of which are the main theme of history.

The People of Destiny.

Look again at these files of men and women. Is there not something very arresting in the assurance that possesses them? And in that long history behind them is there not a suggestion almost as of Fate, destining their advent to power? A combination of circumstances which no man could have devised has pressed them forward. Almost against their own will they have been trained for their great future and led towards it. Astronomers bid us marvel at the procession of the heavenly bodies. To me there is something more marvellous in this conspiracy of circumstances to "lift up them of low degree." I do not wonder that some find a religious significance in the phenomenon, and declare that this demand for a human kingdom is not of man.

Now and again self-important people in the movement may be heard claiming to have brought about this or that change, or to have created this or that organisation. Idle boasters! As well might the fly on the wheel-rim cry out "See! What a dust I raise!" There is no room in the Labour movement for egotism of this kind. We may plant and water, but the increase is not due to us. We can but co-operate as fellow-workers with the forces that are carrying us forward. We are successful only in so far as we submit humbly to the direction of those forces.

It is this religious interpretation of the Labour movement that will give to it its greatest urge, its most compelling authority. The Hebrew people persisted through centuries of captivity to press forward to the future they foresaw because their prophets had declared, "in the name of the Lord," that that future was theirs. "The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." With that authority they faced the greatest empires the world, at that time, had seen.

J. R. Green tells us, in his "History of the English People," that the opening of the Bible to the common folk gave them an authority in whose name they were able to confront both priest and king. It revealed a power above that which they had regarded as supreme, and that there resulted a great increase of courage and strength. Labour must have a similar mandate. The appeal to expediency will not serve. The appeal to force is worse than useless. The consciousness of being commissioned by One who is above all kings and lords, statesmen and plutocrats, is the one and only weapon by which Labour can advance.

Friday, April 30th, 1920.

THE CRUSADER.

Marching.

Theocracy.

To what goal is this march directed? What vision has inspired us? Not certainly a mere increase of cakes and ale. Some of us try to answer the question with the magic word, Democracy. Especially do we demand Industrial Democracy—the possession and control by the workers of the means of production. But there is another word of richer content. I refer to the word Theocracy. That is not opposed to Democracy. It includes Democracy.

The story is related of how the Israelites applied to the prophet Samuel to appoint a king over them. It meant, we are told, the rejection of Jehovah as king. The reign of God and the sovereignty over the lives of others of monarchs were incompatible ideals. Though he acceded to their request, the prophet warned them as to what it would mean:

"This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you: He will take your sons and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some shall run before his chariots. And he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties; and he will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots. . . . And he will take your fields and your vineyards, and your olive yards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants."

Thousands of years after the period to which that incident belongs, a Greater Prophet thus defined the character of the Theocratic Society:

"Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you let him be your servant."

These two quotations, covering many centuries, show that the theocratic vision had remained the same. To Jesus, as to Samuel, the exploitation of our fellow-men is a denial of the sovereignty of God, before Whom we are all equal. That is what it means to-day, and because it means that, it forbids any organisation of Society which gives economic opportunities to some for the exploitation of others. In a theocratic state, the government of man by man is prohibited. Government, as we have known it, has disappeared. And that applies not only to the political institution known as the State; it applies to that authority exercised by those who possess economic advantages over their fellows. Yet it must not be supposed that theocracy means anarchy, or doing-as-you-please, or immunity from labour and sacrifice. Rather does it contemplate a community held together in love, bound by mutual service, controlled and directed by Him who "came not to be ministered unto but to minister."

That is the goal towards which, knowingly or unknowingly, this age-long procession of Labour is tending. Dim or clear, it has glimpsed a day when the only king shall be love and the only nobles those who most fully and freely serve the community.

The Weapons of Revolution.

One other question—partially answered already—

remains to be dealt with. In contending with the forces entrenched in the present order of society, what weapons are we to use?

It is hotly contended to-day that coercion will be necessary and always has been necessary.

It may be granted that, unless it anticipates its doom and voluntarily surrenders, capitalism will succumb to the pressure of economic laws. Those laws are against the continuance of that form of society, and inevitably the capitalist will be frozen out. To seek to hasten his end by the use of force is simply to retard or throw back the natural process. We have seen in the war how the attempt to destroy militarism by military means has failed. The conquerors were conquered. India, Egypt, Ireland, bear witness to the Prussian spirit that has sprung up in our midst. The proletariat might indeed arm and conquer, but by an unavoidable law, the dictatorship they had dethroned would appear among themselves.

Labour has a far harder task than the killing of a few capitalists and their parasites—one calling for more heroism and sterner determination, one, too, that is revolutionary not only in its object but in its method.

First and foremost stands the need of solidarity—not a solidarity merely of organisation, but one of real sympathy and goodwill. Socialists, of all people, should be sociable. Camaraderie working out in industrial unity, good feeling bringing about united action is difficult of attainment, but absolutely necessary.

Further, we must educate ourselves that our minds may co-operate with our hearts. By which I do not mean that we must accept the intellectual labours of our masters. We have to get at facts for ourselves and interpret them for ourselves.

And again, we must organise ourselves in preparation for taking over and running the business of the community, building up on an industrial basis the society that it is our intention to inaugurate when the time comes.

And last, it will be necessary to carry on a ceaseless propaganda of teaching, warning, and exhortation, with patience and goodwill overcoming prejudices and fears, and pressing home, in every possible way, the meaning of the "signs of the times."

These are the weapons of that unarmed procession we have been watching. The armies of many empires, clad in all the glory of war, have passed across the stage and disappeared. Their conquests are no more.

More terrible in might than any of these, more certain of enduring victory is this procession of the people, walking calmly through the cities that they are destined to conquer,—

"Some day without a trumpet's call,
This news shall o'er the world be blown—
The heritage comes back to all,
The myriad monarchs take their own."

An Interlude.

A New Tendency in the German Youth.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

Ten days ago I received a pressing invitation to attend a "Youth" Conference in Thuringen—on Mt. Inselberg. The very thought of a week-end amid the hills and pine woods of Thuringen, after six weeks arduous work amid the dreariness and misery of Berlin, intoxicated me. But there were weightier reasons why I should attend this Conference.

During my stay in Berlin I have devoted much attention to the various Youth Movements, which are as virile as numerous. In these movements I see the chief hope of Germany, especially in those of the Left Wing, within which a magnificent spirit prevails which is at once pacifist, international and, although not always so-named, Christian. That spirit, which is widespread, is, I am convinced, capable of saving Germany; and I think the world should know more of it.

Now a striking fact is that among these movements it is being increasingly felt that the social revolution we need is something more than mere salvation from capitalism and militarism; that it is the creation of a quite new mind and life which ought to be manifested NOW. It implies, indeed, that the foundation of a new world must be the lives of those who would create it. The convening of the Inselberg Conference was an expression of this conviction. Shall a new Youth movement be formed that is Christian and thus revolutionary, and that makes personal revolution the beginning of a social revolution?

To face this question, some fifty young people gathered together in the peaceful village of Tarbatz, which lies at the foot of Inselberg. Unfortunately, the high cost of travelling has deprived us of friends from the South of Germany, those present hailing from Berlin, Halle, Jena, Erfurt, Göttingen, Hannover, Hamburg, Merburg, etc., and representing such movements as Free German Youth, the Proletarian Youth, the Christian Students' Union, etc.

We reached our destination about 5 o'clock. Almost all our comrades have travelled fourth-class, which means that they have probably stood for hours in a square box of crowded passengers. They all carried knapsacks; and I may here add that the frequency of the knapsack in Germany is a sufficient answer to those who have the idea that German people are stiff and formal. In the village, as in the train, everybody takes us for granted, and are courteous and friendly. A finer spirit of comradeship than exists in our party I have never witnessed.

I had been told that food was more plentiful in the country than in the towns, and so have not troubled to bring any with me. But I have regretted. I have managed to procure some bread, having brought my cards; but for the rest —. The landlady of our inn is very hospitable, but she can give us nothing beyond coffee and soup. The shops are exceedingly bare.

Disappointed in my search for food, I dive into a luring path which leads out to a pine wood on a low hill-side, in order to forget the things of the flesh, the folly and blindness of men, and to enjoy a silence almost forgotten, to feel that profound unity with Nature, with God, which makes the hatreds and enmities of men seem so appallingly puny.

Evening falls. The towering pine woods hide themselves in the deepening twilight blue. The stillness increases; nature weaves her charms. Berlin, the whole world of organised evil is no more—it is lost in a vision. I return. As I approach the inn I hear music, a weird folk-song, to the accompaniment of the laute. The vision comes true. The soul of the people lives; it seeks life—and finds it. I watch the laute player, whose soul throbs in her song. Yes, this is life: to work in the daytime, at eventide to sing. We eat, and talk, and sing. Three good things. We retire to rest. I feel a better man: I have touched reality.

We breakfast early next morning, which is Sunday, and at 8 o'clock set out in beautiful sunshine for the Inselberg. We discuss England, the Crusaders, Germany—the whole world. A halt is called. One points out the Herselberg, a low, flat-topped hill, whereon Venus appeared to Tannhauser. Away in the distance is Wartburg Castle, where Luther translated the Bible. From above come the strains of the laute. The place is bewitched. The Crusaders! Past and present mingle together in glorious confusion. Dreams haunt us. But forward! Upward lies our path. We seek a Venus on a higher mount. And the laute calls.

On the summit, too, our discussion of the future State gets beautifully mixed up with the glorious panorama which confronts us. At 11 o'clock we eat a little bread, and then discuss in more serious fashion in the great Saal of the Guesthouse. At one o'clock we have a plate of soup, and from three to six continue our discussion. "How shall we establish the Kingdom?" "Shall we live in communities, in settlements, or shall we establish ourselves as minor revolutions in every part of the country?"

But darkness is upon us, and we must return to our inn and sing, and eat our last dish of soup. Three plates of soup, and bread—such is our fare for three days. But on such fare new worlds are ever built.

Next morning, after a restful Quaker meeting, we disperse. As our train nears Berlin I become suddenly conscious of the clay upon my boots. We approach civilisation, says one. I wonder. Have we not rather left it behind? Why, then, return? Why? We return to overthrow and to rebuild. I enter the street. The air is torn with a thousand cries. But there are no lauten here. And one could not hear them if there were.

Labour and Education.

The Appeal of the Child.

At one time the Trade Union Congress held a regular discussion on Education. Labour has ceased that essential practice. It may be that so many paid leaders of Labour hold the view of a once prominent member of the Party when, in the House of Commons, he said: "The character of the education given in the Primary Schools has reached a very high standard indeed and little improvement is now possible." A view so reactionary at that is a sorry indication of the general attitude of Trade Union Labour-leaders towards the education given their children. It is an easy thing to generalise and pass resolutions; it is not easy, and therefore it is vitally necessary, that the Labour Party concentrate on establishing at once more humane conditions in the schools—specially the Elementary Schools, to which the worker's child is forced to go.

No Workers' Schools in England.

This is an alarming truth. It is not fully recognised. In the highest sense there exist nowhere in this land schools that are equipped entirely in the interests of the worker's child or controlled directly by the workers themselves. All the resolutions concerning the land, the mines, the Peace Treaty, are insignificant in their importance while the first problem (on the solution of which the whole Socialist State depends) remains uncared for, and even unrecognised, by the very men who may soon be called upon to govern. No State can ever do any permanent good while it makes the education of the proletariat a secondary consideration. By serving the child we best serve the future; therefore the school must fit the child and train him first in the interests of the proletariat. No school with such a definite object exists to-day. Behind that which is labelled "Elementary Education" is a sinister, anti-revolutionary motive—the motive of Capitalism; for definitely, determinedly, and psychologically,

The Agents of Capital Rule the Schools.

Does Labour realise that fact? In the light of such a realisation, can it any longer tolerate the governance of its children by committees, by departments, by governments, which act daily in defiance of the proletariat? Is it content to continue the present slum education which is given to the millions of working-class children in England? There are schools which are a scandal on a so-called Christian nation; in equipment, curriculum and aim they are disastrous in their effects on the children. This need not be; for if £125,000,000 can be found to maintain an army for a year, surely even that sum can be found for the education of the children.

The Neglect of the Child is the National Crime.

The present social state cannot exist, with its present monopolised privileges, if it ceases to prolong this crime. Only the workers can make amends; and make the schools the pride and not the shame of the nation. Only Labour can alter the conditions under which the children live and are educated; only Labour can remove the inhuman housing conditions which send daily to the teachers the millions of little ones with natural instincts repressed; with bodies ill-fed and clothed; and bearing in their souls the marks of the tyrant rule of the Capitalist. While Capitalism exists slum education will exist for

Capitalism Flourishes on Degradation.

It is in its interests to control the child and the teacher; and in a way, which is a masterpiece for organisation, it holds the workers' children in its grip; blights their mental growth and robs them of their birthright—a thorough mental and moral training. Not long ago, when Mr. Holmes was Chief Inspector of English Schools, he reported thus on Elementary Education as he knew it for many years

so intimately: "Whatever else the current system of education does to the child there is one thing it cannot fail to do—to blight his mental growth." What Mr. Holmes saw in his day exists to-day; for there has been no radical reform in the system of education. There cannot be any reform; for, apart from Socialism, there is no hope of reform. If Satan cast out his devil-agents, Satan's kingdom falls. Capital to reform education! The possibility is absurd.

The Workers' Revolution.

Patch-work is a national characteristic. As a nation we blunder through somehow. And actually take pride in the blundering! But there are occasions when we must get down to bed-rock and build anew according to a definite plan. The system of education demands such an occasion. Let it be first recognised that Capital and Labour are irreconcilable; that like God and mammon they cannot both rule. There is a class struggle; and on the issue of that struggle the fate of the child depends. Its treatment of the child; its heartless exploitation of the child-life; its deliberate robbery of the child's right to education—these damn for all time the rule of capitalism. The false God must go; and that going is the Revolution. Until the Schools are in the hands of the workers and, instead of being dependent on a system of doles and grants, financed by a Communist State, there will continue to exist, in spite of a patch of reform here and there, the present rotten educational system. Only the Workers' Revolution can free the child.

The Church—the Tool of Capital.

It is a sorry spectacle to see the annual examinations in religious instruction. All the old miracles are retailed; all the virtues of decadent civilisation are held up for example; all the old obsequiousness is preached as desirable and proper. The Church still grips the School. Many of us ought to rejoice that such is the case. We cannot. We know only too well how bitter is the mockery the Church makes of the Master's moral truths. He who drove the money-lenders from the Temple cannot, in these days look to a church, subsidised and governed and inspired by Capitalism, for the preaching and establishing of His Kingdom of Universal Love and Brotherhood. It is this church with its medieval methods and outlook and its 20th century shrewdness that holds hand to hand with capital in the schools of the workers' children. When the Revolution gives us a free church, with a wide horizon, and a passionate purpose, then the schools will be churches where the little ones will learn of One who gave all for the liberation of mankind, and be inspired to live as His disciples.

Labour's Lost Opportunity.

While the Church and the Capitalist have carefully kept the schools in their grasp, Labour, side-tracked and hood-winked, as it is to-day, by Whitley Councils and Parliamentary representation, has lost its finest opportunity for hastening the Revolution. The proletariat is certainly not intellectually strong in England; and the main cause of this is, after all, the neglect by the workers of their class-conscious duty to their own children. The schools must be made Workers' Schools, controlled by workers, and paid for by a wealthy country; and no longer left in the hands of bankers, bondholders, rural capitalists, and rich theologians. Labour must have its schools, for Labour cannot progress without education.

The children appeal to the workers of England. They appeal in His Name who said "Suffer the little children to come unto Me." Will Labour suffer them? Will it swing to the Left; and by hastening and establishing the Revolution, make secure for ever the emancipation of the Child?

J. R. SULLIVAN.

Bookland. The Case for Nationalisation.*

It is quite obvious that what is understood by the word "Nationalisation" will be the line of cleavage in the politics of the future, not only in this country, but the whole world over. In the book before us, Ald. A. Emil Davies, of the London County Council, one of the foremost advocates of nationalisation, brings forwards a mass of arguments and—what is, perhaps, less usual in books of this description—a mass of facts and instances gathered from practical experience in finance and industry, which will be invaluable to those who are in favour of nationalisation and desire to convince their fellows of its rightness and practicability. And it would be impossible for a fair-minded opponent of nationalisation to read the book without being given food for very serious thought.

To those of us who are already convinced, the completeness of the book is amazing. Mr. Davies seems to have explored every possible avenue in his search for "anti" arguments to refute. Beginning with an overwhelming indictment of the present wasteful and inhuman system, he proceeds to tackle the stock objections coming under the headings of "Bureaucracy," "Inefficiency," "The lack of Incentive to gain," "What about the Consumer?" and a hundred and one others. Then, having made short work of these, the author devotes forty pages to proving, with practical illustrations, the success of community-owned undertakings. From this he goes to the vexed question of the right to strike under nationalisation, and also deals with the vital matter of the workers' share in management. "Methods of Nationalisation" is the title of the next chapter. Another chapter deals with the attitude of the Press towards the subject. To make quite sure that nothing slips by unnoticed, there is a general chapter on "Some Common Objections to Nationalisation," followed by chapters on State telephones and Government control. And to clinch the whole business, the author finishes up by presenting his readers with three ready-made schemes for the nationalisation of land, railways, and mines and minerals!

Some idea of the spirit of the book may be gained from the following quotation:

"Events have made nationalisation the leading question between the propertied interests on the one hand and the mass of the workers on the other; and if it is going to be settled in a spirit of class hostility, I prophesy that we have before us a series of labour disturbances which may engulf the nation in a state of hopeless chaos; but if it is considered and settled impartially in a spirit of brotherhood, solidarity and co-operation, as opposed to narrow class interest, we may yet see the happier world that many of us aspire to and some of us, alas, sneer at."

It is impossible to do more than hint at the line of argument; readers must get the book for themselves. Here is one such hint:

"When the nation runs great services like that of coal-mining, railway transport, etc., it will not

be long before it begins to measure success in terms of human health and happiness, just as the Ministry of Health does, so far as it is permitted to."

Here is another:

If once the ideal of production for service were adopted, instead of production for profit, many of our problems would immediately be simplified. . . . Suppose our governing class had really desired at all costs to grapple with both the housing and unemployment problems! On the conclusion of war the nation was brought up against these two problems, the housing shortage being absolutely dangerous to the health of the community, whilst at the same time hundreds of thousands of people who had been at work on munitions, etc., found themselves menaced with unemployment. Against this, the State had (1) hundreds of national factories with modern machinery and equipment; (2) hundreds of thousands of workpeople on the spot; and (3) vast accumulations of timber, metal and other materials. Given the will, it would have been an easy matter to put the hundreds of thousands of workers on to making window frames, doors, building sections and other things required for housing construction. . . . The need of the community for houses was so great that it shrieked to the heavens. . . . BUT THIS WOULD HAVE BEEN INTERFERING WITH PRIVATE ENTERPRISE!"

So it was not done, and we are now paying the penalty in "crime waves," huge debts, and ever-increasing unrest. It is impossible to exaggerate the usefulness and importance of this book. It is the most valuable half-a-crown's worth I have happened on since the paper famine and profiteering began to place good books beyond the reach of all but the war-wealthy—who do not want them!

W.J.C.

*"The Case for Nationalisation," by A. Emil Davies, L.C.C. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., paper covers, 2s. 6d.; cloth, 4s. 6d. net.

WEST HAMPSTEAD MEETING.

Wednesday, May 5th, 8 p.m.

Mr. J. ROWNTREE GILLETT

Will speak on conditions he saw in VIENNA during his recent visit to that city,

At 250 WEST END LANE ("The Cake Shop"), W. 6.

ALL WELCOMED.

TO LOVERS OF LITTLE CHILDREN.

Those desirous of helping with a

"DAISY DAY"

in WESTMINSTER, SATURDAY, MAY 8th, on behalf of the National Children's Home, are invited to communicate with Miss ADA BROWNE, 53, Ferndale Road, Clapham, S.W.4.

The Great Deliverance.

The world knows no age in which man has not looked for a Deliverer, craved for deliverance or felt within himself the passion to deliver.

In those ancient documents—so human and so ageless—which we call the Psalms, the cry echoes and re-echoes, "Deliver me speedily. Deliver me from the deceitful and unjust man: Deliver me from the workers of iniquity: Deliver me from blood-guiltiness. Deliver me from my transgressions." Listen to this cry which rings true to-day: "Deliver me from the oppression of man; so will I keep thy precepts." We could almost imagine the speaker making a twentieth century speech declaring that because of the system under which he lived he could not keep the precepts which his soul recognised as good.

It is safe to say that never has the world needed deliverance from the oppression of man as it needs it to-day.

In despair, men cry vaguely to "Providence," and when such "Providence" fails, they deny it in impatience and disgust.

We groan and suffer and sear our consciences to numbness because we have not yet recognised that it is upon ourselves that the burden of "delivery" rests.

An ancient seer has warned us: "If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if thou sayest 'Behold, we knew it not'; doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? And he that keepeth thy soul, doth not he know it? And shall not he render to every man according to his works?"

Before we can receive the urge to deliver, we must have heard the cry.

What is wrong with vast masses of the people to-day is that even yet they have not heard the cry.

They are either, on the one hand, so far removed from the need of deliverance, or, on the other, they are so absorbed in achieving their own deliverance that they have no time to listen to the common cry. And even those of us who can truthfully say that we have heard some cry, are still far from that sensitiveness of spirit which would enable us to become so one with the oppressed that nothing would be impossible to us.

Yet having heard the cry, what then?

On Sunday, the streets outside suddenly resounded with cries and bands and the rattling of money-boxes. Why? Because this passion for delivering had gripped the Trade Unions. With banners and bands they were standing side by side with the blind.

This morning, in the "Daily Herald," I read that in St. Pancras, 11,000 families live in one room, 15,000 in two rooms, 10,000 in three rooms, and a case was given in which a father and mother and ten children, eight alive and two dead when the report was made, were occupying one room.

Who is stirring in this matter? The Labour Mayors of Metropolitan Boroughs. They are seek-

ing facts, they are making reports, they are coming forth to deliver. To-morrow night, a meeting is to be held on behalf of delivering German women from the horrors of black troops—and so the work goes on in a thousand directions.

This May-Day—this day of spring's breaking—is a symbol that the passion for deliverance is finding expression. It will not be satisfied until it has accomplished its task.

Hope flames out even in the darkness of a world apparently given over to self-seeking competition and violence.

It is necessary for all of us who would take our share in delivering our brothers and sisters from oppression to recognise that there can be no deliverance except by the way of Truth. It was not for nothing that when the Great Deliverer searched for a name for Himself, He declared that He was the Truth. "What is Truth?" demanded a Pilate. The one thing the world cannot stand to-day is the truth—anything but the truth. There is danger in truth. But exactly because there is danger, there is hope.

It is being increasingly recognised that no Deliverer can be out for himself. The moment the world suspects a would-be deliverer of grinding his own axe his power fades.

Looking round about us to-day, we know that it is the men and women who are in the highest degree truthful, fearless and disinterested who claim our real devotion.

It was said of the Working Man of Nazareth: "He saved others. Can He not save Himself?" (Weymouth's translation). Alas, we so often desire both to deliver and to save ourselves. It cannot be done.

May Day proclaims in every blossom and eager young shoot the practical fulfilment in resurrection energy of the venturesome faith of the seed which yielded itself into the ground and died.

"When the Son of Man comes, shall He find faith on the earth?" was asked long ago.

"Faith" is a much misused word, rightly scorned if it only means the lulling of emotion into lassitude.

True "Faith" is that motive force by which alone The Great Deliverance can come.

T.W.W.

Position of Women under Guild Socialism.

Conference, Central Hall, Westminster,

TUESDAY, MAY 4th, 3 p.m. and 8

3 p.m.—Women only. Discussion opened by Mrs. EWER.

8 p.m.—Men and Women. Speakers: Mrs. BARTON, Mrs. ANNOT ROBINSON, Mrs. STOCKS, and Mr. G. D. H. COLE.

Tickets, 1/—, from the Women's International League, 14, Bedford Row, W.C.1.

The Question-World.

To live under the shadow of these walls creates in us a habit of thought which is different from that of those who lift up their heads in the sunlight without let or hindrance. For the workhouse throws a shadow, not only over the adjacent streets, but over all who at one time or another come under its influence or who, by the maddening uncertainty of many working-class lives, under the present system of employment, feel themselves foredoomed to end their days there. It is not the thing itself casts the shadow—or need do so. In any state of society, the most ideal that can be imagined, there must always be homes of rest for the aged and lonely, homes of healing for the sick in body and mind.

What matters is the way in which help is given—shall it be to a fellow human creature in need, no matter where or how, without question, save as to the sort and degree of need and as to our privilege of giving succour? Or shall it be, as is too often the case, with every circumstance of humiliation and pain to the unfortunate, without consideration for their feelings and tastes, relentlessly pursuing them from place to place, from year to year, with questions?

Besides criminals and paupers, who are so well known to suffer in this way that I need hardly mention them, all those whom we pray for as in any way afflicted or distressed, if they are living, or once they have stepped below the dividing line, above which you can pay your way freely and meet even the most exorbitant charges—below this inhabit a different world from ours; they have become a different people no longer possessing their own souls and bodies and having undisputed charge of those dear to them. They have become inhabitants of the Question-World—a place of whispers, and confusion, and evasion, and fear—of sharp-edged questions and quivering answers—of inquest into secrets which none but God can search out equitably.

Just a few examples out of many—mere outlines of stories. You can guess that there is much more untold in them.

I know an old man who used to come and see us every day, being otherwise friendless. For years he had been a wanderer, doing casual work as a day labourer here and there. He had tramped over most of England, Scotland and Ireland, and now, at near sixty, after a bad accident, which for a long time incapacitated him and affected him mentally, had drifted back to the East End of London. He slept in lodging-houses, changing his abode frequently because he said people watched him wherever he went and thought him peculiar. Peculiar he was in this (considering the rough life he had led), that he was quiet in his ways, perfectly clean and sober, and punctilious in honesty. Being without work, without recreation, and unable to “mix” comfortably with his fellows, the lodging-house life aggravated his mental weakness and he became touched with the “persecution mania.” He took to wandering again,

and one day, after a week's absence, came to us with a look in his eyes that warned us not to let him go back to the roads or to his unhomelike, sleepless bed. He was taken to the workhouse in the district where he had last lodged, and by urgent representations, and an influential letter to the relieving officer, admitted with the least possible inquiry. Safely in the infirm ward, we thought he would remain for two or three months until well again. But no. A week later he was back with us, the same hunted look in his eyes. They had come to him again with their questions, seeking to establish what district, throughout his lifelong goings to and fro, had housed him longest and must be chargeable for his support. To this petty regulation was the man's welfare sacrificed; but, as all things work together for good, with patience, he is now, by his own efforts, somewhere in the country at work again and at peace in his mind.

One day, not long ago, a girl (to name one out of many) came to us homeless. She had taken her discharge from the infirmary to attend to some personal matter, and could not be taken back again because she had ignorantly slept a night out of the district. She had to be conducted to a women's free lodging-house in the neighbourhood and placed under the care of the manageress, so that next morning, having complied with the terms of the Settlement Act, she could be re-admitted to the infirmary, which she should not have left.

Inside these institutions, too, comes the plague of questioners. It is against the rules, I believe, for privileged visitors to catechise or criticise the girls and women in certain wards, but it has more than once been described to me how they go about prying into the saddest histories, not even taking care to speak privately to their unfortunate victims, and rousing in their breasts a bitter hatred for the moral and religious class of cross-questioners, who give all social workers a bad name.

It must not, and will not be supposed, that there is nothing but cruelty and no kindness in the ways of institutions—far from it; but my aim is to bring home to all those who would resent nothing more than such inquisition into their private affairs, the iniquity of the system which compels the poor to suffer from it without possibility of escape.

This modern and secular form of the Holy Office is supposed to be necessary as a safeguard against imposture, but the excuse is a fictitious one. Happy people don't seek aid from workhouses and asylums, and in the sight of God it surely matters nothing what you were doing or where you lived one, three, or ten years ago, if you are in need of kindness now. Kindness—that sounds ironical; the institution does not stand in our eyes as a symbol of brotherly love; but why not? Must we know so much of a man or woman before we satisfy the hungry, give rest to the weary, and lift the broken bodies in our arms?

ANNA LENNOX.

Christian Commonwealth Fellowship.



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscriptions for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, pendants, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Postage 1½d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

Spring Cleaning.

One of the most hopeful things in the world is the instinct, buried deep in the heart of nature, and of humanity, to clear out dead, decaying or useless matter, and to start afresh with a purified environment. In our households this instinct takes possession of us regularly at this time of the year, and "spring cleaning," the pride of all good housewives, is the order of the day. Isn't this true of the larger household of men and women? And is it not there as certainly a sign of new life and a fresh start? "We are in the throes of transition," writes 819 (Witham). "My faith assures me that this present stage is a very necessary one. But it is a good bit like spring cleaning—an unpleasant process, and heaps of dirt and dust flying about, and chaos generally—and, of course, ruffled tempers. As to 'Amor Vincit Omnia,' that always remains the same, though fear seems to be a greater controller than love to most of the people."

A May Day Thought.

There is nothing quite as exhilarating as work well done, work into which the soul of the worker has been put. To-morrow is the Festival of Labour all the world over, and this year, Spring and the Glory of Work are to be feted as perhaps never before. For May Day is much more than a mere joy day, more than a proof of the solidarity of Labour (workers with hand or brain); it is a testimony to the truth that service to our fellows is at once the greatest privilege and the greatest responsibility we can ever have. The Festival of St. Labour, someone has called it. Is it not just that, a reminder of the sacrament of service, of which we all partake daily? In every heart is the desire to help others by personal service, and every day's labour gives its opportunity. You serve your customers, lay your bricks, sew your clothes, drive your machine, dig your garden, write your letters, care for your house and your children, in the service of your fellow-men, and as an offering to the Spirit of Fellowship. May Day is also a prophecy of what shall be when the spirit of craftsmanship shall have come into its own. In some places the workers are to carry carved and painted figures typifying their industry, the symbols of their craft.

Prophecies.

Messages of inspiration have come to us in the C.C.F. lately that sound like prophecies. 1318 (Bombay), now in England, writes:—"I need not write at length how much I like the noble work that

you are doing. We are on the eve of a mighty spiritual upheaval, and love shall reign again." And from a friend in Ireland comes this:—"Beautiful things do I behold, not far off. . . . The cloak of darkness will be lifted almost simultaneously—slowly but surely—in all countries. The race will be made one. The word of the Lord has gone forth, and nothing can annul it." Lastly, 2181 (Birmingham) says:—"I feel sure that the C.C.F. is in for big things. We must aim high. Surely the promise that 'they shall mount up with wings as eagles' is ours, too." And he adds a word that is worth more than hundreds of beautiful phrases: "My actual purpose in writing you now is that I want to help. The new age for which we are looking cannot come with vision only. The C.C.F. must be more than the couch of dreamers. Idealists are wanted with the courage of conviction that will act as a dynamic does." 2181 offers personal service in his own neighbourhood that will be very valuable. There are others who are doing likewise. 1597 (Brighton) and 239 (Beaconsfield) are both doing some clerical work for headquarters, and the former has promised to scour Sussex on his bicycle to see that every Fellow takes the "Crusader." No "couch of dreamers"!

Our Forthcoming Fellowship Calendar.

We thank 2657 (Birkenhead), 3563 (Birmingham), and 3747 (Vevy) for quotations for our 1921 Calendar, and shall be glad if other members can send us their contributions at the earliest possible moment. Never was there a greater need that the message of Fellowship should be spread abroad.

Fellowship Wanted.

Can any Fellow give an hour or two a week at Headquarters; the work is very simple, but very necessary.

5025 (Blackburn), who has recently moved from Long Eaton, where she found much Fellowship, would be glad to know of Fellows near her.

Introductions.

Will you please help us to welcome the following:— 5361 (Dartford), a woman relieving officer, interested in universal brotherhood and the equality of the sexes, will be glad to write to "anyone who needs a pal."

5371 (Norwich), an ex-soldier, an internationalist, a socialist and a journalist. He is anxious to get into touch with ex-soldiers in Belgium, France, Russia and Germany; can read French, but prefers to write in English. An Adult School man, a student of Pre-history, Birds, Socialism and Industrial History, he will be interesting to young English Fellows also.

5369 (Madras), a young teacher just beginning her career, will be glad to link with young people in England or Canada, either those in the medical profession, or still at a University, or teachers in the West.

Annual Subscriptions and New Members.

We acknowledge, with thanks, the following annual subscriptions:—

L. J. (Isfryn, 5s.); I. V. T. (Meltham, 1s. 6d.); Mrs. G. J. (Norwich, 2s. 6d.); Mrs. T. (Stalybridge, 2s. 6d.); H. B. (Highbury, 3s.); L. B. (Auckland, N.Z., 5s.); J. M. (Glasgow, 2s. 3d.); O. R. (Woodborough, 2s. 6d.).

We welcome the following new members:—N. B. (Dartford, 5361, 2s. 6d.); D. W. X. (Egmore, India, 5369, 2s. 6d.); F. D. C. (Norwich, 5371, 2s. 6d.); Miss F. (London, S.W., 5373, 1s. 6d.); Miss B. (Forest Hall, 5375, 1s. 6d.); H. H. C. (Bombay, 5365, 5s.); G. M. B. (Haverstock Hill, 5377, 2s.); Mrs. S. (Islington, 5379, 2s.); D. E. M. M. (Folkestone, 5381, 2s.); T. H. M. (Hyderabad, 5367, 2s.), Mrs. McF. (Wolsingham, 5385, 2s. 6d.).

SIDELIGHTS.

Christianity and Communism.

A few weeks ago we reported that outside the Kremlin Bolsheviks had written "Religion is the opium of the people." That all Bolsheviks are not so indiscriminating is evident from this pen-picture of the Moscow Correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian":

"The churches were packed as in the old days, and in the Kremlin itself I met men carefully carrying home their lighted candles, shading the flame with a piece of the Pravda or the Investiya, to light the lamps before ikons at home. Communists rejoiced no less than non-Communists. One said to me: "Why not? For we, after all, express in practical economics something of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. If anybody has the right to rejoice we have."

Where Sermons Come From.

Now we know where our preachers get their inspiration. The "Sunday Pictorial," after announcing a special article by Horatio Bottomley on "The Risen Christ: Some Thoughts on the Great Easter Festival," went on to say:—

For several years past it has been the custom of Mr. Bottomley, on this page, to deliver a great lay sermon on the inner meaning and purpose of the resurrection; and many churches have taken his article as their text for Easter Sunday. To-day in one of the most impressive articles he has ever penned, he returns to the theme."

"Foreign Affairs"

Edited by E. D. Morel.

MAY ISSUE. OUT TO-DAY.

Chief Contents:

**Europe and the Coloured Races.
American Internationalism.
Syrian Independence.
Pacifism and the Lessons of the War.
Lucien Le Foyer (Ex-Deputy for Paris).
Behind the Veil in Diplomacy.**

12-page Literary Supplement.

Contributors:—Gerald Gould, Robert Dell, Charles Trevelyan, J. A. Farrer, M. E. Durham, Arthur Ponsonby, E. D. Morel.

Annual Subscription: Britain and the Continent, 2/6 post free (single copies 2d.) Outside Europe 5/-.
—

Women and Guild Socialism.

What do we know about Guild Socialism, and in what relation to the scheme of things will women find themselves when the change comes, as come it will? If we study the Miners' Nationalisation proposals or the Building Guild scheme, we realise that Guild Socialism has so far passed the realm of mere theory as to be a living issue of to-day, which intelligent citizens must help to develop by their contributions in practical proposals (and in votes). It behoves women to study especially that aspect which particularly affects them, and to be prepared with able criticism and constructive proposals in the controversy that is upon us.

This is one of the questions that are becoming so important and about which we are many of us so hazy, that the Conference arranged by the Women's International League for **Tuesday, May 4th, at the Central Hall, Westminster** on "The Position of Women under Guild Socialism" gives a welcome opportunity for discussion and criticism.

A Prisoner Subscriber.

Among the regular subscribers to the Save the Children Fund is an inmate of one of H.M. prisons. He earns 10d. a day and from this sends 2s. to the Fund at regular intervals.

The Cause Calls.

The beauty of earth awaits all men,
And the cause calls "Give it them."
Morning rises out of the night.
Her shimmering, fair-hued light
Meets misery in the cities of men!
Not shelter enough! Not food enough!
Not leisure enough! Not beauty enough!
And the cause calls "Give it them."

The noon-time glows across the earth.
Beneath its warmth the wide fields spread—
Wide enough and more.
And glowing flowers deck fair fields
To gladden the eyes of men.
But poverty's shade is o'er them all—
The fields are locked from men.
The cause calls "Give it them."

Evening comes, robed fairer than art has known:
Rest and splendour and beauty she brings—
Scatters them far for men.
But profit is king of men
And holds the doors to these.
The cause calls "The earth is men's:
Come, let's give it them."

—GEORGE F. HIBNER.

Do You Think?

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The Crusader

No. 14. Vol. II.

Friday, May 7th, 1920.

(Registered as a Newspaper)

Twopence.



The Outlook.

THE International Congress of Ex-Service Men has opened at Geneva, where men representing most of the belligerents are met in conference. Henri Barbusse struck the keynote of the Congress when he said, in the course of his presidential address:

"Once more we confront one another—we who have confronted one another in hell. Our Congress is already a success because it has come into being."

"We have met to declare our definite belief in our common brotherhood. We are the token of the phrase, 'War against war.' We know that the war against war means the war against Capitalism, since in Capitalism are to be found the roots of war."

IL as a means of quieting the troubled waves seems losing its character. Indeed, it promises to rival gold as a cause of strife. The fields of Mesopotamia are provoking a good deal of rivalry. Says the "Sunday Express":—

"An extraordinary and far-reaching attempt on the part of a foreign oil trust to secure control of British petroleum supplies in Mesopotamia has been defeated at San Remo by the Allied Conference under the leadership of Mr. Lloyd George."

War is a terrible and ugly thing, but it is not so morally repulsive as this scramble for the spoils.

ONE of the most serious pieces of news to hand is that the Russian Trade Delegation at Copenhagen, in view of the fact that the Allies are conniving at the advance of Polish and Japanese armies against the Russian Republic, has decided to return home. This imperils the possibility of trade with Russia and thus menaces still further the world's economic situation. It also imperils the last vestige of any reputation that may still be left to Allied statesmen for fair dealing.

THE position of Poland is significant. Having won its long struggle for national freedom, its first action is to use that freedom in attacking those who overthrew the greatest foe of their national aspirations. Relieved from the tyranny of Czardom, Poland turns upon its Deliverer, the Russian people. Nothing could better exemplify the fact that a struggle for national self-determination may prove, in regard to the social revolution, a reactionary rather than a progressive force.

* * *

THE appeal for financial assistance in carrying out the Government's Housing Scheme is, among other things, another illustration of the unreliability of ministerial statements. A short while ago it was hotly contended that the delay in making provision for the housing of the people was due to the Trade Unions' action with regard to ex-service men. To-day we are told that all that is needed is capital. But if the former statement were true, and there is insufficient labour, of what use is it to subscribe capital?

THE proposal on the part of certain middle-class men to wear overalls, as a form of protest against the price of clothes, would surely, if Carlyle were living, provoke an additional chapter to "Sartor Resartus." Such an adoption of working-class garb is indeed symbolic. Once abolish the uniform of social caste and we shall make a big step towards the abolition of class.



The Master.

The identification, which so many make, between Christianity and democracy is likely to lead to some confusion. For instance, anything more unlike what most regard

as democratic than the relation between Jesus and His disciples could scarcely be conceived. The impression the gospels give is that of One who spoke always with authority. It is not possible to imagine the Leader of that little company submitting to His followers a resolution that they should set their faces towards Jerusalem. The Sermon on the Mount does not suggest to me that it was first of all drawn up in a committee composed of the Twelve. I cannot imagine that it was by a majority vote, or even by "the sense of the meeting," that it was decided to go away beyond Jordan. I cannot reduce the Jesus of the New Testament to the proportions of the Chairman of a Committee. If we take the story as we find it, He never consulted His lieutenants as to what He should say or do. He exercised more than a casting vote. Apparently all the initiative and every vital decision rested with Him and Him alone. That is not democracy as most people understand it; it is autocracy.

Jesus was a born leader of men. He knew His own mind and was never at the mercy of His followers. He had, too, the courage to make decisions and take risks not only for Himself but for others. Have you ever considered what it must have cost to say to men He loved, "I send you forth as sheep among wolves"?

I never cease to marvel at the courage displayed by the first preachers of Christianity in pleading a cause, the acceptance of which must mean, in many cases at least, the martyr's death. Were they never afraid of inducing men to run such risks? Were they never haunted by the cries of those whom they had been the means of sending to prison or to death? Did they never pause to ask whether they were justified?

There is a pathetic passage in Bolton King's "Life of Mazzini," in which he describes the doubts which at times beset the Italian prophet and leader. "The men whom he had sent to a patriot's death, had they died in vain? Was it all a frightful error, an empty dream born of ambition and pride of intellect? Was it for some grandiose, impossible chimera, that he had taken men from quiet useful lives and the simple round of kindness? What authority had he still to preach a creed, which meant the sacrifice

of thousands more, the unhappiness of many another mother?"

I find this willingness to make decisions and take responsibilities for other people one of the hardest things. I can take my own life in my hands and risk it on the validity of my intuitions with comparative ease, but when it comes to telling other folk what they ought to do, I find myself sheltering behind some such tame phrase as "Each individual must decide for himself," or pleading democratic principles as a means of escape from the responsibilities of leadership.

Who among us, during the war, could have advised soldiers in uniform to take up the pacifist attitude, knowing what might have been their fate? And who of us would have the courage, even if we were convinced of the wisdom of the course, to tell the rich young man troubled concerning the sources of his wealth, "Sell all and give to the poor"?

We shall feel this difficulty of leadership, probably, in proportion as we have imagination and human sympathy and are ourselves involved in the dangers to which we invite others. The old men who sent the young men to fight for democracy appear to be enjoying life just as if thousands of graves were not reproaching them. They are not troubled in their dreams by the thought of the lives they sacrificed to their senile rage. Some of them to-day are preaching beautiful sermons on peace and brotherhood. And there is no shame in their faces as they deny the words they used five years ago. They are not of the mould of Mazzini. If they were they could scarcely have lived through the last year with its merciless exposure of the futility of war. The leadership of Jesus, harsh as it may sometimes have seemed, was of the type that urges no sacrifice which the leader himself is not prepared to make.

Some, of course, will object that it is never within our right to make decisions for others. This dislike of leadership and initiative, this cowardly shirking of responsibility would reduce the world to the condition of a committee pledged not to do anything for which the society it represents has not given a mandate, and a society that does nothing because it has elected a committee to do its work for it.

There you have the vicious circle of democratic government. And one hails with relief even Lenin who breaks through it and becomes a dictator.

Of course, the difference between the dictatorship of Lenin and the dictatorship of Christ is that, in the latter case, though decisions were made for other men, those men were not coerced into accepting them, while Lenin not only tells his fellow republicans what ought to be done but sees to it that they do it. The leadership of Jesus was free from taint. His swift, creative, dominating will would have smashed our constipated committees to pieces but neither by hypnotic means nor by force would He have robbed a single individual of the freedom to reject His leadership.

THE TRAMP.

The Real Lenin.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

"It is all very well for pacifist intellectuals to prate about a peaceful overthrow. That looks comfortable on paper and in theory. But let them face practical facts and learn something from Russia."

The above is an extract from an article headed "Britain's Revolutionaries," in the last issue of the "Sunday Mercury and News," a Midland Sunday paper which is run by a newspaper combine responsible for about two dozen daily and weekly papers issued from various centres, including the "Sheffield Independent" and the "Northern Echo." The burden of the article in question was that up and down the country "Red Army" contingents are being secretly drilled and prepared for "The Day" of the British Soviet Republic. As a matter of fact, the whole article was nothing more than what we journalists call "tripe," and one could excuse it if it had appeared in any of the ordinary gutter rags; but the company responsible for these papers includes men whose names have in the past been associated with those "pacifist intellectuals" who are now scoffed at by the "stunt" writers. If this should meet the eye of Sir Charles Stormer, perhaps he will look over the contents of his Sunday papers with a view to purging them of matter which will do more to bring about violence than all the hot air of the wild men in the Socialist movement.

It is not my intention to waste space in exposing the sheer hypocrisy of the suggestion contained in the sentences quoted above: that will be obvious to all who have the slightest knowledge of the facts of the wicked campaign waged by the capitalistic governments of Europe against Soviet Russia, the latest move of which is the attack now being engineered from Poland. But when our "stuntist" friend asks us to "face practical facts and learn something from Russia," he is offering excellent advice to all concerned, and it would be a good thing if he would begin at once to act on his own advice.

Amongst the mass of literature published on the Russian Revolution it is possible to lose oneself in the mere propaganda matter and miss the concrete facts of things as they really are in Russia to-day. And one of the most important of these facts is the attitude of Lenin himself to the problems with which he is faced. The popular picture of this great figure in modern history is that of a ruthless man of "blood and iron," a man of "no compromise" type, who carries all before him by the sheer weight of the power he wields through a government based on armed force. This picture is simply absurd. The plain truth of the matter is that Lenin is—to quote the words of W. T. Goode—"one of the greatest compromisers in Europe," and his power is derived more from his tolerance and patience with the people of Russia than from the Red Army.

Take, for instance, the attitude of Lenin towards one of the greatest problems with which he has had

to grapple—that of the land. The speech of Lenin at the first all-Russian congress of Land Departments (reprinted in pamphlet form, together with the two fundamental Land Decrees of the Soviet Republic, by the I.L.P. : 6d.) reveals the real Lenin as a man who would run the risk of being severely heckled by an "extreme" British Socialist meeting because of his moderation! Let me quote a few typical sentences:

"There can be no doubt that, in a peasant country like Russia, Socialist reconstruction is a very difficult problem. . . . We know very well that in countries of small peasant proprietors its transition to Socialism is impossible without a whole series of gradual preparatory stages. . . . Persistently and patiently awakening by a series of gradual transitions the class consciousness of the labouring section of the peasantry, and advancing only in proportion as that awakening progressed and the peasantry was organising by its own efforts, the working class is moving along the path of the new Socialist organisation. We know well that such immense changes in the life of scores of millions of people, affecting the very foundations of life, as the transition from small peasant proprietorship to communal agriculture, can be effected only by prolonged effort; that, altogether, they can be realised only at the point where necessity forces men to rebuild their lives."

Referring to the "middle" peasantry, Lenin said:

"They will, of course, hesitate, and will consent to come into the Socialist camp only when they see sound and unmistakable proofs that such a course is absolutely necessary. We cannot convince the 'middle' peasantry by theoretical arguments or by speeches, and we are not relying on such methods. . . . You will read that, amongst the persons and institutions who may enjoy the possession of land, the first place is held by the State, the second by public bodies under Soviet control, the third by agricultural communes, and the fourth by agricultural co-operative societies. . . . We made, and are still making concessions, . . . and we do so because the transition to the collective form of land holding. . . . is impossible all at once. . . . This law shows that we desire to influence, mainly by the force of example, by the power of attraction exercised by improved farming, the mass of the 'middle' peasantry, and are reckoning only on the gradual effect of such measures for this deepest and most important revolution in the economics of agricultural Russia."

Lenin is bringing about that revolution by methods which would be endorsed by every member of the "Crusader" Group. The only thing standing in the way of the universal adoption of such methods in Russia is the crime of the Allied attacks on the Russian Republic. If these attacks ceased we should, I believe, see what still remains of individualism in Russia overthrown by just those peaceful methods about which the writer of the paragraph at the head of this article is so scornful.

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

—Mass meeting in Kingsway Hall, Friday, May 21st, at 8 p.m. to send off British delegation to the World Congress of Women in Geneva, June 6th to 12th, 1920. Attractive list of speakers; come and hear them. Tickets: reserved and numbered, 10/-, 5/-, 2/6, 1/3; unreserved, 8d. To be obtained from the Secretary, British Geneva Congress Committee, 62, Oxford Street, W.1.

The Crusader.

Friday, May 7th, 1920.

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A Word of Thanks.

The May Day procession in London afforded the "Crusader" an unrivalled opportunity of publicly identifying itself with the cause of the workers. That we were able to utilise it to the full is due to the willing helpers who responded to our S.O.S. The artist who at such short notice painted for us so fine a banner, those who assisted in selling the paper, and all who rendered help (and some worked long and hard in making our appearance worthy of the cause), have won our sincere and cordial thanks.

Free Copies.

If equal assistance had been given, especially in the matter of selling the "Crusader," throughout the country, we should have disposed of the large number of copies printed for the occasion. As it is we have a considerable number left over. In order that these may be utilised to the best advantage, we are offering to send copies for free distribution to those applying for them. This Special Labour Number affords an excellent means of introducing the paper to Trades Councils, Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, and similar bodies. We shall also be glad to send parcels of the "Crusader" to those able to distribute them among the members of Churches. Write at once to the Office stating the number you require.

CHURCH SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

THE CHURCH AND THE SOCIAL CRISIS.

PUBLIC MEETING on Tuesday next, 11th May,
at 8 p.m., at CAXTON HALL, WESTMINSTER (St. James' Park Station)

Speakers:

The Right Rev. BISHOP GORE, D.D.
on "THE REDEMPTION OF MAN."

Mr. GEORGE LANSBURY (Editor of *The Daily Herald*).
The Rev. Fr. PAUL B. BULL, C.R.

ADMISSION FREE.

A few Reserved Seats at 2/6 each. Particulars of the League and specimen copy of *The Church Socialist* (Bi-monthly Organ of the League, 2/- per annum, post free), may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Mr. F. G. DENT, 9 Woodfield Avenue, Ealing, London, W.5.

TO CHRISTIAN INVESTORS.—Those desirous of investing in non-industrial concern, with security and reasonable interest, and also helping to solve grave social problem, should communicate with Frank Griffiths, 54, Alkham Road, N.16.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3-15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6-30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

DEVELOPING A CONSCIENCE.

One Sunday afternoon a few weeks ago we grew weary of waiting on the platform of a tube station. The staff had not then decided to work according to rule, and we wondered why there were so few trains. Then one of our party remarked: "I think the authorities must be developing a conscience. They have accepted large sums of money from the people who desire to show posters, and they are probably feeling that passengers should be allowed sufficient time to look round and admire the display."

There were crowds of people waiting and studying the posters, and it seemed a great pity that there was no "Crusader" poster on this platform. Whether we feel that the statement on our posters—that the "Crusader" is out for Revolutionary Christianity—is apt, or worthy, or misleading, we should probably all agree that the statement sets people thinking. I saw two men reading a "Crusader" poster which had been stuck on a park railing, and later I sold them a copy of the paper. They remarked: "Revolutionary Christianity! That shouldn't be insipid anyhow. Sounds as if there might be something in this." Another man remarked: "The 'Crusader' seems to be very much in the air these days. It appears in all sorts of unexpected places. I'd like to have a copy and see what it's all about."

It is encouraging to know that the "Crusader" really is in the air and that people are wanting to know what it stands for. We are anxious to get a "Crusader" poster on every tube station in London. The cost is £3 10s. for one year, and we should be glad to hear from friends who would help us in this direction. We are glad to acknowledge the receipt of a cheque for £3 3s. from Miss E. Cameron Mawson—to be used for a poster or for the general fund. Our thanks also to D. and R. Boag, of Greenock, for their donation of 10s. In remitting her subscription, one friend remarks: "The 'Crusader' is the only religious paper I can read with a real interest." Replies to our appeal for 50 donations of £1 are still coming along. Our thanks to Miss H. S. Chenevix, of Dublin, for her £1.

Our Thousand Sixpences Fund is still open, and we hope that all Crusaders who can do so will fill in and return the form which appears below.

THE PLOUGHMAN.

THOUSAND SIXPENCES FUND.

I am willing to pay a voluntary levy of sixpence per week for *str, *twelve months and will remit the amount *quarterly, *half-yearly, *yearly.

Signed

Address

I will also volunteer to collect sixpence weekly from other friends who desire to swell the THOUSAND SIXPENCES FUND.

* Please cross out words which do not meet your case.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

(Grave-digging is commonly thought of as very sad work. But, says a writer in the "Baptist Times," "Careful students of Shakespeare and Scott have noticed that both these great writers portray their grave-diggers as cheerful and even humorous creatures. And we confess that it would be a cheerful task to dig the graves of certain things which are quite dead, and which merit a speedy, if dignified, burial." I suppose the cheerful note often struck by the "Crusader" is to be accounted for by the fact that its writers hope they are in the grave-digging business.

Bishop Cannon has written to the "Times" on "Unrepentant Germany," and his letter is commented upon by the "Methodist Times." The Bishop divides his letter into heads: (1) Germany has sinned; (2) The world suffers; (3) Germany is unrepentant; (4) Germany must pay; (5) The Peace Treaty should be rigidly enforced. Germany is like a thief, adds the Bishop, and a thief trying to evade his punishment.

Really it is too bad that the Bishop should call upon us to bear all this. It makes one ashamed, and it makes the Church such a laughing-stock among people who have a little knowledge. And the spirit of it is so hopeless, just at the moment when decent folk are trying to get an angry world cooled down after a long and bitter war. I am glad to see that the "Methodist Times" in its comment has the courage to protest, and to rebuke the Bishop by pointing out that "the Christian Church must exercise its function in tempering the harsh and relentless judgments of the world."

I think readers of the "Crusader" will be interested in the open admission made in the following paragraph taken from a leading article in the "Methodist Recorder":—

"All through the War men were not allowed to say what they thought. There was a censor upon every kind of utterance. The nearer the truth that utterance touched, the more dangerous it was sure to be—to the censor. The censor cared nothing for things as they were—only for things as he wanted them to be. The supreme thing in those days was not the truth about anything, but what 'helped the cause.' The nation had willed to win the War, if it must strangle its soul to win the War then the soul must be strangled. The end justified the means; the nation was first, supreme over the facts of things, dominated every process, whether of thought or activity. A certain physical something must be accepted altogether apart from its worth or anything else in the world. This had 'got to be'; nothing else mattered at all. So we only worked to that end, thought to that end, and refused all thought, all work, that cut across certain lines. Possibly it was the only way. Certainly that was the way we took; and to-day we are eating of the fruit of such ways."

Nuff said!

In connection with May Day, "The Church Times" reports Trade Union processions in order to attend church. Services of this kind were held at Southwark Cathedral, at St. Paul's, Haggerston, at St. Barnabas', West Silvertown, at All Saints', Manchester, at All Saints', Ancoats, at Christ Church, Heaton Norris, at St. Clements', Salford, at St. Wilfred's Newton Heath, and at St. Stephen's, Hulme. Would such services have been possible a few years ago? I am sure they would not.

Says the "Challenge" in a brave article on May Day and its celebration by Labour:—

"The transition from the old way to the new is fraught with danger. Power will be given before perspective has been attained; there will be a sudden rush and a blind retreat. Honest hearts that are short of faith will try to put back the clock and close the gates, but nothing in the end can stem the coming of the new age."

What about this from America? The Trades and Labour Assembly of Wheeling, Ohio Valley, has adopted the following resolution:—We hereby unanimously declare it to be our belief that the teachings of Christ constitute a platform upon which all men can agree. We believe that they can be applied to the industrial problem. We will co-operate with those who will join with us in an earnest endeavour to apply His teachings in the Wheeling district." By all means let us try to apply the principles. The attempt will lead us to just the discoveries we need to make about the industrial system.

As a relief from the industrial problem, I turn to one of another kind. It will need no remarks of my own to emphasise its gravity. Says the "Church Times":

"An unusual claim has been set up by a lady who asserts that she has inherited from her father the exclusive right to all the seats in the chancel of the parish church, and objects to anyone, including the choir, sitting there without her permission. Dr. Gibson says that the seats in the chancel are under the disposition of the ordinary, in like manner as those in the body of the church, the freehold of the church is as much in the parson as the freehold of the chancel, but this hinders not the authority of the ordinary in the church, and therefore not in the chancel. (Really it sounds like Euclid.) It may be presumed that the lady claims her right as inpropriator. (Spell it right, Mr. Printer.) But that right is not to all the seats, only to the principal seat, as has been decided in the courts, and even that right yields if by prescription another parishioner has it. An inpropriator (that word again!) may also have the disposal of the other seats in the chancel if the bishop and churchwardens take no action respecting them. The right of the vicar to a seat in the chancel is beyond dispute."

Ah, well, it is nice to know that the law allows the vicar to sit down in his own church.

The Lesson of the Irish Republic.

In our last issue we remarked on the spectacle afforded in Ireland by the success of the Irish Republic as contrasted with the failure to govern of the Castle Administration. That spectacle becomes more significant the more one looks at it. In last week's "Nation" there is an admirable description of the state of affairs in this respect. "The aim of the rebels," says the writer,—

"is not mere sabotage. They strike accurately at English rule, but at the same time they are building up a polity of their own. What one does not realise from the daily Press is that a strong national organisation, orderly and imperious, is creating a rival Irish authority. Though it can only meet furtively, the Irish Parliament, Dail Eireann, composed of the elected Sinn Fein members, does in fact keep a controlling hand on the whole national movement. . . . It can give a new turn to the development of land purchase and provide for the landless rural worker, for example, more quickly than the Parliament in Westminster could do, and as effectively. Again, the Sinn Fein courts in the rural counties, though they must always sit in secret, are in fact taking their work from the King's judges, and cases are now openly withdrawn from the King's Courts to be tried in those of the Republic.

"Lastly, by the refusal of the transport workers to handle food exported from Ireland, the Republic is applying its own measures of fiscal and economic control. It hopes to reduce prices to the Irish consumer by checking excessive exportation, and its method, though cumbersome, may turn out to be effective. Within certain limits Ireland is beginning to govern herself."

This quotation is given in order that our readers may clearly grasp the fact that it is possible for a body, working within a State against which they are in rebellion, to organise and run the affairs of the community, and that rebellion need not be confined to passive resistance nor, on the other hand, need it, so far as Ireland is an example, have resort to force. The new grows up within the old and is ready to take its place.

There is little doubt that one of the reasons why the Russian Revolution was a success, and why Lenin has been able to organise so effectively, was that the Mir or Village Commune was already in existence. "Unlike the English village," says a recent writer, "the village in Russia has never been a mere group of isolated families, but an association of very thorough-going Co-operators. Except their huts and households, almost all their property is held in common. Besides this, the land is generally re-apportioned after the interval of a certain number of years, to ensure equal opportunity for all."

British Labour at present is in much the same position as the Irish nation prior to the present phase of its struggle. At that time hopes of Home Rule centered around the Nationalist Members of Parliament. It was to be a political struggle. Gradually, however, faith in the possibility of winning freedom by this means faded out, and the Irish Republic was set up. Similarly the Socialist and Labour movement in this country has fixed its hope on political action. Its members are being told con-

stantly that they must win their victory at the polling booth. But a reaction against this method has set in strongly. The demand to be affiliated with the Third International is one sign of it. But the discussion between those in favour of the Third and those supporting the Second International has been side-tracked on to the question as to whether force will be necessary. The real question at issue, as the Shop Stewards' movement realises, is whether or no we shall wait for the politicians before organising and putting into operation the forces of the Revolution.

This was the method of the early Christian community. There were no available means by which it could directly influence the Roman Government, but it set to work to build up an organisation within the Empire. It regarded itself as "a Commonwealth of Heaven" set in the midst of Imperial society and destined ultimately to supplant it. St. Paul, in his first letter to the Corinthian Church, speaks severely of the habit of resorting to Roman tribunals. "Dare any of you, having a matter against his neighbour, go to law before the unrighteous, and not before the saints? Or know ye not that the saints shall judge the world? . . . Is it so that there cannot be found among you one wise man, who shall be able to decide between his brethren, but brother goeth to law with brother, and that before unbelievers?" The organisation of the Palestinian Famine Relief Fund by St. Paul is an instance of the way in which this community organised its economic resources within the Imperial State. Mr. H. G. Wells, in his recent review of early Christian history, quotes from the "Encyclopædia Britannica's" article on "Church History," a passage illustrative of the manner in which the Christian Society developed an international spirit and body:

"Though made up of widely scattered congregations, it was thought of as one body of Christ, one people of God. This ideal unity found expression in many ways. Intercommunication between the various Christian communities was very active. Christians upon a journey were always sure of a warm welcome and hospitable entertainment from their fellow disciples. Messengers and letters were sent freely from one church to another. Missionaries and evangelists went continually from place to place. Documents of various kinds, including gospels and apostolic epistles, circulated widely. Thus in various ways the feeling of unity found expression, and the development of widely separated parts of Christendom conformed more or less closely to a common type."

The alternative, let it be repeated, is not between the ballot box and the rifle. A far more effective method is to be found in the development not only of the new spirit, but of forms in which that new spirit may, here and now, find expression. The new republic is growing up in our midst. We are building to-day, in various ways, not a scaffolding which must be pulled down when the Revolution comes, but the actual foundations of the new order of society. Let us push forward with this, ignoring as far as may be, the old corrupt capitalistic society in which we live.

A Picture Palace in Mayfair.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

To pass the turnstile of the Royal Academy—specially during the process of that social function, the Private View—is to leave the world of things as they are and enter that of things as they can be purchased. It is a changeless world, untouched by passion, unmoved by affairs; blasé, fashionable; remote from social and all other unrest, grounded firm and deep on the rock of reliable income. This life of the perfectly-tailored promenaders of Burlington House finds its reflection on the walls, till one thinks of the Academy as an institution "whose end, both at the first and now, was and is, to hold as 'twere the mirror up to Mayfair."

That is what is wrong with the Royal Academy—that reduces the number of pictures which "count" in the exhibition to the merest few. Art has lost touch with life; is no longer an expression of truth or vision, but a commodity to be bought and sold, and in consequence it is rendered saleable by an acceptance of the standards and tastes of its patrons. It has nothing to say of life as it is, only of life as it is accepted to be by these who—

"Make or mar our pictures, buy or sell,
Treat them as garniture and household stuff."

So it is that the walls of Burlington House are covered with pictures in the accepted manner; for the sentimentalism of philosophy which governs the matter is reflected in manner, and the work has the empty nullity of bored professionalism.

The love and joy of paint as a medium, which is characteristic of the modern, vital schools; the ascetic choice of essential elements, which shows so sure a grasp of the function of art; the delight in colour and pattern for their own sakes and as expression of the underlying rhythms of nature which have intrigued the artist-vision—all these things are sacrificed to the convention of illusion and representation. The portraits are speaking (if flattering) likenesses; the landscapes are nature in its Sunday best, as though it had been bidden to put on a clean pinafore and go to see the nice ladies and gentlemen. Usually the artists have nothing whatever to say about their subjects, except to reiterate their existence—a species of parrot-cry in paint or plaster. If at any period of their artistic careers they have discovered anything to say, they go on repeating that ad nauseum.

In confirmation of this theory of reacting paucity between manner and matter, between technical vitality and philosophic vision, it is interesting to notice that Mr. Walter Bayes' canvas "Oratio Oblique," the most pronouncedly modern in treatment is almost the only picture which admits the existence of anything outside the life of Mayfair, and that its clever use of almost geometrical design is devoted to the presentation of the interior of a cinema. The comparatively high standard, too, of the religious pictures echoes this theory again on the positive side. It were as though the artists' sincerity

moved them to something more than mere bald statement of facts, and their emotion found expression in the rhythm of design. Such is Strang's fine study, "Jairus' Daughter," with its sturdy, modern conception of Christ; such is the picture by Anning Bell, "And the women stood afar off beholding these things"; such, too, although less successful technically, is Cecil W. Rhodes' "Resurrection."

One looks at the aftermath of war pictures, for instance, with a cursory dismissal of their technique as skilful and usually adequate representation, and one proceeds to examine them with a critical eye for their truth. The impression which the artists evidently had of the war is that it was a picturesque affair as a preliminary to ceremonials. They treat us, therefore, to just such pictures as might in photographure adorn the pages of the illustrated weeklies. From Mr. Salisbury's "National Peace Thanksgiving" Panel (which should be a lasting help to republican and anti-clerical propaganda when it is housed on the walls of the Royal Exchange) through the mass of battle-incident pictures and treaty-signing pictures, there is no sign of consciousness of the significance of war. One's mind inevitably compared them with the Canadian War Pictures Exhibition and its many outstanding examples of fine work. Most brilliant of these Academic comments on the war, and most symbolic, was Orpen's "Hall of Mirrors." He had caught the quiet smirk on the faces of the victor-diplomats as they watched the signing of the German plenipotentiary. That, one knew, was Mayfair's attitude—the "Vahr, serves-ye-right" faintly disguised by the demands of good breeding.

The sculpture, demanding as it does a more intellectual attitude to medium, both in the artist and in the observer, illustrates again the beneficial results of such a demand. There is a much greater proportion of interesting work in the sculpture rooms than among the oils. Not that sculpture can claim exemption from the general charge of being academic, but it pays more reverent attention to its exacting medium.

But one's general impression of the Royal Academy was one of disappointment at the blindness of our seers. The Royal Academy is an institution representing British art to the world. It should mirror the thought of our times, the ideals, the beauty we seek. It fails because the artists have lost touch with reality and truth. They have ceased to be creators, and become shopkeepers giving the picture-buying public what it wants.

"O sir, the truth, the truth! is't in the skies,
Or in the grass, or in this heart of ours?"

It isn't in the Royal Academy because the artists are too busy catering for their public to answer in their own medium Meredith's question.

HORACE SHIPP.

Poverty and Rich

Dr. ORCHARD

On the Sunday following May Day, Dr. Orchard preached at the King's Weigh House on Poverty and Riches in the light of the Incarnation. He asked at the outset what was the significance of the fact that the Lord was poor. It was a fact we could not possibly overlook. The Gospels told us not much about it, but enough for us to recognise that the poverty was not an accidental thing. There was something of determinate choice about our Lord's low estate. The Gospels said that His birth was not a matter of accident but of choice. The Holy Ghost selected His mother. And she was poor. The economic condition of the mother of Jesus was selected just as much as was her descent from the royal line or her virginity. How poor were they? They were not absolutely poor. Theirs was not destitute and dependent poverty. The home was a craftsman's home, where a living could be made by working hard. All the parables show that Jesus was brought up in a tiny house of one room. The apostles were in much the same case, not destitute, for they owned their boats, but they were fishermen, and had to toil hard, year in and year out.

Then, again, on this subject of riches and poverty our Lord in His teaching was uncomfortably explicit. It was quite possible to urge that Jesus did not ask everybody to renounce his riches. He only asked one rich man to do so, and that was to save his soul. But the fact that He demanded this renunciation from His followers could not be got over, although they were not rich at all to begin with. It could be pleaded that never once did the Lord suggest that riches themselves were an evil. He accepted the hospitality of rich men. But there was no mistaking the fact that He did consider the possession of riches to be such a danger that it required the omnipotence of God to get a man into the Kingdom of Heaven who possessed them. Only once did our Lord appeal to God's omnipotence, and it was on that issue. The rich man in the parable went to hell apparently only because he was rich. On the other hand, the Lord recognised that there was a poverty equally inimical to religion. It made people so anxious for bread and clothes that they could not think of true things at all. He promised that when His Kingdom came in, that at least should be remedied. There should be no anxiety about the bare necessities of life. They should have such clothing as the lilies wore, such provender as the birds had, and a house with a room to pray in.

* * *

This element in our Lord's teaching (Dr. Orchard went on) had been not only evaded but carefully concealed. There was not much sign that, apostolical succession notwithstanding, those who claimed to stand in the place of the apostles aimed to be like them in their economic condition. It was a far cry from Peter's house to the Vatican. Sometimes when the poor had pressed for higher wages, the Church

had replied "Materialism!" Yet at the heart of all this inconsistency, the Church—he meant the Church of the time when it was one and knew its mind—always taught that if you wanted to be perfect and to follow the Lord in the manner of the Gospel you must be poor. It set up two standards, and that was a mistake, but it never made the slightest mistake in deciding that by the highest standard a man must renounce possessions and live on charity or in communal life.

* * *

After showing that in the text, "Who for our sakes became poor that through His poverty we might become rich," the poverty was economic and the riches were spiritual, Dr. Orchard passed to the application of all this to our present distresses. How did the economic struggles of our times appear to different sections of society? To those who were working to emancipate Labour from the capitalist system, the Labour movement appeared to be a religious movement. They declared that it was fundamentally unselfish, that its cause was not the cause of a class but of humanity, and that it was the closest translation of Christianity into economic terms we had ever had. Others said that it did nothing but foster discontent, that it represented only a desire to get much for nothing, that it was inspired by hate, by a longing for revenge, and a desire to tyrannise. There were some also who took a middle view, and described the whole thing as just a vulgar struggle between the Haves and the Have-nots, without a bit of Christianity or idealism on either side. Whichever of these views was correct, the fact remained unaltered that some of the most tremendous forces in God's world were arraying themselves in violent opposition and must come at last to open war. Everyone could see that those who possessed capital and those who had only their labour to sell were going into battle. There was growing up a class-consciousness and a class-bitterness on both sides, and both sides meant to fight it out. The present system showed signs of breaking up, even apart from this coming declaration of war. It might not require a revolution to bring the whole thing about our ears. It sometimes looked as if the present system was ceasing to function. It might simply come to a stop because it no longer fulfilled its purpose. Let them think what that meant. A revolution would be over in a matter of a few years, but think of the slow agony by which this world, in the grip of a system that nobody could change, made its way down to stagnation and starvation! They saw the continual race between prices and wages. It would have to end somewhere, and would certainly end in a very uncomfortable position.

* * *

On the previous day (Dr. Orchard continued) he stood and watched the May Day procession straggling along to Hyde Park. It was not entirely an

and the Incarnation.

MY SERMON.

inspiring sight. There was something very pathetic about it. It was not a procession one wanted to join in, but, then, he did not know that one would have wanted to have joined in those processions which followed Jesus of Nazareth about. There was a good deal of the rag, tag, and bobtail element about them, and they included people who were not always sure of a night's lodging. In this May Day procession he noticed representatives of Socialist Sunday Schools, and for a moment he began to grow anxious, but then he reflected how little damage our own Sunday Schools had done, and he plucked up heart again! Somewhere near the end of the procession there was a small group headed by a crucifix, and behind it came various organisations which claimed to be both Christian and revolutionary, both dogmatic and Socialistic. His hope was that in the course of a few years the crucifix might climb higher up in the procession until it got to the very front. If it did not, he could predict that there would be a disaster greater even than that of the last five years.

What did the incarnation suggest on this matter? In the first place, it suggested the possibility of individual poverty and corporate riches. Jesus became poor that we might all be rich—not each of us, but all of us. Even the Franciscan ideal had to work out to that in the end. The Franciscans still remained individually poor, though corporately they might be rich. He could not see any ethical objection to riches that belonged, not to anyone, but to the community as a whole. It would mean a system, for instance, where people would be able to get work if they wanted to, where the means of production were not tied up. He could conceive that our society would be infinitely juster if the accumulated riches we called capital were corporately owned, not privately owned. What if we had modest private houses of our own, but gorgeous public buildings, lined with the most expensive jewels and beautiful pictures? That seemed to him to translate as far as we could see into practical terms what our Lord meant. We were all beginning to think it wrong ourselves to live in spacious houses, but no one thought it wrong to build a great cathedral. And that was the kind of thing they did in heaven! There they did not line their pockets with gold, they paved their streets with it. They did not wear pearls around their necks, they made gates of them; nor jewels on their bosoms, but studded the walls with them. No one need bother to spend his days scraping together money if there was always work to be got, and if when a man could not work the community was rich enough to provide for his emergencies.

But it was said that communal wealth would destroy initiative. What kept London going was the possibility that one day "I may land in Park Lane"!

Take that incentive away, and London would just crumble into dust! People only worked, it was said, because of the great reward of riches! Then some substitute must be found for the temptation of riches. And what else but religion? There was something in religion which made life a glorious adventure. Holding up a copy of the Bible, Dr. Orchard asked whether that was written by a rich society. Our great cathedrals were not built by a rich society either. To-day, in this rich generation, we did not build cathedrals, but dreadnoughts, old tin cans, without a line of beauty about them! Go to the Royal Academy and learn from paint how we had gained the whole world and lost our souls and landed ourselves in hell. Better back to the time of Abraham and follow God under the stars; better stretch the tents in the desert and write a book like Job; better the poor little huddled houses of Nazareth, where the Son of God could walk, than what we had to-day, having set the world aflame with cupidity in the getting of it, and having now to defend our ill-gotten gains with stacks of munitions and miles of battleships! Opposite to all this contemptible gain stood the Kingdom of God, its righteousness, its peace, its joy.

Our great Christian doctrines committed us to some sort of Socialistic basis of life. Let the Church evangelise the world on that ground, and call people to renounce their possessions. If we set about such a crusade as this we could sing "Onward, Christian Soldiers" with some purpose. As it was, if we sung it now, nobody knew where we wanted to march to, or what to do when we got there. If we joined in a great endeavour to give up individualism in riches and set up a Christian Socialism, the doctrines of Christianity would be restored. There would be no more of nebulous liberalism, but fixed beliefs, concrete creeds. It would revive the Church. And it would bring back to us the Saviour. The Carpenter of Nazareth could not come back to this society. He would not be at home. He would not be wanted. When we had really grasped the doctrine that this poor peasant was Almighty God it would certainly alter the philosophy of many of us, but it would alter the economics of a good many more. He pleaded with the rich people not to stand in the way of this. Let them come out of their houses in Mayfair, and join in the May Day procession next year. They would either have to give their money up or it would be taken away from them, and the second method was so very ignominious. And, after all, what did they want it for? Let them fling themselves into the people's cause. It was their own. Let them follow Jesus and have done with all the fripperies and tawdriness they were clinging to. If it brought them down to a hard couch, that would be more comfortable than their downy pillows and scented beds. Let them not be afraid of being poor. Let them make the people's cause their own. For it was God's.

In Search of Believers.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

To talk about believers and unbelievers, these days, no doubt at first seems rather naive. But there is something to be said for it. As a matter of fact, every age of transition exhibits a mighty conflict between believers and unbelievers. When faith becomes a formula and belief a creed, if there is health in the land a revival occurs, when those who see new light rekindle faith and give to life new content.

But who are the believers, who the unbelievers in our time? There is a simple test. The believers are those who see the light and follow it. The unbelievers are those who merely defend what is. The former are ever the knights-errant, the truly courageous and truly religious people; the latter are materialists, blind and wild.

I have at no time realised these facts with respect to our age as keenly as during my recent pilgrimage through Germany, which, I think, might aptly be described as a search for believers. And as I write I am wondering why I have never undertaken such a pilgrimage in England. I am in search of internationalists, men and women who believe in humanity rather than in nations and classes, and are seeking to found society upon the principles of love and service. It is the most inspiring and illuminating piece of work I ever undertook. It is a search for treasures, and every time I find one I rejoice; and in the assembly of these people I see the hope of the future.

The first condition of a new world is believers in it, men who have a vision of a more beautiful and wonderful life; and during the last few days I have discovered that I have unconsciously formulated a number of "tests for believers," which I apply most rigorously. Afterwards comes the question of proselytising; but for the present I desire to confine myself to the subject of believers.

And firstly, it is instructive to note where one finds them. Even in Germany they are still to be found in the churches, and among the pastors. Also university professors are to be numbered in their ranks. Pacifist bodies provide a moderate proportion; but for the greater number one must go into the Socialist organisations, particularly those of the left wing.

Experience has taught me that great care is needed in investigating pastors and churchmen. So many of them seem to believe in the Kingdom who, yet, probably because of fear, and tremendous opposition, fail in the ultimate test. But a few are valiant and outspoken, much beloved of the people, and well hated by their class.

Professors who have travelled so far as to believe in political democracy have made wonderful progress, and are accordingly marked men. But there are a few professors in Germany who have gone much further than that, and are regarded by their fraternity with holy horror. Yesterday, for example, I came across a fine example of a professor-believer,

an old man with a gentle face and snow-white hair, whose simple manners carried one's mind back to the childhood of humanity. This old man is a leader and defender of youth in a beautiful old university town in the South of Germany, which is as prejudiced and unenlightened as Oxford or Cambridge. As we sat face to face in his quiet room, his eyes moistened and sparkled as he fervently defended the workers. "These men seek life," he declared, "and we must help them to win it." But in this town I found quite a group of professors whose souls burned with indignation at the iniquities of modern capitalism, and who are honestly seeking a way to a new social order. I even found a professor of theology who had thrown over the German Church, and was working for a union of all churches of every religion and in every land. But my old professor with the kindly, sparkling eyes stood more Left than them all, and, if my instincts are right, a little nearer to the Kingdom. He was indeed a believer.

I have seen enough of the Pacifist movement in Germany (and, for that matter, in England, too) to know that the discovery of a pacifist is not necessarily the discovery of a believer. There are pacifists who are little more than "enlightened" reactionaries. Nevertheless, I am happy to say that a very large proportion of pacifists are believers. On the whole they stand well to the Left, and usually they say they cannot understand how pacifists can stand anywhere else.

I wish I could say that all believers were pacifists. They nearly all say they are, and sincerely believe they are, but the fact is that many of them are not. Their eyes sparkle as they describe their vision of the future, but they think that force may be necessary to realise it. They do not want to use force, and they know that it is evil, but they are so utterly convinced that the capitalists are beyond salvation, and that they will sooner or later use the sword to bring the workers into complete subjection to their will, that they see no other way, in such an eventuality, than to defend themselves in a final struggle for liberty, and thus to accept a lesser evil in order to overthrow a greater. In addition, there are many who go so far as to say that pacifism belongs to the past capitalist age, and would mean suicide to the cause of the workers if applied to-day. Of course, they are wrong; they have not truly conceived the Kingdom.

These shortcomings notwithstanding, the Socialists of our time, taken as a whole, see more clearly than any other section of the community the life and the social order towards which we must move. In other words, they are the believers of the present age, compared with whom the churches and the universities are hot-beds of materialism. The light of truth is upon their brow, and they fight for their ideal with a zeal and courage worthy of the greatest of the Crusaders. And now their number is so great that we know they will ultimately conquer.

The Solemn Revel.

What struck me the most in the whole May Day adventure was the underlying solemnity not only of those taking part but of those who were watching.

Amidst the decorations, the flowers, the children's laughter, and the young people's jokes, it was impossible to be unconscious of the fact that this gay procession was in truth a stupendous and heart-searching appeal to the moral sense of the world.

It was more. It was a challenge which the wise will understand and the unwise will misinterpret to their own undoing.

Those of us who took our places as members of the London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and as representing the "Crusader," will never regret that in this epoch-making hour we walked inconspicuously in the ranks of "Labour." In front of us, members of Dr. Orchard's congregation carried the Crucifix, and behind us walked the Church Socialist League. Linked up with us were members of Mr. Sorensen's Church, and bringing up the rear was the "Crusader" taxi, decorated with flowers and posters out for "Revolutionary Christianity."

We were in the East-End contingent, and we had abundant time as we stood waiting with our banners to watch the assembling of what seemed like an interminable procession of decorated vans from the workers' realm.

Some of the vans showed immense resource and ingenuity, and perhaps the most comically tragic effort was that of a neat little house with its blinds and decorations—found, if I remember, somewhere in Stratford! But to me, the most impressive vans were those evidently got up in spontaneous enthusiasm by men and women who had no funds behind them, and who had done their great best to show to the world their passion for joy and beauty in the cheapest "properties" upon which they could lay their hands. As for the streams of vans carrying the children, one forgot the decorations in the children—they were symbol enough.

The speeches had probably begun in the Park before ever we got under way, and as the daily Press has reported, it was the effect of quantity which was so impressive. Moreover, it was clear that the usual sight-seeing public was not present, and I noticed neither house nor street decorations in honour of the workers! The crowds were for the most part Labour crowds—many wearing the red and the "Herald" badge. Had they all joined in the procession, we might have been marching still!

Yet this crowd was undemonstrative. We heard but little as we tramped along. "Ah, there is Jesus!" called a childish voice, referring to our "Crusader" banner. "The 'Crusader!'" we heard over and over again. "The Cross!" But watchers seemed absorbed in trying to take in the banner mottoes and trying to understand what all this might mean.

In Clubland amusement was caused by some keen spirits in front of us calling upon the club waiters to come down into the procession, and from behind us the band struck up the "Red Flag."

I am not exaggerating when I say that in all the faces of those well-groomed clubmen I did not see one expression of scorn. There were but three or four who were even smiling as they talked together. Whether these men were obviously watching or surreptitiously spying from behind in easy chairs, there was but one general type of expression. It was one of puzzled, tense thoughtfulness, and underlying it, a hint of fear, or was it compunction? Readers who remember the pictures of "The Doctor," "The Death Sentence" or "The Gamblers," will know what I mean.

I noticed as we stood waiting in Pall Mall a middle-aged man seated well back from the window. If only an artist could have been there to paint a picture with the title "And when he came to himself." The capitalist in his "rags," seeing visions.

In one verandah there was a group of what a friend described as "beautiful old men." Handsome, well-groomed, of the "ruling classes." What were they thinking? For it has to be remembered that by the time we arrived in Pall Mall, this Progress of the People had been passing the clubs for well over an hour, and that this East-End procession was but one. Indeed, I noticed a clubman leaning over a balustrade to see if perchance the people had come to an end; but no—the procession and the flying banners still stretched behind us as far as eye could see!

By the time we reached the Park the speeches were almost over, and the rain was beginning to fall, but, after all, it was the walk through the streets that really mattered, and we were glad, indeed, to roll up our banners and seek some refreshment before going off to the Albert Hall.

"Which is going to win, Miss?" asked a boot-black of me, as on May Day morning I stood buying some flowers.

"Oh, my Gord, yes," said the flower woman. "'Usband dead and six children and another coming and prices rising——"

"God is on our side!" was all I could say.

We were disappointed in the actual sales of the "Crusader," for the crowd was not a buying one; but we rejoiced that hundreds of thousands of people now know that the "Crusader" stands by Labour in its aspirations and is out on behalf of breaking heavy burdens—not by the way of violence, but by the way of Christ.

BROTHERHOOD CHURCH, Southgate Road, N.—May 9th at 7. George Lansbury, "What I saw in Russia." You come!

Bookland. Our Acquisitive Society.

In "The Sickness of an Acquisitive Society" (George Allen and Unwin, 1/- net), R. H. Tawney has given us, in a style that is always interesting and sometimes brilliant, a fresh analysis of the social and economic situation. People who are tired of the old catch-phrases and threadbare theories of writers on social topics can entrust themselves safely to a writer who deals with the old themes in the vigorous and original manner of the writer of this book.

Briefly stated, Mr. Tawney's purpose is to contrast two kinds of society, that which exists to-day, and which he calls by the title already quoted, with what he terms the functional society.

The principle underlying the present organisation of society is that of getting. Our activities are governed by what Bertrand Russell calls the possessive instinct. Civilisation to-day is based on the institution of property. To what extent the possession of private property is necessary and desirable, the writer discusses at some length. He dismisses, of course, the crude communist idea that all private property must be abolished, and has no difficulty in showing that there are certain forms of property which can be held by the individual without any injury being inflicted thereby upon the community. So long as possession is not divorced from the sense of social responsibility, as it is at present, there seems no reason, he argues, for objecting. It is the doctrine that "the rights of property are absolute, irrespective of any social function which its owners may perform" against which he tilts. "The laws," he says—

"which are most stringently enforced are still the laws which protect property, though the protection of property is no longer likely to be equivalent to the protection of work, and the interests which govern industry and predominate in public affairs are proprietary interests. A mill-owner may poison or mangle a generation of operatives; but his brother magistrate will let him off with a caution or a nominal fine to poison and mangle the next. For he is a owner of property. A landowner may draw rents from slums in which young children die at the rate of 200 per 1000; but he will be none the less welcome in polite society. For property has no obligations and therefore can do no wrong. Urban land may be held from the markets on the outskirts of cities in which human beings are living three in a room, and rural land may be used for sport when villagers are leaving it to overcrowd them still more. No public authority intervenes, for both are property."

Socialists will object to Mr. Tawney's plea for the distribution of property and a return, in certain cases, to small ownership. His suggestion that there are forms of industry to which small ownership is adapted will meet with a very emphatic "question!" And he will probably be told that any attempt to hold up the universal tendency towards communal production will meet inevitably with disaster. The economic tendencies of the time are unmistakeably in the direction of co-operative labour, and that, of course, implies communal ownership in the land and the means of production. Unfortunately this oversight on Mr. Tawney's part is characteristic. He works from moral and psycho-

logical principles, and does not sufficiently take into account that process by which one form of economic society passes into another, as spring passes into summer. He seems never to have realised that moral progress is conditional and directed by the forms of our industry, but looks rather to certain ethical principles to dictate the forms of industry.

In dealing with the functional society we have some valuable constructive hints as to the lines on which industry in the future will be organised. Mr. Tawney makes use of the professional codes already in operation to show how standards of professional etiquette or honour may come into conflict, in the interests of the profession as a whole, with the self-interest of individual members. The exposition of the following passage is both clear and valuable:—

"The conception implied in the words 'unprofessional conduct' is, therefore, the exact opposite of the theory and practice which assume that the service of the public is being best secured by the unrestricted pursuit of the part of rival traders of their pecuniary self-interest, within such limits as the law allows. It is significant that at the time when the professional classes had deified free competition as the arbiter of commerce and industry, they did not dream of applying it to the occupations in which they themselves were primarily interested, but maintained, and indeed, elaborated, machinery through which a professional conscience might find expression. The rules themselves may sometimes appear to the layman arbitrary and ill-conceived. But their object is clear. It is to impose on the profession itself the obligation of maintaining the quality of the service, and to prevent its common purpose being frustrated through the undue influence of the motive of pecuniary gain upon the necessities or cupidity of the individual.

The difference between industry as it exists to-day and a profession is, then, simple and unmistakable. The essence of the former is that its only criterion is the financial return which it offers to its shareholders. The essence of the latter is that though men enter it for the sake of livelihood, the measure of their success is the service which they perform, not the gains which they amass. They may, as in the case of a successful doctor, grow rich; but the meaning of their profession, both for themselves and for the public, is not that they make money but that they make health, or safety, or knowledge, or good government or good law. They depend on it for their income, but they do not consider that any conduct which increases their income is on that account good. And while a boot-manufacturer who retires with half a million is counted to have achieved success, whether the boots which he made were of leather or brown paper, a civil servant who did the same would be impeached."

In this professional code we come near to the spirit of the Guild, and I do not imagine that Mr. Tawney would quarrel with the assertion that his ideal for industry is practically that of the Guild Socialist.

It is to be regretted, however, that he has not tackled the question to which the Guild Socialists have given so much attention, namely, "that of the relation to each other and to the community generally of the various sections of the industrial world. A few references here and there to "the State" create an uneasy feeling that the writer has not yet faced the question as to the future of that form of organisation.

As a clear exposition, from the standpoint of rival moral principles, of two sharply contrasted types of industrial society, we can cordially recommend this small volume.

In the Grip of the Landlords.

By REV. LEYTON RICHARDS, M.A.

Mr. W. J. Chamberlain recently wrote in these columns concerning "the Grip of the Financiers." This is not meant to be a counterblast to him; but only an endeavour to carry a little further that "investigation of the subject" for which he pleads. The facts which he quotes are incontrovertible, and it is such facts which have induced some of us (I speak for myself) who are burdened with certain (albeit slight) financial responsibilities, to sign Miss Wilson's "Shareholders' Statement."

I want to suggest however, that Mr. Chamberlain's "clear-headed Labour councillor" would have been more accurate if he had stated that "the cause of high prices and all forms of robbery" is, not interest itself, but the ability to appropriate it. If Capital is used in production, part of the resulting wealth is "interest"; and the only thing that is wrong with it is that everyone has not a share. In other words, it is the ability of the few to appropriate an undue proportion of "interest" and other wealth that is the "cause of all forms of robbery" under the present social system.

Now this leads to the question,—Why? And if that question be pushed back and back to ultimate causes instead of stopping short at "lack of money"; "high prices"; "big profits"; and all the other phrases which describe but do not explain) we shall find ourselves driven to find in Land Monopoly the root evil of the industrial order. What gives the Capitalist his power of economic exploitation? Why is the wage-earner always a wage-slave? Why can the Financier extort exorbitant rates of interest for municipal loans or other enterprise? And the answer is that so long as the Land is locked in private possession, you have no alternative but to be exploited, and to become a wage-slave, and to pay whatever interest is demanded. The key to the whole social and economic problem therefore lies in dissolving the Land Monopoly; and until this is righted, all will be wrong.

I know that this connection between the Land Question and economic emancipation is not generally recognised. It is of course not so obvious as tilting at the Capitalist; the Capitalist pays your wages; he exploits "Labour"; therefore he must be the enemy. But it may be better strategy in the long run to cut his communications than to spend all our energy in a frontal attack, and then discover that for the tyranny of Capitalism we have merely substituted the tyranny of Bureaucracy.

Now it is the merit of approaching the social problem through the Land Question that you can at once conserve every fundamental liberty, and at the same time sap the foundations of predatory Capitalism, for—what many Socialists fail to see—Capitalism itself, like everything

else in human economy, rests upon the Land. Go back to the question stated above:—Why is the wage-earner a wage-slave? What gives the Capitalist his power of economic exploitation? Obviously, because the wage-earner has no alternative? Equally obviously, because the Land is locked against him, so that he is unable to take Nature's direct way of meeting human need by applying his labour to mother earth. If he had this alternative, he could dictate his own terms to the Capitalist; "interest" would not all flow into the shareholders' pockets; it would be evenly distributed among all workers; "Financiers" would not be able to extort high rates for municipal loans, for they would have no monopoly of "capital." Moreover, free the Land from the grip of monopoly, and municipalities would not have to go begging, cap in hand, of the urban or suburban landlords for the modest acres required for housing schemes; the roles would be reversed; land would be available; building would begin and continue; wages would rise; production would be stimulated; not merely for private profit but for the public good; prices would fall as production increased; wealth would accumulate; the workers, having access to the land, could co-operate in their guilds and societies, and work out their own economic salvation without the bureaucrat. Liberty would be conserved; we should escape the woodenness of State control; with the increase of wealth, there could be increase of leisure, the cultivation of the arts, opportunity for the growth of the soul; the social order could be adapted to human requirements, instead of vice-versa, as is the case to-day.

This is not a theory remote from the realities of life. Ask the Governor of East Africa, who has recently been complaining of the hard lot of the white planters and stock-breeders in that region. What is the matter? Only this:—that the natives have tribal reservations and are content to stay there instead of becoming the wage-slaves of the white man. In other words, they have access to the Land and hence an alternative to the exploitation of private capitalism. Or ask Lord Leverhulme. He has recently established canneries and subsidiary fish industries in the Island of Lewis; but where is his labour to come from? The cottars were content to remain cottars and work on the Land. But the Land was bought from under their feet, and immediately the landless men perforce drifted into Stornoway to become the wage-slaves of the Soap-lord. But his power is not in Soaplordism; it is in Landlordism!

Hence my title. The social order is "In the grip of the Landlords." Yet that grip could be loosened to-morrow without any cataclysm by the simple device of a tax on Land Values; impose the tax to-morrow. Then we could begin to rebuild the social structure on its God-given basis. Until we do that we only invite failure and disillusion.

A Little Sermon.

In Nature's sanctuary we are made pure and complete. The trees and birds and flowers bind us into a closer community of life where beauty and love are the inspirations. From the first bird to the last bird the day is an oratorio in praise of the Most High. The dawn heaps up altars of fire; the evening quenches them under the wistful stars. The spring rain christens and cleanses the spirit in the name of God. The hawthorn, and lilac, and laburnum are all notes that are struck in the universal Harmony. Even the star of the little stitchwort in the hedgerow is a Star of Bethlehem. And unless we can see this humble sign we shall not be able to follow His lamp in heaven to the lowly manger where the Christ-Child lies. The sheen of the sunbeetle, the breast of the robin, the scent of bluebells, the vital

tenderness of the green earth, the blue and white panorama of heaven—great and small things—are incidents of beauty towards the great Love Poem we call Life.

And so I think we should pray for greater power of reception. We should kneel down in the daisies and ask God to give us that shining charity and perfect humility which enables us to live abundantly for what we have, not yearn in petty fretfulness for what we have not. To live near to the love of men with a great and soul-pervading simplicity—that is Life. To respect the offering of a single buttercup—to hide ourselves and lose ourselves in the revelations of beauty that we may seek ourselves and find ourselves in the revelations of love. Then to the lark's song we may say—Amen.—CHRIS MASSIE.

Why for One Day Only?

A MESSAGE TO IRELAND.

Oh! comrades of the Sister Isle, in this your hour of storm and turmoil, the workers of England salute you! In your time of suffering we send you a message of fraternal sympathy, for we, too, have suffered. We deplore, as the best of you must deplore, the crimes which have been committed in the sacred name of liberty; but the galling yoke of military repression lies heavy upon you, and we excuse, rather than blame, if the hot blood of youth boils over in impetuous action. We know, too, how exaggeration, misrepresentation, and calumny can stalk abroad while the accused stands dumb and inarticulate.

In all ages it has been shown how age-long grievances become magnified by the passage of time, until the mind of the aggrieved is consumed by the passion to remedy or revenge. Therefore, as we read the history of your struggle for the rights of nationality, we are not surprised that some few of you have become desperate and reckless; rather do we marvel at your wonderful patience and self-restraint in the face of denial, delay, and disappointment from those in authority.

For a great cause you have toiled and endured. What shall be the end of your fidelity to your ideal? It is vain for us to proffer our help—you have already won a victory greater than you know; you stand on the threshold of an emancipation greater than you seek. You have demonstrated your unity, you have proved your power—for one day you have held in the hollow of your hand the industrial life of your country. Comrades! in humility we salute you with joy. United by the passionate yearning for freedom, welded together by the repression of that yearning, you have attained a position of power of which we with our divisions are unworthy. You have successfully carried through a general strike—we ask you: Why for one day only? You have shown that you can hold up the business of your community; why cannot you organise yourselves to carry it on?

In struggling for political hegemony, you have prepared yourselves for economic liberty.

You have proved your power; it is now for you to use it!

Political self-determination is an aim worthy of achievement, but it pales into insignificance before the freedom which now lies within your grasp if you have the strength to seize it! You have struggled long for that ideal—your accomplishment may far transcend it. Workers of Ireland, the opportunity is yours! Sound the death-knell of the capitalist system! Make your declaration of economic independence! Falter not! Falter not in this hour fraught with destiny. Before you lies the promised land! Enter in, therefore, and possess it!

D. ARTHUR KING.

The World that we must seek.

The world that we must seek is one in which the creative spirit is alive, in which life is full of joy and hope, based more upon the instinct to construct than upon the desire to retain what we possess. It must be a world in which affection has free play, in which love has destroyed the instinct for domination, and cruelty and envy have been dispelled by happiness. Such a world is possible; it waits only for men to wish to create it. The old world is passing away, burnt up in the fire of its own fierce passions; and from its ashes will spring a new and younger world, full of fresh hope, with the light of morning in its eyes.—Bertrand Russell.

The Old Man of the Sea.

The present position which we, the educated and well-to-do classes, occupy is that of the old man of the sea, riding on the poor man's back; only, unlike the old man of the sea, we are very sorry for the poor man, very sorry; and we will do almost anything for the poor man's relief—anything but get off his back.—LEO TOLSTOY.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Will friends help to INCREASE OUR CIRCULATION by forwarding to 23, Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E.C., this form filled in with names and addresses of those likely to be sympathetic, if possible, with stamps to cover expense, to whom we may send a specimen copy of THE CRUSADER.

Name

Address

Name

Address

A story will appear in next week's issue, on the Fellowship page, by Rev. V. T. Pomeroy, who contributed regularly to the "Christian Commonwealth"; its title is "The Story of the Hoarding."

Blind Gentleman (40) wants comfortable home and high employment. Can typewrite on own machine, but light out door work preferred. Remuneration no object. Can anyone help?—T., 16 Osmond Gardens, Wallington, Surrey.

HOLIDAYS AT OLD HALL, BARMING.—Adult School Guest House.—Apply, Warden.

Christian Commonwealth Fellowship.



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscriptions for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, pendants, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Postage 1½d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

The Coming Commonwealth.

Readers of William Morris's "News from Nowhere" will remember the ferryman, Dick, who, when he was offered money for his work by the stranger with ideas belonging to 1920, treated the suggestion as a very funny joke, and said: "You think that I have done you a service; so you feel yourself bound to give me something which I am not to give to a neighbour, unless he has done something special for me. I have heard of this kind of thing; it seems to us a troublesome and roundabout custom. You see, this ferrying is my business." We look forward to a Utopia where men will serve their fellows in this spirit, and most of us are content to let it remain an ideal—or, discontented with things as they are, we make ourselves miserable because the world is so far from the ideal. But is it possible to live as if the coming Commonwealth were here? Will it not be the nearer for every man and every woman who carries this spirit into to-day's work? Fellowship proclaims that daily life is a sacrament. Whoso labours, seeing in every deed, however trivial, an altar on which he may give his life for the world's need, in such a one dwells the Fellowship spirit, and for him (or her) all the values of life increase. To him the hearts of men open so that he is no longer a prisoner in the citadel of self, but lives also in the lives of others.

How the C.C.F. Helps.

Is this possible, you say, under present conditions? You have been hurt by men's selfishness and greed, till you have almost lost faith in human nature. We know it is not possible to evolve perfect lives for ourselves alone. Fellowship stands for a social order where there is a full, free, beautiful life for all; for a love that gives to each son of God his portion without favour; for a Christian Commonwealth, administered not for the privilege of the few, but for the welfare of all. And here the C.C.F. (Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, Coming Commonwealth Fellowship) comes to our aid. It gathers together men and women of all classes who have seen the vision, and helps them to seek for the brother in the other man. And you may take the word of those who have tried it when they tell you that to expect a brother is to behold one, and to join the C.C.F. is to receive new power of sight. You will find that Fellowship is your business, just as ferrying was Dick's. Alone you can accomplish little, and the ideal seems very far off. But listen

—and you will hear the tread of the hosts of Fellowship to which in reality you belong. The C.C.F. offers a meeting-place, without distinction of race, creed, class or sect, to all who want to live in the spirit of the coming Commonwealth. There is work for those who can do it—work that is creative and healing; there are adventures in plenty; there are offers of help for those in need; there is education for those who strive after it; there is a constant outflow of sympathy and helpful thought to the dispirited. If you would have further details, send a stamped envelope to 23, Bride Lane, E.C.4.

The Children's Part in the Fellowship.

The children of the C.C.F., banded together in the League of Chums, with its vow: "I will act fairly, stand up for the littlest, and look for a chum in everybody," are to receive special attention in this page next week. The Story-Chum (Rev. V. T. Pomeroy) will tell them (and all children) "The Story of the Hoarding," which is a record of how he saw behind the ugliness and found the Hidden Chum. It is your bounden duty to tell all your children friends about this, and to sell as many extra copies of the paper as you can.

Introductions.

The following would join our C.C.F.; please bid them welcome:—

5383 (Islington), a widow, interested in theosophy, astrology, history and essays, languages, drawing, music and painting, and believing strongly in "God's watchfulness in all the details of our life," will be glad to link with elderly Fellows.

5387 (Glasgow), who has no creed, but only "a great desire to get at the ultimate truth about life," will welcome correspondence; he has studied Guild Socialism, Theosophy, Christian Science and mental dominion, the reform of marriage laws and Francis Thompson's poetry.

5381 (Folkestone), helping at home, will be very glad of Fellowship that will widen her life; she is interested in historical and poetical books and fiction, also in music.

Congratulations.

Loving greetings to 1714 (Ipswich) who writes: "You will see that I have changed my name, and my address. I am afraid that of late I have been too busy to be a correspondent, but, believe me, I am a Fellow in spirit. I have nearly 40 girls to teach and train in arts and crafts, and this swallows up all the time—the rest, of course, is 'home-making.' I want always to remain with you in spirit, being bound by the invisible but indestructible tie."

3571 and 2029, both of Southampton, have lately married, and they have made a new centre of Fellowship in Manchester; will members in that city give them a warm greeting?

We would send our warmest good wishes to 833 and 4635 who are about to be married at Spinney Hill (Sask., Canada); these two Fellows came to know one another through the medium of the C.C.F.

Answers to Correspondents.

5089 (Brixton): We have no fellows at present in Los Angeles; but 5027 (Los Gatos) has a very wide influence and would no doubt be able to give you help and put you in touch with good friends.

Fellowship Wanted.

2811 (Rothie Norman, N.B.) would be glad of help in regard to Theosophy and New Thought.

Headquarters has need of a small typewriter; can any Fellow lend one?

SIDELIGHTS.

May Day Resolution.

"This mass meeting of London workers sends fraternal greetings to their Trade Union, Co-operative, and Socialist comrades throughout the world, who this day assemble to demonstrate their solidarity, and their determination to substitute an International Co-operative Commonwealth for the present capitalist and landlord system, which is responsible for innumerable social problems and hardships.

"It demands immediate effective attention to the following means of dealing with some of the most pressing social problems:—

- Adequate provision for housing and means of transit;
- Amnesty to political and military prisoners;
- Employment for able-bodied adults on work useful to the community;
- Endowment of motherhood;
- Equal pay for men and women;
- Full maintenance for workers disabled in the war, and their dependents;
- Full compensation for all workers injured in industry, and support for widows, orphans, and the infirm;
- The abolition of the Aliens Restriction Act;
- The abolition of the present charitable system; and
- The adoption of State support and control of the blind.

"It hails with enthusiasm the success of the Russian Soviet Government, and calls on workers in all countries to refuse to provide munitions of war or the means of intervention by British and other capitalist Governments, and pledges itself to use its efforts to force those Governments to conclude peace with Soviet Russia on the basis of no annexation, no indemnities, and no interference in Russian internal affairs.

"It expresses its abhorrence of the atrocities committed by capitalist Governments in all countries.

"It demands the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, and proclaims the right of the Irish people to choose their own form of Government.

"It demands a drastic handling of high prices and control over food and other common necessities of life, and the full recognition and support of the Industrial Co-operative movement as a method of ensuring domestic supplies free from profiteering; and denounces the proposal to impose income-tax on the savings secured by such Co-operative mutual trading societies.

"It reaffirms its belief that the solidarity of the workers is the only means of safeguarding the peace of the world. It therefore demands that all questions of peace or war must rest ultimately with the workers.

"It sends greetings to the ex-Service men meeting at Geneva, and congratulates them on their fight for the ending of all wars."

The Social Show.

- The thirst of the soul soon learns to know
- The moistureless froth of the social show,
- The vulgar sham of the pompous feast
- Where the heaviest purse is the highest priest;
- The organised charity, scrimped and iced,
- In the name of a cautious, statistical Christ.

—John Boyle O'Reilly.

Labour J.P.'s.

Among the 35 new magistrates appointed for Herefordshire there are nine direct representatives of Labour. The nine Labour men include five railwaymen, two stonemasons, a builder's foreman, and a clerk.

Prussia's Mantle.

"One cannot deny that the French are a gloriously military nation."—"The Times."

A Harmless Amusement.

The "Morning Post" observes:—

On Saturday, we were glad to observe, Labour had an amiable afternoon's holiday. Walking in a procession is a form of exercise which is a matter of taste; but as a method of what is called demonstration it seems to be agreeable to all concerned.

Suffer the Little Children.

We regret to find that, according to the "Daily Express," the Prime Minister, owing to his illness was unable to address the Sunday School Union meeting on Thursday. It would have been a great opportunity for Mr. Lloyd George to explain, with his customary eloquence, the moral justification for the starvation of German and Austrian children.

Scarcely a Compliment.

The "Daily News" remarks, with regard to May Day celebrations:—

The volume of the throng in Hyde Park on Saturday was impressive, and the very comprehensive resolution adopted embodied no demands that need cause grave alarm.

Building the Tombs of the Prophets.

What we miss in all these May Day utterances is the fine, honest, manly spirit of William Morris and his fellow Socialist workers of a quarter of a century ago.—"Daily Telegraph."

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

OPEN AIR MISSION.—The weather has become kinder to us and some very successful meetings have been held. Ex-Lieut. Hancock was thanked for what he had said by a soldier who had been in the same corps, while one of our members, who thought he had made his position clear enough, was congratulated at the close of the meeting by a woman in the audience on being the best Socialist speaker she had ever heard. May we remind friends that the continuation of this open-air work, though it is already proving of the greatest importance and value, does involve a heavy financial burden without being in any way a source of income. We should be most grateful for help. The following meetings are arranged:—Friday, May 7th, at 5.45, Marble Arch, Horace Fuller, J. Newton Harris. At 7.45, Walthamstow, Hoe Street, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. Monday, 10th, at 7.30, Leytonstone, outside G.E.R. Station, C. Paul Gliddon, Basil Tritton. Tuesday, 11th, at 5.45, Marble Arch, Rev. Humphrey Chalmers, C. Paul Gliddon. Wednesday, 12th, at 7.45, Lewisham, the Market Place, F. C. Brown, J. Newton Harris, Clifford Newton. Thursday, 13th, at 7.45, Camden Town, corner of Buck St. and Kentish Town Road, Rev. James Fraser, J. Newton Harris, Basil Tritton.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

CHRISTIANITY FROM THE QUAKERS' STAND-POINT.—Public addresses will be given on Sunday evenings in May at Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, E.C.4, at 6.30. May 9th. "What the Society of Friends Stands For," by Henry T. Gillett, M.D.

The Crusader

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Friday, May 14th, 1920.

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Twopence.



The Outlook.

THERE is no doubt that the Soviet Government is in danger. The Poles, at the time of writing, have captured Kieff, and Japan is said to be making preparations for an attack on the Siberian front. These forces are of a more formidable character than any that the Bolsheviks have yet had to meet, and the outcome cannot be predicted. We said that the Soviet Government was in danger. The Revolution as a spiritual force, however, is independent of its organised forms. It may indeed gain strength by its defeat. The crucifixion of Russia may mean increased influence in other lands for the Russian idea. But that is no reason why we should stand by and see this crime perpetrated. It is no excuse for those who joined the crowd that cried "Crucify Him!" that the Cross proved the world's salvation.

* * *

TANKS, aeroplanes, cavalry and all the paraphernalia of the Imperial Bully are up against something in Ireland; that they are powerless to destroy. The death of a Mountjoy hunger-striker will put new courage and determination into the hearts of the Sinn Feiners. The only fear is that if

fresh tragedies of a similar character follow the Irish Republic may be unable to restrain the anger of the people and a state of things may be precipitated which will wreck all chances of a triumph for their cause. The restraint shown up to the present, considering all the circumstances, is wonderful. Any deviation from the course hitherto followed would play into the hands of the Imperial Government.

* * *

THE oil war continues, and that blessed word Mesopotamia is more than ever on the lips of politicians and pressmen. There are rumours that the "Shell" company is to become an "all British" concern, and as such, given a mandate for the control of the oil regions. Former experiments in the granting to commercial companies of governmental powers are not encouraging, as India and South Africa can bear witness. To-day, however, the difference is not so great between a political government and a commercial company. The Foreign Office is simply the guardian of the Capitalist interests of this country in other lands. Whether Mesopotamia is governed from Westminster or from "the City" is of little importance.

* * *

THE intervention of English Transport Workers in the Dutch strike, which we commented on as a signal instance of international solidarity, has been followed by a proposal on the part of the Dutch Parliament to make such alliances with the workers of other countries illegal. The new Bill makes liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years any individual who enters into communication with any person or organisation in foreign countries for the purpose of causing revolution in Holland. This clause is clearly aimed at the activities of the Third International in Holland, and could be construed to cover any activities and relations of international Socialism. A further clause covers those who introduce into the country large sums of money with the object of promoting or assisting sedition. This at once brings into danger the practical support by subscriptions from abroad that was the feature of the transport strike.



Experience.

It is frequently said that Experience is the great teacher of Wisdom. Mankind, we are told, progresses by learning from its failures. Only by the hard knocks administered to us in the School of

Life do we get any wisdom knocked into our exceedingly hard heads. Presumably it is on this score that Old Age claims superiority over Youth. Who of us at some time has not been bowled over by the argument, "My dear sir, I was familiar with this subject when you were yet in the nursery"?

Especially is this line of thought pursued by those who see in economic progress nothing but the inevitable result of the breakdown of imperfect stages in social development. Capitalism collapses because the chaos and suffering it brings about become unendurable. There is much to be said for this argument, and it is a useful corrective to those who divorce moral progress from physical experience and treat it as though it were a process independent of any material basis.

Plausible as it is, however, we must not allow it to stampede us. For one thing, the School of Experience is no more calculated to work with mechanical inevitability in the production of wise men than any other School. No educational system is fool-proof. There are, to say the least, a sufficient number of aged dotards to make the young suspicious of the value of experience. The results achieved in the university of life depend to some extent on the quality of the material we submit to its treatment. Some emerge from its portals with less sense than they entered. Not all the men who have endured the horrors of war and seen the misery of a "peace" based on the might of the conquerors, have lost their enthusiasm for militarism. Some have become enthusiasts for that form of folly who were not so before. There is always the gamblers' argument that another throw would have justified all the past expenditure of blood and treasure, and that if only the knock-out blow had been more completely humiliating to the foe we should have been saved all the trouble we have had since the armistice.

Nor can it be denied that a threatened catastrophe may be avoided by learning from the experience of others.

This ability to make use of the experience of others is so invaluable a quality that we may well give it some attention. I cannot help thinking that the teaching of Jesus has some relation to the history of His countrymen in their dealings with a long series of conquerors. The pacifism of the New Testament is not an individual product but the effects of national experience. Only a comparatively

short while before His advent the armed resistance of the Maccabees to imperial power had proved successful. But that success had been frittered away. The Jews, in Jesus' time, were the disillusioned heirs of an armed and victorious revolt. The disillusionment is surely not unrelated to the character of the teaching enshrined in the Sermon on the Mount. Moreover, Rome itself, tottering decay, cannot but have afforded a warning as to the instability of empire upheld by the sword.

But to transmute those historical lessons into the bold creative wisdom of the gospels—that was the miracle. There you have the function of the prophet. Jesus' mind did not work in a realm of abstract moral principles, but amid historical actualities, the crude material thus presented to Him He set the working of eternal laws. From the past He garnered truth that enabled Him to anticipate the future and to warn His contemporaries of the consequences of ignoring the signs of the times. His whole effort was directed towards endeavouring to save the world from the necessity of learning from its own personal experience the truth which could be learned by pondering reverently on the past and present. He endeavoured to save them from suffering by anticipating in imagination the suffering that awaited them if they continued the life they were then leading.

When it is said that the possessing class will or give way to force I am inclined to agree. But it does not by any means close the question as to whether we are to use force ourselves in compelling them to surrender. The force to which they will give way may be either actual or it may be anticipated. It may be transferred from an uncertain future to the present by the burning passion of imagination and pity of the prophet. The question is whether the possessing class will abdicate only through the pressure of actual physical power or whether they can be influenced by prophetic warning as to the fate that will overtake them if they do not heed the course of events. Can imagination, that is to say, be made to serve the place of experience? Can a religious and moral reading of the menace of the times save them from the fate which, failing this, awaits them?

To give that warning is the very opposite of the method of physical violence now advocated. It involves the prophet himself in the suffering he anticipates. The opposition he arouses leads to his crucifixion and his crucifixion is his last and best argument for the veracity of his warnings. He saves his generation not only by anticipating in imagination the fate it is inviting but by himself anticipating it in experience.

Of course we appeal to force—the impersonal force which lies ready in the historical process of the wrecking of any form of society not built upon true foundations. Can we appeal to this force with such power of imagination, with such moral passion, with such self-forgetful pity, with such spiritual insight that even the subjects of Mammon will hesitate to follow the reckless leading of the greedy?

That is the question.

THE TRAM

Ex-Service Men Anti-Militarists.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

So the soldiers have beaten the "pacifists"!

Some of us who were cheered in our prison cells by visions of the great things that were to be done for international pacifism when the war was over and we could get into touch with our comrades in other lands, have been somewhat disappointed by the slow progress of events in the pacifist organisations, which, we imagined, were to get together and form some common plan of action to "make good" the witness borne during the war. The present position of the pacifist and anti-militarist movement falls far short of the position I had hoped it would have attained; and in view of the action of those who have been through four years of hell in the trenches, I am afraid that we cannot any longer shelter ourselves behind the "war weary" plea that was undoubtedly justified during the first six months after the armistice was signed. It is now 12 months since the release of the British anti-militarists from prison and detention camp, and with the exception of individual propaganda work performed under difficulties and necessarily limited in scope, there has been no attempt made to co-ordinate and organise anti-militant propaganda on anything like the scale that the world situation demands.

True, there have been conferences and discussions. Members of various pacifist organisations have met together and told each other what they already knew; but so far as the question of how best to get their message to the man in the street is concerned, the result of such conferences has been practically nothing. The No-Conscription Fellowship has disbanded, and the committees set up from this organisation have met twice and done—nothing. They can do nothing because they have no money and—what is worse—no workers who are free to devote the necessary time to the organisation of the pacifist movement with a view to forming a British section of a world-wide **real** pacifist International. Another conference is shortly to be held and in the meantime two members of the committees are being sent to a Hague conference where some attempt is to be made to ascertain the position in other lands. That is where the British pacifist movement stands at the moment; indeed "stands" is the only word to use, for it certainly cannot by any stretch of the imagination be suggested that it is marching forward.

Now let us see what the soldiers are doing. I have frequently touched upon the state of mind of the thinking man who has seen the horror of war at close quarters, and a brief note in the last issue of "The Crusader" mentioned the International Congress of Ex-Service Men held at Geneva last week. That congress shows that the soldiers have done what some of us were hoping would have been done by the pacifists; they have linked up with their comrades of all lands in an international movement against militarism, with a programme and statement of faith that is more advanced than any exist-

ing pacifist organisation. It is strange irony that while some "pacifists" have left prison to advocate the use of armed force in the overthrow of capitalism, men who have had their fill of armed force are warning their fellows against its use in any circumstances.

The Ex-Service Men's International sprang up spontaneously in all countries, and was definitely organised from France, where Henri Barbusse and Raymond Lefebvre, the leaders of the democratic discharged soldiers' movement in that country, have done so much to counteract the influence of the French militarists. Once it was ascertained that similar movements had sprung up in other countries, invitations were sent to them, and in a very short time the International organisation was an accomplished fact. The following programme of the work of this organisation, as outlined by one of the British delegates, Ernest Mander, deserves the serious attention of all pacifists who are still trying to make up their minds about the kind of propaganda most needed to-day:—

- (1) To destroy false ideas about war among civilians, and especially among children, and to teach the children that war is a filthy, sordid, and degrading business.
- (2) **To get as many men as possible in all countries to pledge themselves never to take up arms against each other.**
- (3) To urge organised Labour to declare a general strike whenever in the future there may be danger of war.
- (4) To abolish secret diplomacy.
- (5) **To strike at the economic roots of war by destroying the capitalist system.**

In the course of the discussion, another delegate declared: "War does not just happen. It is the direct outcome of the maintenance of elaborate murder-machines and of secret diplomacy. . . . The only way to prevent war is by the scrapping of war-machinery. . . Every nation should be given a day on which to destroy all guns, shells, warships, and arsenals."

During the whole of my experience in guardrooms and prisons I stoutly resisted the claim of the military authorities that I was a soldier. But a few days ago I received an official discharge from the army, which informed me that I had served one year and 88 days "with the colours," and two years and 193 days in the Army Reserve "W." The "colours" I served with were drab and grey, decorated with broad arrows, and most of my time in Army Reserve "W" was spent in recovering from the effects of my service; but on the strength of my official discharge I am thinking seriously of applying for membership of the National Union of Ex-Service Men (the British section of the Ex-Service Men's international) on the ground that that body is at present the only really active and effective pacifist organisation in Britain!

The Crusader.

Friday, May 14th, 1920

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Russia's Danger.

New and formidable dangers threaten the Bolshevik Government. It was one thing to overthrow the Czar and his corrupt bureaucracy. It is an entirely different thing to meet the combined opposition of the capitalist governments of the world. The Bolsheviks when they accomplished their revolution anticipated that their example would be followed in other countries. In that anticipation they have been disappointed, and as a consequence they find themselves opposed by military and naval forces which will tax their powers of resistance to the utmost. It was a natural mistake, but it was none the less a mistake. And the lesson it conveys is one that cannot be too deeply impressed upon the minds of all concerned in the overthrow of the present world-order. To bring about the full control of the political and industrial machine by the workers, international solidarity is essential. As it is true that no individual can secure right conditions of life as an individual, so it is true that no single nation can do this. Our destiny is bound up together. Russia cannot be free apart from Germany, France and England. We must wait for each other. Our impatience must be checked by the thought of the international character of the movement.

Deceptive Success.

The apparent success of the Revolution in Russia has been quoted frequently as proving the possibility of dethroning capitalism by force of arms. If only Russia itself were to be considered, that argument might carry weight; but it becomes daily more evident that not only has the "success" been local, but that it has been achieved in a manner which has actually strengthened the forces of reaction elsewhere. In the same way the French Revolution succeeded in France. But the fear inspired by the Terror held up the Social Movement in England for many a long year, and this fear led to military measures being undertaken against Republican France, and the consequent wars resulted in the emergence of Napoleon as military dictator and finally as Emperor. All this has to be taken into account in measuring the triumph of a revolution. Our estimate must be based on a world-wide survey and must cover a considerable period of years.

Where the Blame Lies.

It is not Lenin and his friends who are to blame so much as the apathy of Labour throughout the world. The failure to respond to the magnificent idealism of the Russian leaders, the narrow, unimaginative outlook of those for whose cause the Russian people were contending, is responsible for whatever set-back may attend the further history of the great movement in Russia.

"That's been our Mistake, it has!"

"I said to mother, 'What are we going to do about it. It's up to us to do summat. That's been our mistake. We've always left it to them at the top. But we can't put up with this. We can't see all these people in our own street walking about out o' work.'"

The speaker was a big-hearted uneducated, grimy faced coalman. One could tell that he was wondering why in the world he hadn't thought of this before. But when a man like this glimpses a bit of the truth, he hangs on to it like grim death. And I wouldn't mind—I was going to say betting, but if it offends, readers may substitute any word they prefer—that he has told a good many of his colleagues that "That's been our mistake, it has. It's up to us to do summat ourselves now."

Giving her impressions of the Camberwell contest, in the current number of "The Labour Woman," Miss Susan Lawrence writes: "Those of us who have done industrial work know well the cost of tension—the sort of electric feeling when they approach a factory of unorganised workers who are on the verge of a strike—the sense that the workers were ready for revolt, and that all that was needed was to guide blind, aimless feelings of discontent into useful channels." (Italics are mine).

Everywhere thousands of people are groping round trying to discover what is wrong. To mention one article alone. I am quite certain that "The People are Marching," in our May Day number, would have been a revelation to these people, and would have helped to clear their vision. The people responsible for the "Crusader" did their bit, but their efforts have been largely wasted because Crusaders did not support them.

I wonder if some day "Crusader" readers will say "That's been our mistake, it has. It's up to us to do summat ourselves now"? If ever they do, our circulation will go up in leaps and bounds, and our paper will become self-supporting. Some Crusaders of course, are already doing what they can, and we gratefully acknowledge an anonymous donation of 10s. from a sympathiser at Bentham. Also voluntary levies of 6d. per week from our secretary, Miss Brown and from Mr. George Baynton, of Clapton who says: "My little daughter would like a specimen copy of the 'Explorer.'" We hope that she will read her copy and introduce the paper to lots of her friends.

THE PLOUGHMAN.

Economic Restoration of Europe. Revise the Peace Treaty!

GREAT PUBLIC MEETING, CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, TUESDAY, MAY 18th, 1920, 8 p.m.

COME AND HEAR

The Rt. Hon. H. H. ASQUITH, M.P.

The Rt. Hon. J. R. CLYNES, M.P.

Chairman: Lord PARMOOR.

TICKETS: 3/6 (numbered and reserved), 1/- (reserved), to be obtained at Fight the Famine Council, Premier House, 150 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

ADMISSION FREE BY TICKET from above address.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

The comments of the Religious Press on Labour doings are often illuminating, especially to those who read between the lines. This time the Roman Catholic paper, the "Universe," comments on May Day in London. It says: "The day provided something of a sensation. Few were prepared for the amazing dimensions to which the organised Labour of the capital brought its celebration of the day." After remarking that there were probably not far off a million persons gathered in Hyde Park, the "Universe" goes on to say: "Perhaps the most significant thing about the demonstration was its temper and method. The contrast was almost ludicrous between the incendiary rhetoric of some of the platforms and the whole demeanour of the crowd. . . . It was significant that the London masses were manifestly out for just a good, merry-making holiday. . . . The average London worker is quite serious about what he wants, but he is the very opposite of a red revolutionary, and has not an atom of class spite."

Then follows a paragraph on the part taken by the Socialist Sunday Schools. This part is spoken of as "the most pitiful" element in the great procession. I quote: "Brake-loads of little children, subjected in their early years to terrible influences that set at the same time man against man and man against his Creator. 'We want our children to grow up free-thinking men and women, untrammelled by priest or church,' is a definition, by one of their leading supporters, of the object of these organisations, which so terribly take the name of the Lord's Day in vain. And again: 'To counteract the Christian Sunday Schools that deal in dope and chloroform, let us have Sunday Schools that teach children emancipation, and inspire them with the spirit of intelligent rebellion.' 'There is no God' as the motto emblazoned on a banner carried in one of these Socialist Sunday School processions in America. God help the poor little innocents of seven and eight years old that were being paraded in London under such auspices."

Hope springs eternal in the human breast. And I am very interested to see how hope is rising in any an editorial breast because the Poles are doing well against Soviet Russia! Even the "Challenge" waves the flag of the new war and says: "On every ground we trust a victorious conclusion will crown the present offensive."

In the "Church Times" there is a brave and rely note on the horrible doings of our allies, the Japanese, in Corea. And it follows up another protest the same paper recently made. I quote: "Mr. Ramsworth, replying for the Government, admitted that in April last, Christian men in the

Corean village of Cheami were ordered by soldiers of the 78th Japanese regiment to assemble in the church, and that, the doors having been shut, the men were shot down and their bodies afterwards bayoneted. To complete their work the soldiery set fire to the church and most of the houses of the village. Apparently representations have been made to the Japanese Government concerning these methods of suppressing the perfectly reasonable and entirely pacific and constitutional protests which the Corean people are making against Japanese rule. The question was raised in the House of Commons last July by Lord Robert Cecil, but obviously the British Government can do no more than make representations. The Coreans have few friends in England. Thousands of them are in prison, and many of them have been tortured. And what for? The double crime of being Christians and loving their own country. With Ireland at our elbow we cannot very becomingly throw stones at Japan, but we can state the claim of the Coreans to protection from such outrages." We congratulate the "Church Times" on its determined effort to expose these Allied barbarities. We gladly join in.

Following up my note of last week about the attendance at Church of Labour Day processionists, I see that in Gloucester the local Trades and Labour Council organised a Church Parade, and members of between forty and fifty Trade Unions marched, with bands playing and banners unfurled, to the cathedral, where a service was held and a sermon listened to.

I take this from the "Christian World." Commenting on the "overwhelming meetings of the Baptist Union at the Birmingham Town Hall and Carr's Lane Chapel," it asks "Is the tide turning?" and then adds: "It certainly looks as though indifference to religion was giving place to the inflowing tide of a deepening and enriching concern for religion." I think it cannot be denied that there are many signs (of very various sorts) that the ultimate questions of life are returning to the minds of the people. A superficial view would say that the world was never so rooted in evil; but a deeper view leads, I think, to the conclusion that with many a reaction is taking place more or less consciously. The startling disillusionment of the "Peace" is having its spiritual effect. So is the terribly baffling failure of the social order. So is the continuous Machiavellian vaudeville carried on daily by the politicians. So is the endless panorama of quarrels, fights and murders. Tens of thousands of our people of the rank and file now know that the very soul of us is sick, and these people are instinctively beginning to turn to the great sanctions of religion in the hope of discovering a firm footing and a new beginning. The question now is: What are the Churches going to do?

Why I Oppose Violent Revolution in England.

GEORGE LANSBURY AT THE BROTHERHOOD CHURCH.

George Lansbury opened by reading impressively the 13th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, which contained, he declared, the whole philosophy of life, and his address was aimed to prove to his large audience that the attitude of the world to-day regarding the use or non-use of violence is fundamental. He unequivocally declared his own belief in the omnipotence of the principle of Love as the only revolutionary force worth the service of men and women to-day.

Forty-four years ago, when he was a lad of seventeen, he had supported in debate the axiom that war is opposed to Christianity, and in his argument in those days he had included civil war.

Neither killing nor persecuting nor dominating will bring about what we want, and indeed the very beginning of evil is our desire to compel others to do as we say.

In Russia, Lenin knew his attitude, and he had refused to admit that his principle of conquest by love was merely abstract.

An Unfair Question.

An unfair question had sometimes been put to him: "Would you not have had the Revolution take place?"

In answer to that, he was not afraid to declare openly that if he "had been in Russia he would not have taken part in any killing of any person whatsoever," and if pressed further, he was prepared to add: "If that meant the postponement of the Revolution, then it would have to be postponed, so far as he was concerned."

It was necessary, however, for us to consider the Russian situation to-day in the light of a fait accompli; but in so far as it depended on violence, it would fail. Russia MUST make the Movement itself appeal, for the imposing of one will upon another was vain.

In Russia we were witnessing a great moral and spiritual movement, and much of the difficulty to-day was through an imposition from outside.

England compared with Russia.

Such comparison was absurd. Russia was centuries behind, and the Bolshevik Government had still many problems of life and conduct to face. It was certain that Communism could only be possible when the people understood it. It could not be imposed.

But in England we had an enormously powerful working-class—on paper! Yet a more inept body than the Labour movement in this country has never been. It could pass resolutions, yes, even self-contradictory resolutions, with equal enthusiasm at the same meeting. He had been in the chair when it had been done.

The speaker deprecated the forcing of men and women against their will into Trade Unions, and declared that in the Co-operative movement we saw

the reversal of the very principles set forth by the old pioneers in Rochdale. Co-operation could not exist so long as those in the movement were out to "make a bit." It was capitalistic with limitations.

"How Socialists Love!"

The want of love amongst Socialists was lamentable. Why must we split into groups, draw up a formula, and force the rest to swallow it? This squabbling had gone on for thirty years. It was all very regrettable—it was such tomfoolery for any one of us to think we had captured the whole truth. The human mind cannot in fact contain all truth, and the more you know, the more humbly you confess how little you know. Perhaps the Socialists had caught this excommunicating spirit off the Christians!

"Nothingarians."

We cannot change from Commercialism to Socialism until the spirit for the change is present. But given that spirit, we have a tremendous machine in our own system of local government (which point the speaker elaborated).

But he urged them to consider that it was the masses, not the classes, who were really keeping back this country. It was the masses who had kept him six times out of Parliament. As for the talk of dictation—they had not even decided yet what they wanted. Vast crowds of the workers to-day are Nothingarians. They don't believe in anything and don't want to believe in anything. They may crowd round to see two men in a prize ring, but they haven't the spirit to box themselves. As for a violent revolution, that is humbug. The workers haven't the spirit for it.

When they have the spirit, then they will not need the violence. The machinery is ready.

The "Daily Herald" and the "Crusader."

As an example, George Lansbury instanced the "Daily Herald," with a circulation of 300,000; yet the Trade Unions count six millions. Why was there only one Labour paper? Then the "Crusader" was run by a few keen people; yet how far were the workers supporting it?

Life More Abundant.

Probably those who heard him speak of love were laughing at him as a sloppy sentimentalist. He declared to them that to love one another is to live. "This do and thou shalt live!" Up to the present we have never lived. We have trodden one another down. In short, we need to be born again if we are to have life more abundant.

He did not believe that without religion we should ever get where we want to get. We must discover that there is something bigger in the world than the "ME." Violence has been tried. Our first duty is to discover not what we can get, but what we can give, that we may be servants of all. There is but one way out—we must draw out the good which is in every one of the children of men.

Wanted—a People's Public House.

"The public-house," wrote Miss T. W. Wilson, an article contributed some while ago to a weekly paper.

It shows the strength of its existence to its recognition of a legitimate public need.

By this I do not mean the desire for drink, but the desire for talk.

I once asked a lad how long he could sit at his favourite public-house for a pint of ale. He grinned at me and said: "For a pint? They'd soon look queer at you if you stuck to a pint."

This reveals the price a temperate man pays for the luxury of his corner seat.

For the children and the very young people we want controlled play centres, but for the older ones we want the Public-House. . . .

There should be well-lighted public rooms, and other rooms, more or less private, where committees could be held, and games played, and even classes given.

A young man should be able to bring his girl out of the rain, and give her refreshment like a gentleman. Such public-houses might not "pay," but they are every bit as essential for the good conduct of a town as a public library established on the rates."

In Carlisle, steps have been taken in the direction here suggested. And, if a writer in the "Observer" is correct, the reformed public-house as established here has been an undoubted success. But it is obvious that no method of State Purchase or municipal control, can, as things are, solve the problem. Both State and Municipality are too bureaucratic, and too far removed from the direct influence of the people most concerned to be able successfully to run the kind of public-house for which Miss Wilson pleads. It is necessary that those frequenting such places should feel that it has been provided not for them, but by them. The co-operative character of the undertaking should supply the necessary sense of fellowship among the guests. It should, in short, if the term be not too violently self-contradictory, be not merely a public-house, but rather a public home.

The present condition of society (its class divisions, its property basis and the commercial spirit that permeates it and ruins all it touches), makes it necessary that such efforts should be organised by communities acting on their own initiative—bodies of workers setting up and controlling their own public-house and throwing it open to all willing to conform to its conditions.

There seems, for instance, no reason why the co-operative Societies should not launch out in this direction.

But even then the biggest factor of success might be missing. Such an establishment would depend largely on the atmosphere created by those responsible. The personal element would count for far more than in "a store." And it would not be easy to find the kind of men and women fitted for the task.

"Who has not imagined to himself a country inn," says Thoreau, "where the traveller shall really feel in, and at home, and at his public house, who was before at his private house; whose host is indeed a host, and a lord

of the land, a self-appointed brother of his race; called to his place, beside, by all the winds of heaven and his good genius, as truly as the preacher is called to preach; a man of such universal sympathies, and so broad and genial a human nature that he would vain sacrifice the tender but narrow ties of private friendship to a broad, sunshiny, fair-weather-and-foul friendship for his race; who loves men not as a philosopher, with philanthropy, nor as an overseer of the poor, with charity, but by a necessity of his nature, as he loves dogs and horses; and standing at his open door from morning till night, would vain see more and more of them come along the highway, and is never satiated."

Such inn-keepers, actual or potential, it will be readily granted, do not abound. But perhaps the need of them and the opportunity for them to exercise their vocation would multiply their number.

The question of intoxicating liquor is a subordinate one. It would have to be decided by the community concerned, and, under the conditions outlined, they might well be trusted to deal with the matter in the best interests of the public. Only on a right social basis can the drink evil be dealt with. Get your public-house established upon a true foundation, personal and economic, and the injurious features of the present public-house will automatically disappear.

The subject of the public-house is of more importance than at first sight might appear. Socialism is not merely a question of organisation. One of the elements necessary for its realisation is sociability, and nothing would so foster the sociable spirit as such a public-house as is here suggested.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

MRS. SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON, whose husband, it will be remembered, though a pacifist, was shot by the English during the 1916 rebellion, has promised to speak at an EMERGENCY MEETING, ON COERCION IN IRELAND, which will take place in the Church Hall, the King's Weigh House, Thomas Street (one minute from Bond Street Tube Station) on MONDAY NEXT, MAY 17th, at 7.30 p.m. The meeting will also be addressed by other members who have been investigating conditions in Ireland during the last few days. It is entirely open and free.

OPEN-AIR MISSION.—It would be a great encouragement to the speakers if friends would make a point of supporting one of the open-air meetings every week. The following are arranged. Friday, May 14th, at 5.45, Marble Arch, W. H. Hancock, Clifford Newton. At 7.45, Walthamstow, Hoe Street, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. Monday, May 17th, at 7.30, Levenshstone, outside G.E.R. Station, Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. Tuesday, May 18th, at 5.45, Marble Arch, C. Paul Gliddon, J. Newton Harris, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. Wednesday, May 19th, at 7.45, Lewisham, the Market Place, F. C. Brown, Rev. Frank Fincham. Thursday, May 20th, at 7.45, Camden Town, corner of Kentish Town Road, outside Trinity Presbyterian Church, Rev. James Fraser, W. H. Hancock.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

The Handel Festival.—Commencing June 19th. Singers for choirs wanted immediately, especially tenors. Particulars from R. B., c/o "The Crusader," 23 Bride Lane, E.C.4.

The St

PERSONS, NOT PROPER

The world-revolution means more than the dethronement of Czars and Kaisers. It is the beginning of something more far-reaching than the independence of small nations such as Ireland. It threatens the whole paraphernalia of government. The State itself is in danger. There is no mistaking the tendency of things; the institution of the State will cease to exist. Another form of society will take its place. To most people this is inconceivable. To their mind the State always has existed and always must. As a matter of fact this is not historically correct. There was a time when mankind was grouped according to an entirely different principle.

The Oldest Society.

In the earliest stage of human history Society was based on personal relationship. Worshipping some deified ancestor, and living together as kinsmen on a basis roughly communal, the people of that era had as little conception of the modern State established on a foundation of territorial possession as we have of their form of society. Blood relationship, the worship of a common ancestor were the bonds that held the members of the group together.

Even those unacquainted with the researches of anthropologists may familiarise themselves with this condition of things through the pages of the Old Testament. There you have a people recognising a certain unity among themselves, yet, in the earlier period of their existence, possessing no inch of territory, settling among an alien and more advanced race. As you follow the story you see the efforts of their leaders to preserve them from the political customs and religious rites of their neighbours. Loyalty to Jehovah, the refusal to intermarry with other people, the subordination of kings and nobles to the representatives of the national God—these were the characteristics that struggled, often in vain, against the constant temptation to build up a kingdom like the kingdoms around them, and to become like the neighbouring nations, a military power. The prophets were really great conservators. They contended for the retention of the earlier tribal form of society against the influence of foreign gods, imperialistic ambitions, and plutocratic greed. They were powerfully assisted by the experiences of the people to whom they preached. Providence forbade them the fulfilment of their political aspirations. Torn from their native soil they learned in captivity the possibility of a national unity independent of territorial possession. And even when they returned from exile it was but to pass from one conqueror to another until all political power had departed and unity was achieved through the sense of religious and racial oneness.

It was this ideal, losing its narrow racial character, which was the foundation of the Christian Church. That Church bound men together as children of a

common Father. It was a society without national boundaries to defend or extend, and consequently without army or navy. Its members laid no stress on the institution of private property and there was therefore no need of police. All were taught to regard each other as brothers and sisters of the same family. The bond uniting them was personal not legal, not based on habitation of the same country, abolishing the division into classes. The Church was, therefore, the revival, in a glorified form, of the earliest stage of society. Jesus was the Spokesman of long buried tradition. The Society which He established bore witness to a decisive victory, after centuries of struggle, against that other type of organisation which we know as the State.

The Fateful Compromise.

The ideal, as everyone knows, was too high to be maintained. In the fourth century this international body had become so strong that Imperial Rome was compelled to come to terms with it. Constantine adopted Christianity as the State Religion. Exhausted by persecution the Church accepted his patronage and entered into an alliance fruitful of untold evil. The old antagonism which Hebrew prophets and Christian martyrs had kept alive ceased. The State accepted the Church. The Church accepted the State. Two contradictory principles of social organisation were thus recognised in and by the same community. The cross and the sword, the chair of St. Peter and the throne of Emperors were accepted as representing different but not conflicting systems of government. Popes were said to be supreme in the spiritual, Kings in the secular realm. The Crusades witnessed to the extent to which, in medieval times, the State imposed its ideals on the Church. The Great War has reminded us that this dual government still exists. Men emblazoned with the cross can still wield the sword. An institution founded on the brotherhood of all men can still prove itself the supreme champion of a propertied class.

The New Messiah.

But in spite of the present identification of Church and State (an identification as close in the case of those claiming to be "Free" as in the case of those said to be "Established") the Christian ideal of Society is not dead. Just as the Messiah came in an unexpected form and was not recognised by the authorities of His day, so the revival of the social organism created by Jesus is being brought about in strange ways and is provoking the antagonism of "the wise and prudent." Revolutionary Socialism has unmasked the State. It has declared that it is essentially a military organisation and that its *raison d'être* is the protection or increase of property. Revolutionary Socialism stands for the re-organisation of Society on an international basis, putting first

umbles.

NDATION OF SOCIETY.

the relationship of men with one another as members of the same human family, subordinating to that relationship all question of property, and abolishing, once for all, the need of rival fleets and armies. That tendency is to-day so strong that there is little doubt but what it will control the future.

The relationship between this ideal and that of the original Christian community is obvious, and that will bring about a restoration of the primitive conception of the Church as a rival to the State and not a partner I fully believe. Curiously enough the clearest perception of the future destiny of the Church comes from Russia—the birth-place of the Social Revolution. In "The Brothers Karamazor," Dostoesky has expressed, through the intermediary of one of his characters, this truth of the all-inclusive authority of the Christian Society, and prophesied that the recognition of this ideal would first of all occur in "the East."

"Understand," says Father Paissy, "the Church is not to be transformed into the State. That is Rome and its dream. That is the third temptation of the devil. On the contrary, the State is transformed into the Church, will ascend and become a Church over the whole world—which is the complete opposite of ultramontaniam and Rome. . . . This star will arise in the East!"

The State Will Disappear.

That means an end to Constantine's Compromise. The Church will no longer look upon the State as its partner. Human life will no longer be divided into two spheres of influence. The Church as established by Jesus Christ claims the whole of human life. It will absorb the State, rejecting every element incongruous with its principles and inconsistent with its spirit. The Kingdoms of this world will become the Kingdom of our Lord. It is not the function of the Church to purify the State. Its function is to destroy it or at least to take over its domain. A regenerated Church will inspire and direct education, industry, art, ethics and indeed every part of our lives. The State as we have known it will vanish. Its place will be taken by that form of society which Jesus created. And of that new Society He Himself will be the Supreme Authority and the life-giving Source. It is that that He meant by the Kingdom of God. It is that to which we are all moving these days. Whether we want it or not, whether we are helping towards it or not the downfall of the Capitalistic State is decreed. The Kingdom of Man has been set up. Our hearts have already thrilled to the news "The Kingdom of God is at hand."

Here and Now.

Already indeed the Kingdom is in our midst. The prestige of "the kingdoms of this world" has received its death-blow. The ancient belief in Governments cannot recover. We look less and less

to them for deliverance. Our wisest policy is to ignore them. Our true course is to build up, within the crumbling ruins of our pagan empires, the new community of Christ. There is no need to wait. Let the rich forego the privileges to which the Present Order entitles them! Let the poor strengthen those organisations which have as their object the overthrow of Mammon! Let those who serve the community by their labours make common cause with one another! Let every co-operative effort be reinforced! Let us join hands across the seas, ignoring the boundaries of Nature and the "imaginary lines" that divide Nation from Nation! Let us utilise every opportunity for communal relationship! Let us exercise to the full the privilege of communal worship!

PETER THE HERMIT.

"IN THE CRIP OF THE LANDLORDS."

W. J. Chamberlain writes:—

I do not desire to enter into a controversy with my friend Leyton Richards on the question of the relative importance of the many things that have to be tackled before we can "begin to rebuild the social structure on its God-given basis." My article on the question of the power of the financiers was intended to point to one of the vital causes of the present social chaos; his article on the land question points to another. As a matter of fact my "clear-headed Labour councillor" friend is also in favour of the taxation of land values, which is one of the planks of the Labour Party's platform. I should prefer the Russian solution, as outlined in the Soviet Republic's Decree on Land Socialisation (February, 1918): "All property in land, underground wealth, waters and living natural forces on the territory of the Russian Federal Soviet Republic is hereby abolished for all time." But I can imagine such evils as the exacting of interest even after the land values tax has been imposed.

Our readers will notice elsewhere an advertisement calling attention to a meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, to demand a revision of the Peace Treaty. Needless to say the purpose of the meeting has our heartiest sympathy. We trust that such of our readers as are able to attend will give their support to this attempt to call attention to the evils created by the diplomacy of the Allies.

GERMAN CLASSES.—The German Class which has been started at Head Office, meets on Friday, at 6 p.m., under Dr. Emil Ebert, late tutor of the City of London College. The fee for the first course of twelve lessons is one guinea. An Advanced Course could be arranged if required. Dr. Ebert is an exceptionally gifted teacher, and members would do well to avail themselves of this opportunity to learn German.

On the Need of a Shock.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

Readers of the "Crusader" may remember that from time to time during recent months I have spoken with some conviction about the approach of a huge conflict, probably a world conflict between Capital and Labour. That conviction is stronger to-day than ever, and every big event in England, France, Italy, America, as well as in Germany, intensifies it. Hence I think it is quite time we faced the issue and considered our duty towards it.

I fear that the capitalists have learnt nothing, or next to nothing, from the war and the events since the war. Being materialists, they see the world in very simple relationships. They believe in the fixity of things and in the power of brute force to maintain that fixity. To them history is a closed book. It would appear that in their eyes there are just two periods in the history of mankind: The 19th century, which stands for Progress and Civilisation, and pre-19th century, which is a long period of barbarism. The former, of course—such is the blindness and egoism of materialism—must be preserved at all costs.

That, consciously or unconsciously, is the standpoint, and embodies the philosophy of the average capitalist, of the men who run our nations, control our newspapers, politics, and, to a large extent, pulpits. And as they are a direct and complete hindrance to all real progress, the question arises: What are we going to do with them?

There are several answers. Democrats—Liberals, Radicals, and very moderate Socialists—say we must vote them out of power. The left wing Socialists declare that this is impossible, and go so far as to say that they must be bodily removed, either killed or put in custody until a better state of things has been organised. This they would do through the instrument of the General Strike or the Dictatorship. Then there are the revolutionary Christians, who have still the daring to breathe the word "conversion."

I have little sympathy with the first method for the reason that it ignores the simple fact that elections are controlled by the Press, and the Press by wealth. It applies force, but in small doses, which affords ample opportunity for what is done to be repeated. Also it makes no attempt to convert—that is, to get down to the spiritual foundations of the problem. After what took place in December, 1918, it is impossible any longer to believe in a social revolution by way of the ballot box. The Germans, who have never really taken to the Parliamentary method, see this quite well, which is why the great body of German Socialists favour direct action.

Of the remaining methods there can be no doubt as to which is the most desirable. But the Left Wing Socialists believe that the capitalists have become so materialistic, or accustomed to domination and power that it is not possible to bring them to

conceive a more spiritual order of society. And certainly the aspect of things to-day, the thought of the war and the history of the last 50 years, of the unparalleled materialism, militarism and oppression of the reigning capitalistic governments give strong support to this view. Moreover, I am so convinced that the present state of affairs cannot last much longer, that unless we who believe in the possibility of a spiritual revolution set seriously to work to produce it, a bloody revolution will be upon us.

Now it is not only possible for Christians to be revolutionaries,—they ought to be. A real belief in Christianity would be the greatest revolution of which this age is capable. But we do not believe in Christianity, dare not face its demands and implications. It is all very well to speak of the beauty and recreative power of love, but unless we are prepared to come to grips with reality and to say how love ought to manifest itself in present society, what sort of relations it ought to produce, little is gained.

Christianity is a positive principle. Love, not sacrifice, is its root. Sacrifice is but the negative side of love, its positive side being a constructive idea, a unifying force which produces relations from which flow richer streams of life. Indeed, love or service is the most potent life-producing principle we possess, and would, must inevitably, be adopted by everyone who took the trouble to think it out.

But that is where the trouble arises. We cannot compel men to think, and materialism has become so rampant that it would appear to have rendered thought impossible. Our age is perverted by false social standards, dehumanising customs and perverted education, and because all these things are necessary to the ascendancy of the capitalist class, the latter are madly bent on maintaining them. Hence they are not at all amenable to thought, willing to think things down to their roots. They see life through the obscure medium of materialism, and see in the spiritual agitations of the workers nothing but an irrational attempt to change the fixed law of a physical universe.

Hence, say the Marxists, these men must be removed. And removed they must be—will be, one way or another ere long. For we cannot permit the present state of society to continue, the great mass of mankind to live in misery and bondage, simply because a comparatively small group of capitalists are not disposed to think out a new philosophy of life. Nevertheless the advantages that would accrue from self removal as against compulsory removal are so great that we must not quite lose hope in that possibility.

But it will not be easy to effect, and will, I am quite sure, require the aid of a shock. Such a shock may take the form of a Dictatorship, a General Strike, or a powerful spiritual movement. I have read and have been told by more than one eyewitness that the Russian Revolution has been the means of compelling large numbers of well-to-do

and privileged people to think, to see things in a new way, to use their imagination, and to realise new possibilities; in consequence of which they have no desire to go back to the old social order. But the Revolution brought many other things that it is desirable to avoid. At the same time it is futile to denounce the Dictatorship or the General Strike unless we are endeavouring to create a public opinion for the freeing of the peoples from the tyranny of capitalism, and for the reconstruction of society after the principle of freedom and self-expression. And I am convinced that if we would all set to work to do this, we could in a very short time so electrify the atmosphere as to shock the capitalists into a state of thought, and thereby produce a revolution that would be more effective and complete than any that could be brought by force.

But let us make no mistake about this: the revolution is coming, must come; and if it is a bloody one we must share the blame. To-day is a time for positive action. Mere criticism of Bolshevism avails nothing. Also do not let us stress too much the idea of a "gradual" revolution. Why should it be gradual? Conversion is sudden and involves a sudden and complete change of conduct. In transition periods, like the present, when one social order comes to an end and another begins, the atmosphere is so charged and the minds of men are so stirred that it is possible to do more in five years than at other times in 50. It is our duty to work for and to expect great things. The gigantic modern struggle between capitalism and Socialism is at heart a contest between a materialist and a spiritual conception of life and of man, and its issue directly concerns the endurance of civilisation, the survival of the race. Thus far no nation has been able to survive the materialism which accompanies great commercial prosperity. Shall ours? Is there sufficient spiritual force in the world to save it from destruction, from the hell of materialism into which capitalism is hurling it? If there is it will have to manifest itself in better ways than vague talk about love, and limp criticism of Bolshevism.

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WILL BE HELD ON

MONDAY, MAY 17th, 1920,

IN

DEVONSHIRE HOUSE, 136 BISHOPSGATE, E.C.,
AT 7 P.M.

Sir JOHN PEASE FRY, BART. (President), will preside

THE SPEAKERS WILL INCLUDE

The Rt. Hon. LORD PARMOOR. TOM MYERS, Esq., M.P.
Rev. ROBERT HORTON, M.A., D.D. J. E. HODGKIN, Esq. (Treasurer).
Mrs. DESPARD. Rev. HERBERT DUNNICO, J.P., C.C. (Secretary).

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The May "Gleam" contains articles on "ROOM
RATIONING," "THOUGHTS ON A LOCAL WAR
MEMORIAL," by an ex-soldier, "THE RATES,"
by a Labour Councillor, and many other items of
interest.

MONDAY, MAY 17th.

Mrs. SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON on "Coercion in Ireland."

See F.O.R. notices on page 7.

FURNISHED APARTMENTS, within easy walking distance
of City.—Mrs. Sander, 12a, Myddleton Square, E.C. 1.

TO CHRISTIAN INVESTORS.—Those desirous of
investing in non-industrial concern, with security
and reasonable interest, and also helping to solve
grave social problem, should communicate with
Frank Griffiths, 51, Alkham Road, N.16.

HOLIDAYS AT OLD HALL, BARMING.—Adult School
Guest House.—Apply, Warden.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Ken-
sington Town Hall, 3-15, Dr. Percy Dearmer,
"Five Quarters"; 6-30, Miss Maude Royden.
Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

Bookland. A Red Cross Nurse in Russia.

Quite an unpretentious little book is that which A. C. Fifield has published, giving the experiences in Moscow, Petrograd, Armenia and elsewhere, of Miss Margaret H. Barber (*A British Nurse in Bolshevik Russia*, 1s. 6d.). But the obvious sincerity of the writer gives her book a value much greater than its size might lead one to expect. She had great opportunities of observing the revolution at first hand, and although she adds nothing startlingly new to our information, what she does say strongly confirms the accounts given by such practised observers as Percy Phillips and A. Ransome.

The First Lesson in Socialism.

What could be better as an example of artless narrative than this account of how the Revolution came?

The Revolution affected us very little. We were simply told by the peasants one morning at our dispensary that there was no Tsar, and this was afterwards corroborated by the local paper. The returning soldiers held meetings on the market place, assuring us that the millennium had come, and that we were now all free; and the Starosta of the village had stuck up a manifesto in the volost, or town hall, and gave me some copies of it, which I could not read.

Nothing further took place of any importance until starvation was threatening the people of the village, owing to the failure of the crops, when some comparatively well-to-do people in the place were known to be hoarding a supply. These individuals were escorted to the village volost, and shut up there until they consented to sell their surplus grain. They did so next day. This was the first lesson in Socialism.

Generals as Newsvendors.

An experienced journalistic observer might envy this graphic little picture:—

Quite a usual sight in Petrograd at this time was the old Generals selling newspapers. These, as such, being of no use to the Community, found themselves obliged to supplement the exceedingly low rations to which they were entitled by some form of work, until they attained the age of exemption and received workers' privileges.

But the most valuable part of Miss Barber's narrative is that in which she describes the communistic character of the Russian peasant. As you read her description of their hospitality you begin to understand how the revolution was possible. It was merely the organisation on a large scale and under scientific direction of the manner of life already practised by the moujik. But while one sees the naturalness of this startling event in Russia it is impossible to repress the thought that the moral preparation in this country for a Communist régime is so little advanced that it is idle to expect a repetition here of the change which has taken place there.

The Communistic Spirit.

But let me quote:—

The peasantry in many ways showed quite a Communist spirit. They came and went freely into one another's houses. There was no knocking, and no one was ever refused admittance. They came in and asked for anything they wanted, and beggars always received at least a piece of bread from the poorest of the peasants. They always crowded in in cases of distress, illness, funerals or

marriage. They helped one another freely with hospitality, care of children, loan of horses, implements or food, and always combined in their labour in the fields and in the making of fuel.

The account given of the educational keenness shown by the liberated people is so important and withal so interesting that I must give the passage in full.

Education in Astrakan.

I now had time to enjoy and study the life in Astrakan. I was greatly struck by the keenness shown and opportunity given for all kinds of education and self-improvement.

The shortness of the work-day enables the worker to pursue some study in his spare time. Offices close, and schools open at 4 p.m. The Workers' Clubs, which are open and free to all members of any Workers' Guild (and every branch of work, whether manual or mental, has its Guild) are well furnished houses with lounge, restaurant, reading room and lecture and concert room in the same building. Thus all workers are attracted by it, and go to meet their friends after work-hours. Posted up, both inside and outside the Clubs, are the Lectures which are going to take place that week; and the workers, choosing the subject which interests them, make up parties with their friends to attend them.

Study Circles for drawing, dancing, elocution or acting, or for technical subjects, are arranged there, the workers putting down their names for a course. Concerts and social evenings are also frequently arranged, and a children's department on the same lines is carried on in connection with the clubs.

The workers pay nothing for their Clubs, but they pay a monthly subscription to their Workers' Guild of 1½ per cent. of their wages, which membership gives them the entrée not only to these Clubs, but into any college or university absolutely free of charge. During medical, scientific, or other training, the students are paid for their practical work and receive workers' rations and privileges; thus to encourage trained work as much as possible.

Persons, however employed, capable of giving instruction are encouraged and paid to give lectures and take classes after four o'clock, when their regular hours are over.

The Cinema also has taken on a far more educational tone in Russia than in this country, and thus education is both popularised and popular. Educational excursions are also arranged in connection with the Clubs.

My fellow nurses were especially keen on joining the study-circles for singing or dramatic talent connected with them, but the language was somewhat a bar to my interest in this.

Sociology plays a great part in the education, the works of Karl Marx, Leo Tolstoy and others being widely read. The child is brought up to feel his importance to the Commune and to look forward to the day when he will begin to take part in the work for the common good.

Bolshevism certainly has an ideal side, which its present system of education is fostering. Bolshevik Russia may be the most barbarous country to-day, but her children are having the best opportunity to prove her the most enlightened country of to-morrow.

I wish I had space to quote the exciting narrative, with which the book closes, of the writer's compulsory departure from Russia, the suspicion of British officers and the methods adopted by them to prevent her return, and the disappointment, plainly manifested, when it was found that she had no "atrocities" stories to tell. But enough has already been quoted to show the character of this quietly written version of a great chapter in human history.

Cross versus Crescent.

In view of the fact that certain religious leaders in this country have organised a propaganda campaign in favour of expelling the Turk, "bag and baggage" from Europe, and further, that, as one of the reasons given for this course is the fact that St. Sophia should be restored to its original Christian use, the following account of the Allies' occupation of Constantinople issued by the International Information Bureau, will be read with interest. The passages are from letters from an American recently arrived from the Turkish capital.

The occupation of Constantinople was decided on under the pretext of ensuring the full execution of the treaty of peace. But the clauses of the future treaty of peace were not yet decided, at least not yet known on the 16th March.

During that day the military occupation was effected, and the means of transport and communication were naturally interrupted as a consequence; but the English were so severe and hard as to prevent the circulation of those urgently needing medical aid. The illicit and brutal arrest was then proceeded with of various individuals honoured and esteemed by the whole nation and by the soldiers. . . .

Among those arrested during the night may be mentioned Kuchuk Djemal, Djewad, and Mahmoud Pashas, all ex-Ministers of State. They were basely insulted, and carried off in their night-shirts, their hands bound. The agents of the British forces entered their residences by

breaking doors and windows, and threatened with their arms the Muslim wives of these gentlemen in their harems, women's apartments.

Children aged 13 or 14 years have been included among the arrested persons.

It may surprise some people to find that members of Parliament can be seized by an authority occupying a city in time of peace; above all by the English, who boast of being the founders of the Parliamentary system. Among such arrests was that of Djelal Nowry Bey, who is not a Nationalist nor a Unionist, and who seems to have been apprehended only because he resisted the unpopular and subservient policy of Ferid Pasha. . . .

On the other hand the economic condition of the city of Constantinople becomes increasingly critical and untenable. The Allied troops requisition and consume all foodstuffs and foods of prime necessity: milk, eggs, green vegetables, fruit, cattle, fish, etc. If one adds that hordes of foreigners and Russian refugees have been dumped on Constantinople, one can easily understand the gravity of the food crisis. The population is on the eve of deprivation of the most elementary nourishment. The British Government is universally credited with the intention of compelling the Turks, deprived of their leaders and a prey to the horrors of hunger, to accept by force the conditions of the Treaty hatched by the Great Three, whose deadly conditions are to be imposed in an unavowable manner.

An account is also given of Armenian massacres of Turks, concerning which silence has been observed in the British Press.

Working to Rule.

The threat of the railwaymen to adopt the form of strike known as "working to rule" is an interesting development of individual tactics. It consists in literally obeying the multifarious rules drawn up by the railway companies as guidance for their employees. The method has been adopted on the continent with success. It is probably as true of this country as of others that no railway system at present in operation can stand the rigid application of its own regulations.

If that is true of railway systems it is still more true of the Church. What ecclesiastical body could stand the application of those principles of Christianity for which it is supposed to stand? Suppose the members of the churches were to take it into their heads to work to rule! It is pretty certain that a goodly number would find themselves where the Sinn Fein prisoners are to-day. It is also pretty certain that a quite considerable amount of financial assistance now

given to the maintenance of our particular type of religion would be diverted to the People's League or similar organisations. A large number of sermons and not a few hymns would prove unusable. The habit, common in country districts, of dividing up a small church-going population between half a dozen different sects would cease and five out of the six chapels find themselves without a congregation. The custom of letting the best pews to those able to pay the highest price being abandoned the whole system of pew-letting would be disorganised. Boys' Brigades would in many cases be disbanded. Sewing parties would discover a sudden lack of their usual conversational diet. Ministers might refuse to read the Old Testament lesson as unbefitting a Christian place of worship. Indeed it is difficult to see that any part of the original ecclesiastical structure would remain.

But it would be an interesting experiment.

Ah, if we had the faith and the courage to try it!

The annual meeting of the Peace Society takes place on the 17th inst. Particulars will be found on another page. The work accomplished during the last few years by this body entitles it to the support of all lovers of peace.

Special articles on the Co-operative Movement will appear in our next number. Friends would render valuable help if they could secure extra copies for distribution among Co-operators.

"He wasn't Killed—He only Died."

If I were a bloated capitalist—or even if I were a hard-hearted Member of Parliament who had voted against the payment of pensions to civilian widows, there is one function which I should never dare to attend. But as I am just a Crusader, I go through the heart-breaking performance of a May Day tea for fatherless children.

It is amazing to note how some of our children accept the callous conventions of our age. The following conversation may explain what I mean.

First Little Boy: "I didn't come to the tea, Miss. I've just come with my cousin. He's got a ticket. . . . I'm learning to play the piano, Miss."

"And is your cousin learning to play as well," I enquired. He looked as if he would like to say, "Don't ask silly questions," but replied "No, he can't learn! He ain't got a father."

He accepted the situation so unquestioningly that one almost felt that the cousin ought to be blamed for not having a father. (The cousin was a sensitive little youngster and apparently realised that he must not expect the ordinary decencies of life, now that his father was dead.) "Was your father killed in the war?" I asked him. "No Miss, he wasn't killed—he only died." Then opening out he went on: "Mother says if he had been killed in the war, we should have been sure of a little bread and scrape, but now she don't know if she'll be able to buy the scrape without the bread." A woman who had been listening to the conversation asked, "Is your mother here sonny?" To which sonny replied: "No, ma'am. She does her washing on Saturday afternoons." Then he suddenly felt that he had given away a family secret. He knew quite well that other little boys' mothers didn't do their washing on Saturday afternoons, so he added in justification "Mother has to go out all the week, so she must wash on Saturdays." The races began and they dashed off, but the woman who had spoken went on: "I know what it is. I was left with five little ones. Many's the time I've done my washing on Saturday and mended and made the children's clothes on Sunday and gone off to work on Monday morning feeling just worn out. Don't seem right, does it, that a woman should have no help? If anyone had said to me you needn't worry about rent for just one year, well! I should just have felt that I was in heaven. My eldest boy was eleven. He took it to heart very much. The others were too young to notice much. I used to get what I could for the children and make do with a bit of anything for myself. But he got to notice and he used to say: 'Where's your's, mum?' and he wouldn't eat unless I had some as well. He and the little girl next door are great chums. He said to me the other day: 'Mum, Ivy says she will marry me when we get old enough, but we shall never buy any children. I don't see why Ivy should have to go out washing if I die and leave her.'"

Perhaps after all our soulless system is working out its own destruction. No doubt thousands of fatherless children are wondering why their mothers can obtain no assistance from a country which calls its children the backbone of the Nation. A bit later on they will realise that a child is only the backbone of the nation while its father is alive and can support it. If help is needed when the father dies the backbone becomes a pauper.

The widow went on: "I could have got my children into homes. Some children seem to think that a mother is no longer a mother when her man's dead. But I knew if I let them go, their love would go to them that brought them up. And I wanted their love. It was all I had in the world. So I struggled on somehow."

The struggle had left its mark, and one could tell from her face that it had been a struggle too. She had a sweet, patient, long-suffering mouth and when she smiled . . . well, it wasn't really a smile. It was just a suggestion that she had really been able to smile once. It is almost impossible to describe her eyes. They looked as if they had been washed out in rivers of tears, but were still making a brave show. They reminded one of an incident which happened at a Sunday School treat some years ago. A little boy whispered to me "My muvver's come, and she's got a beautiful gorgeous silk frock on." "Muvver" was a widow and one could see at a glance that her beautiful silk frock had endured much wear and could not hide the fact that it was renovated and had been dyed to conceal its washed-out appearance. But it made as brave a show as it could.

It is surely only lack of imagination which causes us to tolerate calmly a civilisation which ignores the claims of widows with dependent children. Children whose fathers have not been killed—but have only died.

MAUD ALEFOUNDER.

RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

- Poems, 1912-1919*, Gilbert Thomas, Swarthmore Press, 5s.
The State and Revolution.—N. Lenin. British Socialist Party and The Socialist Labour Press. 6d.
Ten Years of Secret Diplomacy.—E. D. Morel. National Labour Press. 2s. 6d. New Edition.
A British Nurse in Bolshevik Russia.—Margaret H. Barber. A. C. Fifield. 1s. 6d.
Russia: Before and After the Revolution.—S. Carlyle Potter. C. W. Daniel, Ltd. 1s.
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CHRISTIAN INTERNATIONAL.—Member desires all kinds of typewriting, and duplicating work. Proceeds to go to F.O.R. Christian International work, for which funds are urgently needed.—Apply Z, 17, Red Lion Square, W.C. 1.

Christian Commonwealth Fellowship.

(LEAGUE OF CHUMS).



The Twig (annual subscription) which each Chum should bring to the Fire of the Central Camp, to keep it burning brightly, is 6d. Schools and groups in very poor districts may enrol through their Camp-Captain, who brings 1s. Branch to the Fire. Badges (like illustration) 6d. each. The Story Chum likes to have letters sent him, c/o Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, E.C.4.

The Story of the Hoarding.

It was the sudden little green place at the corner of the two streets that made things all right again. There has always been a great hoarding at the corner; but now the hoarding has been taken down, and you can see a little low wall and trees all newly green. But I must begin my story at the right end, or you won't understand at all.

Last week I had a letter to say that once again the Slight Family Connection would pay us a visit. A Slight Family Connection is generally a rather old person, who is your aunt's husband's cousin—a very far off sort of relation. I'll call this one, for short, the S.F.C. And I may as well tell you at once that I haven't liked the S.F.C., which I admit is horrid of me. He has a little beard which waggles unpleasantly. He likes plush furniture and hard-boiled eggs, and likes to sit up to the table for food, and gets quite testy when we have meals on our laps. The S.F.C. is always in the right about everything, and has been in the right for fifty years. And I have never been able to like him. I find him a great bore. Therefore, you can imagine, I said the same rude and unkind things about him this time that I always say when his letter arrives. He was to call at 7-30 in the evening. In the afternoon of that day I went out and forgot him till I was coming home at 7. I splashed along in the rain. I plodded up the hilly street. Everything looked very dreary. More than anything I wanted supper by the fire, and afterwards coffee, without the S.F.C. The rain stopped for a minute or two. A gleam of light burst through the clouds. A starling whistled his one note from a chimney-top. I came to the corner where the streets meet, and at that moment I said almost aloud: "Goodness!" and I stopped. The old ugly hoarding had gone. All the bills and pictures and cinema notices had gone; and there was a little low wall, and some trees pricking the evening sky with palest green. "Why!" I said to myself, "how pretty!" I didn't even know there were trees here." I stood looking quite a long time. Someone bumped into me, and said something which I didn't understand, but I am sure it was meant to be true humour. I woke up and walked on. Then I remembered the S.F.C. But also at the very same moment I thought of something else.

"Why!" I thought, "the S.F.C. is like those high old hoardings which used to stand at the corner; only he has no pictures. He only has announcements of meetings, sales and things—just dry and dull announcements about valuable property. But

suppose I could pull down the hoarding and find the jolliness—trees and unexpected things. Perhaps everybody has hoardings outside and lovely things inside; only we can't see them." I hurried a little and felt quite excited.

On my study mantelpiece was a telegram. It said: "Unavoidably detained. Better luck next time."

I tried not to feel glad. I tried to feel sorry. I did—I really did—feel a bit sorry. "Well, anyway," I said to myself, "I'll remember next time about the hoarding. I'll remember when the S.F.C. comes." I read the telegram again, and said: "There must be a chink in the hoarding already. I've never caught him saying 'Better Luck' before. I should have expected him to say 'May kinder fortune favour me anon.'"

VIVIAN T. POMEROY (Story-Chum).

How it Began.

The Chums are boys and girls who, like the grown-up Fellows, want to make the world the chummy place it ought to be. One May day, five years ago, they skipped round their Story-Chum and helped him to dig up a wonderful Treasure. It had been there, waiting to be discovered, for a long time. Now they saw it, and knew that it was theirs, to use whenever they liked. They linked fingers, and danced round the Camp Fire they had lighted; and then, very solemnly, each one took this vow:—"I will act fairly, stand up for the littlest, and look for a Chum in everybody." The treasure they carried away with them, every one a piece—but there is plenty more where they found it. And it has led them on marvellous adventures since that day. If anyone not yet grown-up has guessed the name of the Hidden Treasure, and wants to know more about the League of Chums, its world-wide linking up, its Camp Fire, and its adventures, send a stamped envelope to the Letter-Chum, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, E.C. 4.

Some of the Camps with their Magic Names.

"The Morning Glories," Cricklewood; "The Merry-hearts," Glasgow; "The Service Camp," Glasgow; "The Sunbeams," Glasgow; "The Eager Hearts," Glasgow; "The Fairyland Camp," Beaconsfield; "The Robins," Sheffield; "The Rainbow Camp," Eyemouth, Berwick; "The Jewel Camp," Limerick, Ireland; "The Nature Camp," Bradford-on-Avon; "The Shamrock Camp," Waterford; "The Greenfield Camp," Bradford; "The Aireville Camp," Bradford; "The Sunshine Camp," Blandford; "The Peace Camp," Wood Green; "St. Andrew's Camp," Maida Hill. There are others whose Magic Names are not yet chosen; will all the Chums (whether in Camps or not) please tell their friends about this page all to ourselves, and sell extra copies of the "Crusader" this week. Ask your newspaper man to get them; if he cannot, write to the address given below for them.

Our Fellows' and Chums' Calendar.

The members of the Fellowship and the League of Chums are making another Calendar (for 1921), and Mr. Printer wants all the quotations very soon now. Our thanks to 587 (Paddington) and 5095 (Bilthoven) for splendid quotations. Please will you all send along, as soon as possible, some more that are full of loveliness and chumminess.

Books for Camp-Captains and Child-lovers.

"Religion and Fairyland," by E. M. Jewson, 1s., by post 1s. 1½d.; "Love's Victories," by M. M. Lee, 1s., by post 1s. 1½d. "Out of the Mouth of Babies," by J. L. McBeth Bain, 1s., by post 1s. 1½d. From the Fellowship Department, "The Crusader," 23, Bride Lane, E.C. 4

SIDELIGHTS.

South African Soviet.

News comes from South Africa that to enforce their demands the Municipal employees formed a Workers' Committee, which marched into the Town Hall of Durban and took over the entire government of the city. The Red Flag was flown from the Town Hall, the Workers' Committee took control of every office, and within a few hours every Municipal service was running smoothly. When the demands were granted, the "Soviet" dissolved after an existence of less than 24 hours.—"Forward."

Labour the Reconciler.

In Protestant Lurgan—a few miles from Belfast—there is now a Labour majority on the Town Council, and at Portadown there is a Trades Council with the courage to elect a Catholic official, and the Catholic working class votes solidly for the working-men Protestant candidates.

Christianity and Gunpowder.

At the morning and evening services at the Waltham Abbey Baptist Church the congregations passed resolutions declaring that the closing of the Royal Gunpowder Factory would have a disastrous effect upon the town and neighbourhood, and calling upon the Prime Minister to intervene to save the factory and thus avert the spread of unemployment.—"Daily News."

An Anarchist on War.

I believe that militarism will cease when the liberty-loving spirits of the world say to their masters: "Go and do your own killing. We have sacrificed ourselves and our loved ones long enough fighting your battles. In return you have made parasites and criminals of us in times of peace, and brutalised us in times of war. You have separated us from our brothers and have made of the world a human slaughterhouse. No, we will not do your killing or fight for the country that you have stolen from us."—Emma Goldman.

Theirs not to Reason Why.

"The first duty of an officer or enlisted man is unquestioning obedience and loyalty to the government to which he has sworn allegiance; it makes no difference whether he approves of that government or not."—General Funston (U.S.A.)

Lincoln, on Profiteering.

As a result of the war, corruptions have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavour to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the republic is destroyed.—Abraham Lincoln, in a letter to his personal friend, Elihu, on Illinois, 1864.

Many Mansions.

Bishop Taylor Smith, Chaplain-General, at a war memorial unveiling at Guildford, quoting the verse, "In my Father's house are many mansions," said, according to the "Evening News," that although we were inconvenienced in this world by housing conditions, we should not be inconvenienced in Heaven. It would have been more to the point if the Bishop had declared that the housing conditions in the other world were an example to the authorities in this one. "Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven" seems a relevant quotation in this connection.

The International in Being.

The two and a half million members of the French trade unions are planning to tax themselves one franc each for the relief of their comrades in Austria. Other labour groups have already taken similar action. A first train of thirty-

seven carloads of food, paid for through the International Federation of Trade Unions, crossed Europe from Holland to Vienna in February. Danish trade unions are lending their reserve funds at low interest to German unions for relief work. A group of Italian Socialist municipalities are providing for ten thousand famished Austrian children on the Italian Riviera. Dutch union members worked a full holiday, and turned over the day's wages, more than half a million florins, for the starving children of Vienna. The British miners and textile workers have contributed generously to the Quaker relief work in Central Europe.—"New York Nation," April 10th.

Who Governs Ireland?

Whose writ runs in Ireland? The workers refused to export bacon, while Ireland was in need of it; and now they are proceeding further by fixing the prices at which that commodity will be sold.

THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

President - Mrs. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.
Vice-President - Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

World Congress of Women

IN GENEVA.

MASS MEETING

IN THE

KINGSWAY HALL, Friday, May 21st, at 8 p.m.

To send British Delegation to Geneva.

SPEAKERS:

Viscountess ASTOR, M.P.,

Official Delegate of British Government to Geneva Congress.

Madame SUZANNE GRINBERG, Advocate, France.

Mrs. SAROJINI NAIDU, India.

Miss YANA SHIDACHI, Japan.

Mrs. EDWARD CAUNTLETT, Japan,

Delegate to Geneva Congress.

Miss MAUDE ROYDEN. Miss LENA ASHWELL.

Chair: Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

TICKETS: Reserved and numbered, 10/-, 5/-, 2/6, 1/3; Reserved, 8d. To be obtained from the Secretary of the British Geneva Congress Committee, Evelyn House, 62 Oxford Street, W.1.

MONDAY, MAY 17th.

Mrs. SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON
on "Coercion in Ireland."

See F.O.R. notices on page 7.

CHRISTIANITY FROM THE QUAKER STANDPOINT.—

Public addresses will be given on Sunday evenings in May, at Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, E.C.4, at 6.30. May 16th, "National Power and Christian Purpose," by Frank E. Pollard, M.A.

The Crusader

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Friday, May 21st, 1920.

(Registered as a Newspaper)

Twopence.



The Outlook.

JUST think of some of the things that are happening to-day, and marvel at the rate at which we are living. The Turkish Empire has been practically annihilated. Ireland is being strangled by measures which include all the methods of modern warfare. Poland is attacking Russia and throwing back the troops of the first Socialist Republic the world has seen. Japan is preparing to enter the same Republic by the back-door of Siberia. The French Government is threatening the very existence of Trade Unionism in that country. These are some of the items of the week's news. Yet if you were to ask the average citizen what was the outstanding event of the past few days he would probably reply: "Beckett's victory"! Such is our difference in the sense of proportion!

WHEN is a war not a war?
We used to think of war as a clearly defined state of things concerning which there could be no mistake. But here we are sending Labour delegates to Russia and commencing commercial relations with that country, while at the same time our ships are bombarding her southern

ports and munitions are loaded at our docks for the supply of the Polish army engaged in attacking the Republic. Then again, while Ireland still remains in theory a part of the Empire, we are talking of building blockhouses to reduce her rebellious population to order. Though "peace" with the Central Powers has been signed, the conditions enforced are practically a continuation of hostilities. And so the thing called "war" shades down until we reach the normal condition of things in which profiteers are enabled to blockade the supply, to the rest of the population, of the necessities of life. Pacifists must re-define their terms till "war" covers the whole field of our competitive commercial life—the everyday operations of the class-war.

* * *

THE Archbishop's proposal to close all Anglican Churches to marriage of divorcees, under Lord Buckmaster's Bill, was defeated by a vote of 51 to 50. Whatever may be one's views with regard to that Bill, it is evident that the Primate's attempt to contract out of the State connection on this point is wholly inconsistent with the position of the Established Church. If the enactments of the State compel action on the part of the Church, which is in conflict with the conscience of its clergy and members, then surely it is time to reconsider the whole question of a State Church. It is mere compromise on a vital issue to desire an exception in a single isolated instance of the authority of the State over the Church.

* * *

AN arrangement has recently been made by which the Co-operative Wholesale Society places its resources in building materials, in every stage of manufacture, at the disposal of the Building Guild. The C.W.S. is the largest manufacturer and buyer of building material in the country, after the Government, and thus the Guild will now be able to supply material as well as labour. This is an important development in the guild movement, and it overcomes one of the main difficulties with which local authorities were faced through their having no buying department large enough to cope with the present situation.



The Three Crosses.

People who talk about "getting out of the system" do not realise what they are saying. It is as if a man living in a badly-planned and jerry-built house imagined that by

furnishing it artistically he could overcome these defects. The "system" is the house in which we all live and move and have our being. There is no getting out of it any more than there is any means of living outside our own skins. The various methods of softening the harsh appearance of our industrial and commercial order are so many attempts at hiding the defects of a badly-designed house.

This fact has, in appearance, some alarming consequences. It seems to make social idealism not merely beyond our attainment but actually inconsistent with the conditions of existence. It looks as though we must resign ourselves to a life of compromise.

Suppose now we accept the fact that, as individuals, we cannot break away from that economic order which Society as a whole has constructed! As we do so and reflect upon the matter, a truth of the most vital importance dawns upon us. We find that we are part of the social whole, and that we cannot separate ourselves from the crimes and follies of our fellow-men. Not in mock humility or merely by the exercise of imagination, but in very truth we are guilty of creating and maintaining a system which our conscience now discovers to be an open defiance of the Kingdom of God. We are kinsman to the Capitalist and to the slave who cringes to him. We are one with the procurer and the harlot. The politician who has sold his soul is our brother. The bloodthirsty mob pursuing "aliens" through the street is of our family.

As these facts sink into our minds, the high walls of self-righteousness crumble, and our life is merged with that of the community. Waves of shame roll over us and destroy the last vestiges of pride. Crying "Peccavi," we sink to our knees.

Obviously that is the beginning, the only possible beginning, of a new order of things. It is the commencement of a real separation from the world. There is no one so unworldly as the man who has thus identified himself with all the shame of the world. The most distinctive personality is that of the individual who has lost and merged himself in the mass. That very act of identification raises him above the mass.

The giants of literature to-day—the Whitmans and Dostoevskys—are just those who seem to

realise most deeply their oneness with the criminal and decadent elements in society. Tolstoy is not so Christian as Dostoevsky because, to the last, he attempted to escape from society. The reason why the Cross of Christ is so striking a feature of the historical landscape is because it was flanked on either side by the cross of a common thief. The isolation in which the conventional cross stands obscures this fact. It is the three crosses which convey the real meaning of Christianity, not the one. If Jesus were always represented in the company of his fellow-sufferers, we should see that this community of guilt instead of making Christianity impossible really provides the occasion for a beginning in the Christian life.

It has often happened that what appeared to be the greatest hindrance to faith and right living turns out to be a cause of inspiration and instruction. The rock on which Old Testament faith broke again and again was the fact that the "chosen people" were treated no better, but rather worse, than other people. To Jesus this fact was the strongest proof of God's perfection. That His sun should shine alike on the just and the unjust was the highest tribute of the Divine Character. So this complicity of ours in the tragic moral failure of our race will prove to be the starting point of a Christian renaissance. Not till the Pharisee is beaten out of us can we even begin to be Christian, and the attempt to distinguish ourselves from the rest of the world by schemes for "getting out of the system" shows that there is still some of the Pharisee left in us.

When this sense of individual responsibility for social sin grows among us we shall see the system begin to change. What holds up the change is the fact that instead of blaming ourselves we are all busy blaming one another. It is the self-satisfaction of the possessing class and the self-righteousness of the Socialist and Pacifist that is our greatest obstacle. Jesus found that the greatest foes to the coming of the Kingdom were the Pharisees. It is the same to-day. The new social order must be founded on confession and repentance. Until that foundation is laid nothing can be done. The fact that we are economically and morally one is the starting point of the revolution. I see nothing for it but a deluge of humiliation in which all scolding and censoriousness shall cease. The Kingdom of God will not come till we are so humiliated that the thought that it could come to such as us startles and amazes us. It will not come until it comes as a surprise.

This Socialist doctrine that it is impossible to be a Christian under the present system is only a mistaken way of saying that no Pharisee can enter the Kingdom of God.

THE TRAMP.

CHRISTIANITY FROM THE QUAKER STANDPOINT.—

Public addresses will be given on Sunday evenings in May, at Devonshire House, 126, Bishopsgate, E.C., at 6.30. May 23rd, "The Risks of Quakerism," by Henry T. Hodgkin, M.A., M.B.

On Consistency.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Alas! I am unmasked! A keen-eyed reader in Leeds has performed a service to the community by exposing me to the public gaze as the villain that I am!

It all comes of my confoundedly awkward regard for as strict an accuracy as it is possible to maintain. I think it was "Bobbie" Blatchford who once wrote: "There is not a newspaper nor a novelist in these islands who dare tell the whole truth and the real truth about Whitechapel, the Strand, and Piccadilly." That is certainly a fact. But another equally certain fact is that there is not a man in these islands who dare tell the whole truth and the real truth about himself. And that is not to be wondered at when one thinks of the terrible consequences likely to follow the slightest possible revelation of truth with regard to oneself. Mine is a case in point, and should serve as a warning to others!

In a recent article I mentioned the fact that, with the exception of a sum of something under £15 which my wife had to her credit in the local "Co-op," I was quite conscience-free in the matter of interest. That frank admission was my undoing! Last week the postman pushed the following postcard into my letter-box:

"Dear Comrade,—Consistency has a propaganda value. Surely for this reason alone you will try to induce your wife to refuse interest on her little bit of the 'Co-op.' If you realise very vividly that interest is robbery, then you will be compelled to cease being a robber. And your action will make other people realise that they are robbers."

There you have it plain and pat! The above exposure was signed by a good comrade who is determined that I shall no longer be known for anything other than the robber that I am proved to be on my own confession. As usual, it is Eve's fault! But away with such a cowardly defence! I will accept my castigation like a man.

Now what am I to do about it? The "Co-op" insists upon paying my wife five per cent. on that wretched £15. And my wife accepts it and thereby becomes a robber. And I, being an accessory to the deed, become a robber, too—a receiver of stolen goods.

My course is clear. I must persuade my wife to refuse that five per cent., and thus we shall cease to be robbers.

But hold a minute, good comrade. This is taking my breath away! Can we really cease to be robbers when we have told the "Co-op" to keep that 15s. they are paying us annually? Can freedom of the soul be bought for such a beggarly sum? Oh, that were possible!

Let me address a few postcards to my judge.

My brother from Leeds, consistency, as you truly remark, has a propaganda value. Will you therefore refuse to buy any article of food, or clothing, or anything else you require, before you are quite satisfied that the person or persons responsible for

its production are not being robbed or exploited? Will you, for instance, refuse to have a meal at a restaurant because you know that the waitresses are being grossly underpaid for their services? Will you refuse to burn coal because the miner declares that he is being robbed on every ton he raises to the pit-head? Will you refuse to ride in a train because the railwaymen say that they are not at present receiving a living wage, which means that they are being robbed while performing a service for you? During the war, my comrade, you were a pacifist. Did you refuse to consume tea, sugar, tobacco, etc., because you knew that these articles were heavily taxed for war purposes, and that everything you bought helped in the prosecution of the war? Do you refuse to pay the present heavy taxation in the form of entertainment tax and the hundred and one other forms of definite taxation? Do you — But why continue this useless catechism? Of course you are not "consistent" in any of these things.

The only time during which I felt that I was within a hundred miles of consistency was while I was in prison as a pacifist, knowing that instead of helping the war, either directly or indirectly, I was actually costing the nation about £80 a year. But even there I was daily brought face to face with my inconsistency.

There are, I believe, certain clear-cut decisions that each one of us can arrive at in our efforts to secure the maximum of consistency. What these decisions amount to will depend entirely upon the spirit of adventure within each individual. Some of us have decided that in order to hasten forward the Revolution we will "live dangerously"; that we will be content with a roof and a minimum of comfort from week to week; that whatever we may find in our purse at the week-end, over and above the needs of the moment, we will return to the Common Fund, just as the "Co-op" returns to its members all they have paid over and above the cost of producing and selling the articles bought from the stores. For myself, the "Common Fund" means everything making towards the Co-operative Commonwealth. And in spite of that wretched 15s. which my wife and I are stealing from ourselves and our fellow-members in the "Co-op," we are still happily free from the necessity of disposing of surplus wealth! Undoubtedly the Co-operative movement should free itself from the inconsistency of paying interest. But that is a much harder job than my friend suggests. Capital (as distinct from capitalists) is urgently needed by the "Co-op" and by various trading departments of the Socialist movement, and our present system makes it practically impossible to obtain without the interest basis. When we have a majority of Co-operators in the country, and all Co-operators are Socialists, the interest evil will disappear. Meanwhile that 15s. goes towards spreading the gospel of Socialism among Co-operators by means of a local Labour paper—and I wish it were ten thousand times as much!

The Crusader

Friday, May 21st, 1920.

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To the Secretary,
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2/10 per quarter.*

The Labour Manifesto.

The refusal of Labour to assist in the export of munitions attacks the octopus of Diplomacy in the right spot. The Allies' treatment of Soviet Russia is directed against the most characteristic and successful effort of Labour to throw off the bondage of Capital. The Russian Revolution has become the symbol of that deliverance for which millions in every country are looking. Destroy that and a blow is struck at the very heart of Labour's hopes. We especially welcome this move on the part of the workers inasmuch as it shows that they are now awake to their international responsibilities. This manifesto issued by Labour leaders lifts their movement on to another plane than that on which they are accustomed to fight. Here is a disinterested effort to secure freedom for experiment to a people working out their own economic and social salvation. The manifesto is the more admirable inasmuch as it is signed by men who have expressed their disbelief in the methods adopted by the Bolshevik Government.

A New Form of Strike.

The threatened action is of a somewhat different character to that of the ordinary strike. For here it is the character of the work demanded against which protest is demanded, and not the conditions under which that work is done. It is the same kind of action as that of the builders in refusing to put up jerry-built dwellings for poor tenants. We are persuaded that this is the right line. Let Labour move on to that plane on which the conscientious objector struck against Military Service, and a new, more impelling, and altogether finer spirit will manifest itself throughout the movement. The motive of such a strike, rightly regarded, is not the enforcement of demands but the sense of responsibility for the character of the work performed.

OUR AT HOME.

The last "Crusader" AT HOME for the season will be held at the Minerva Café, Holborn, on Wednesday, June 2nd, at 5-30 p.m. We are glad on these occasions to see any readers of the "Crusader" who are in London. Will those intending to come notify us at the Office in order that we may know for how many to provide.

"That is Life."

The blue of the sky, the blue and green of the sea, the intensity of night with its miracle of stars, the unfolding of the day at dawn, the quiet sanctity—the receptiveness of evening; these great infinite, primeval things are crowded out of consciousness by the mechanical cruelties of modern life. Mankind wrestles with the giant machine that crushes its bones into bread, while bent over the waste of human effort is the unheeded benediction of life in multitude. For the greater number of people life is the flippant criticism in a daily paper, an article manufactured in Fleet Street, not the reverberating echoes of God in nature and human nature. It is familiar to hear people dismiss some current atrocity in the Press with the stereotyped phrase: "That is life." More often it is death.

But in spite of our failures there is that in man which seeks to secure. Love's labours are too often lost, but it is better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all. The broken lights of life illumine the darkness, if only for a moment, that the watchers in the night may see. Suffering and sorrow are only the negative realities of life. The lily throws a shadow on the grass because the sun is real. The stars are the incidents of life—not the darkness.

Life can, and should be a romance, a story of magic, a fairy tale. And could we but gather it all into the circumference of our days, it would be that. It is heroic as well as pitiful, splendid as well as stupid. There is no life for him who despises life, however blurred or broken it may be.

What men and women think they need is beyond them, like Jupiter and Venus. There is no end to the vanity of human wishes. Against us in the book of life are set the things we asked for, but did not need. Against us, too, are set the things we needed, but did not ask for. But we live and learn. The end is not yet. The world is still in its childhood, and like children we are just beginning to look around us and notice things. The world is in a turmoil, not because we are dying, but because we are beginning to live.

CHRIS MASSIE.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

OPEN AIR MISSION.—Friday, May 21st, at 5-45, Marble Arch, C. Paul Gliddon, J. Newton Harris. At 7-45, Walthamstow, Hoe Street, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. 8-0, Hampstead, West End Green, C. Paul Gliddon, Ivy Sheldon. Tuesday, May 25th, at 5-45, Marble Arch, C. Paul Gliddon, W. H. Hancock. Wednesday, May 26th, at 7-45, Lewisham, the Market Place, Rev. F. Fincham, Horace Fuller. Thursday, May 27th, at 7-45, Kentish Town, corner of Leighton Road and Kentish Town Road, Horace Fuller, E. Oakes, Friday, May 28th, at 5-45, Marble Arch, H. E. Brown. Horace Fuller, Clifford Newton. At 7-45, Walthamstow, Hoe Street, Alfred Cordell C. Paul Gliddon. At 8-0 p.m., Hampstead, West End Green, W. H. Hancock, Ivy Sheldon.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

Marriage and divorce are being discussed a lot lately. In most quarters there is evidently a deepening conviction that the present position must be altered. The recent discussion in the House of Lords made it clear that a serious crisis between the Church of England and the State was at hand, for the Church's view on the matter was not that held by the State. Commenting on this crisis, the "Challenge" says: "The duty of the Church is clear; it must form its own judgment of what is its right course and follow that course, leaving the State to act as it thinks right in maintaining or abandoning the establishment." In other words, the Church reserves its right to be a conscientious objector! And if on this question, why not on other questions? Why not, for example, on war? But perhaps that is too much to expect, while the Poles are doing well against the Reds.

On the subject of marriage and divorce the "Challenge" makes an interesting suggestion. I quote: "We are most eager that the conditions of divorce should be equalised as between the sexes. We desire that there shall be provincial courts, so that poor people shall have access to the law. But most of all we desire separation of the religious ceremony; we should like the Church to declare that it would not solemnise marriage except for those who had already been married in a civic sense at the Registry Office. Then the religious ceremony would begin to mean something real, as in many cases it does not at present."

What do we mean when we speak of a Labour International? In the "Methodist Times" I am glad to see Mr. Basil Mathews asks us to think this question out a bit more than most of us have done. It is not enough, he tells us, to think in terms of the white races only. We must enlarge the geography of our sympathies and understanding if we are to solve the Labour problem. Many, however, quite fail to see the necessity of making their policy wide enough to include the coloured man. Says Mr. Mathews, in his timely attack on the narrow outlook: "The white Trade Unions of Johannesburg, for instance, act largely on the principle that they can only raise and maintain the standard of life and wages of the white by the absolute exclusion of the black from the ranks of skilled labour. That is the policy that prompted the ultimatum which threw thousands of coloured drill-sharpeners out of skilled employment back into the ocean of unskilled labour. That means that—as between white and black—white Trade Unionism exists to REDUCE and not to raise the standard of life for black labour."

The writer goes on to say that "the same principle holds with precision with Indians, Chinese, and Japanese in relation to South Africa, Australasia, California, and Vancouver." It is an important question that is here raised. And a great deal

in the future will depend on how it is finally dealt with. A coherent International policy must be found by Labour, a policy which will cover all races. It is hypocritical for Labour leaders to talk at large of the Brotherhood of Man, and then exclude a great proportion of the human race. There are, fortunately, some Labour leaders who are quite alive to the wrongness—and to the danger—of the present position. These men must be given every support in their efforts to create a truly international mind in the ranks of white Labour.

Talking of coloured races, I have just been reading a most interesting article on a great new possibility in China. In a word, China is said to have discovered a David to slay Goliath. The Goliath, in this case, is Chinese Illiteracy, owing to the impossibly difficult nature of the Chinese language; and the David is a new language system as simple as the old one was difficult. The promise of the new system is nothing less than the opening of millions of minds to knowledge hitherto utterly beyond their reach.

It has been said of the Chinese language: "To acquire Chinese is a work for men with bodies of brass, heads of oak, hands of spring-steel, eyes of eagles, hearts of apostles, memories of angels, and lives of Methusaleh." For centuries, scholarship has been prized by the Chinese as the highest of all attainments; and China's greatest scholars have been elevated almost to the position of gods. I should think so! To read the simplest of books it is necessary to know some two thousand different characters; and a good Chinese dictionary contains no fewer than thirteen thousand different characters! The alphabet is the last thing of all to be mastered, if indeed it is ever fully mastered! And the result is that there are 324 million illiterates in that country. But now comes the National Phonetic System of Chu-yin, introduced by the Board of Education of the Chinese Republic. Only thirty-nine signs are to be used, and they are all easily learned and easily written, and no word will have more than three letters. Oh, my! What a relief to little boys in school! Now everything will depend on the kind of ideas the Chinese are taught. The article from which I have quoted appears in the "Methodist Times," and it states that the British and Foreign Bible Society has already taken in hand the publication of the New Testament in the Phonetic Script.

I have just space to note that the "Christian World" is alarmed because the railwaymen have been helping the shop assistants in the John Lewis strike. It is urged that such action by men "who are not affected in the least degree by the strike" threatens the whole business system. "We cannot have it so long as we value liberty," is the comment. Just what the railwaymen said when they learned the conditions of work at John Lewis's!

Professional Secrets.

In days when industry was organised in guilds, craftsmanship was looked upon and spoken of as a "mystery," initiation into which could only be secured by special favour. The secret character of craftsmanship was emphasised for obvious reasons. It heightened the importance of those in the guild and made them more secure in their monopoly of the branch of industry in which they were engaged.

This professional jealousy did not, of course, die out with the guilds. It is as strong to-day as ever it was. The various occupations engaged in by the "upper" classes are carefully guarded against intrusion from below by expensive preparatory courses of education. These make it impossible for men and women of no capital to follow the vocation in which they can best serve the community. But in addition to the economic barrier, there is the barrier of alleged mystery. The secrets of the profession are spoken of in awed whispers. The "amateur" is treated with derision and the blunders of his inexperience become the stock joke of the select few.

The war has done something to explode this superstition. Such a shifting of men and women from one occupation to another as took place then could not be without its effect. It finally destroyed the idea that women were physically and psychologically unfitted for the work hitherto reserved for men. The professional soldier found it necessary to throw down the barriers and to admit, in thousands, as commissioned officers, both those who had served in the ranks and those who had never served in any military capacity. The comparative ease with which many of these assimilated the "mysteries" of the commissioned officer and proved their courage and ability gave striking evidence of the baselessness of the myth that only those belonging to a certain social caste and passing through a certain professional course of training were fit to hold commands.

One of the most mischievous forms of this superstition is that which guards against all but members of the "upper" class the whole field of diplomacy. It is this that has fought and still fights against democratic control of international relations. But the prestige of secret diplomacy like that of the professional soldier has been destroyed by the war. Europe will surely never assert seriously again that the men who brought about the war and fashioned the Peace Treaty are the only men capable of dealing with such matters.

The professional politician, too, has had his day. The old parliamentary hand with his expert knowledge of pulling wires is, we will hope, soon to give way to another type of law-maker. The secrecy that surrounds the leaders of governments to-day and endows them with a sort of superhuman character is utterly mistaken. They are, after all, very ordinary men with very ordinary minds. The lime-light of Press adulation and the mysterious authority supposed to attach to all governments (carefully cultivated by said governments), are alone respon-

sible for the reputation they have acquired. It is the modern version of the divinity that once hedged about the King—like that it will go.

One cannot but laugh to think of the mystery shrouding the editorial "we." But the laughter is not untinged with sadness, for the authority of the printed page, the credulity of the public as to the fitness of these self-elected makers of opinion to control the mind of the nation, is one of the most tragic features of modern life. A closer knowledge of the personalities in journalism would destroy it beyond hope of recovery. But it is just that closer knowledge which the conventions of the newspaper world make it so hard to obtain. The mystery surrounding the scribe is one of the chief assets of his trade.

It is in the field of religion, of course, that this exploitation of professional secrets has been carried to its most audacious length. The craft of the priest and the preacher is guarded by an elaborate theory which denies the possibility of inspiration to the layman and amateur, and even where this theory is not definitely held, a very stubborn belief in the superior authority of "the cloth" still holds its ground. And this in spite of the fact that the founder of Christianity was a layman.

Unfortunately we cannot exempt the Labour world from these general charges. The ancient jealousies of the guilds live on vigorously in the Trade Unions of to-day. It manifests itself in the colonies in the refusal to allow black Labour its rights. It is seen in the struggle to oust women from the employments in which they engaged during the war. It appears again in the jealousy of dilutees. It is apparent in all branches of industry in the incessant friction between overlapping Trade Unions.

It is clear that if we are to have a different state of things we require an entirely new economic and industrial basis. At the root of most of this jealousy is the fear of losing a monopoly and endangering our livelihood. Equal security and equal opportunity for all to follow their true vocation must be an essential feature of the society of the future. The community must have the services of those best fitted by natural abilities to serve in the various departments of life.

But something more is required. And that is a positive joy in imparting the "secrets" of one's own craft. We shall have to learn to imitate those generous men of all ages who found their greatest happiness in initiating the uninstructed into the mysteries in which their own minds delighted. The real genius is always trying to explain himself. Just because personality is an unfathomable mystery there is no need to hedge it about with artificial safeguards against unworthy imitation. He who learned most fully the secret of life said "Follow Me," and spent His days in initiating all who would learn His secret into the wisdom of His heart and the mystery of His Nature.

The Co-operative Movement and the Revolution.

By A. FENNER BROCKWAY.

When Robert Owen, one of the founders of the co-operative movement, was in Frankfort just prior to the Congress of Sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle, he was invited to attend what he describes as "a sumptuous dinner" in order that the representatives of the twenty-two governments there assembled might hear the secretary of the Congress, M. Greutz, debate with him the respective advantages of Capitalism and the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Robert Owen urged that through the progress of science the means amply existed to provide every man and woman with the needs of life. "It is only necessary," he said, "that we should all co-operate."

"What was my surprise to hear the reply of the named secretary!" writes Owen in his autobiography. "'Yes,' he said, and apparently speaking for the governments, 'we know that very well; but we do not want the mass to become wealthy and independent of us. How could we govern them if they were?'"

This utterance was a revelation to Robert Owen. It showed him that so far from accepting his proposals, the great ones of the earth would resolutely oppose them, however beneficial and reasonable. Their misgovernment was not a matter of ignorance. They had no desire to remove poverty from the world.

There are now four million members of Co-operative Societies in the United Kingdom. This means that one-third of the population are connected with the movement. What power they would possess if they were all animated by the spirit and ideals of Robert Owen!

It must frankly be confessed that the vast majority of Co-operative members have not joined the movement from any idealistic motive. They have joined because they have found that they can, on the whole, buy their needs as cheaply at "the Co-op" as anywhere else, and, in addition, count on a "divi." at the end of the quarter. This "divi.," unconsciously saved, proves of great service to the housewife, particularly in meeting large occasional items of expenditure like the cost of a pair of boots, or of new clothes, or a piece of furniture.

The Co-operative "divi.," however, is not the same thing as a Capitalist dividend. It is not unearned income. It is simply repayment to the purchaser of the difference between what she has been charged for goods bought during the quarter and the cost price. There is nothing immoral about that, so long as those who have produced the goods have justice.

But whilst the motive of membership of the Co-operative movement is most frequently utilitarian, its effect is revolutionary. The basis of Co-operation is PRODUCTION FOR USE, in opposition to the capitalist basis of production for profit.

The movement, for instance, owns vast tracts of land on which wheat is grown, it owns cornmills,

it owns bakeries, it owns stores. Here, from the first stage to the last, the individual profit is eliminated and service of the consumers is the one object. IF ALL MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY WERE MEMBERS OF THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT AND IF THE SCOPE OF THE MOVEMENT INCLUDED THE PROVISION OF ALL THE NEEDS OF LIFE, THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION WE DESIRE WOULD, SO FAR AS THE CONSUMER IS CONCERNED, BE ACCOMPLISHED.

When once this is understood, the natural and permanent place which the Co-operative movement occupies in the Labour movement will be recognised.

It is sometimes said that the difference between the Co-operative method and the Socialist method is that the former is voluntary and the latter compulsory. The argument is that one need not join a Co-operative Society, whilst Socialists would set up a monopoly for the Municipality or the State, to which all must go. Consideration will show that even this differentiation is not sound. John Penny puts the point well in his I.L.P. pamphlet, "Co-operation: An Economic and Political Force."

"Let us imagine a village with 1,000 households. 500 households are connected with the Co-operative Society and trade at the Stores; the other 500 are not, and their trade maintains five private shops in the village.

"The Co-operative Society conducts an energetic campaign, and draws another 400 families into the Society. Four private shopkeepers put up the shutters and steal away. That is not voluntary on the part of the four tradesmen. The Co-operative Society is exercising a considerable amount of compulsion.

"The Society continues its campaign, and draws another 80 families into the Stores. That only leaves twenty die-hards—keen individualists—not sufficient to keep even one private shop going. So the last private shopkeeper disappears. The anti-Co-operators are then put to it to get supplies. If they go to the next village there are a lot of inconveniences, and possibly the same process has been going on there. The anti-Co-operators must either get their supplies from the Co-operative Stores or die of starvation. They are compelled to become Co-operators.

"The Socialist says:—'The municipality shall run trams, and people who want to ride in tram-cars must patronise the municipal ones. No private trams shall run.' The Co-operator says: 'Ultimately all the people shall eat Co-operative flour or go without. There shall be no privately-owned cornmills.' Where is the difference?"

Two words of warning must be written, however.

The Co-operative movement is liable to look at the industrial problem too exclusively from the point of view of the consumer, just as the Trade Union movement is liable to look at it too exclusively from the point of view of the producer. If the Co-operative movement is to be equal to the need of the time, it must recognise the fundamental importance of the demand for workers' control and direct participation in the management of the industry or service in which they are engaged.

And, most important of all, the members of the Co-operative movement must recover the idealistic spirit with which Robert Owen set out. Otherwise it may help in constructing the body of Socialism, but the soul of the New Order will not dwell therein.

The Sou

The God who comes down.

The white sunlight glared on the desert sand. The dwarf scrub threw no shade. Only where the level plain broke out in rocky approaches to the mountain which dominated the landscape was there any place where man or beast could find relief from the pitiless heat.

The Sheep-herder.

The single moving figure in the scene was that of a sheep-herder, swarthy, lithe, with restless burning eyes. His presence there had a history—a history which has no small share in the story of our race. For this man did not belong to the scenes amid which he moved. Born of a slave people, he himself had been reared in royal surroundings. By birth, by temperament, by all the instincts of his passionate nature, he belonged to the exploited, by circumstances he was of the exploiters. There had been a stormy period in his youth when he had rebelled against the scented unrealities of his Court life. The playing fountains, the strutting peacocks, the luxurious divans, all the barbarous metallic magnificence of military display would be swept out of his mind by the sight of the bent backs of his kinsmen hoeing in the long rows of black soil. In every fibre of his being he knew that he belonged to the slave and not to the master. To deny that would have been to deny himself.

And then one day, at sight of a case of brutal injustice, his smouldering indignation burst into a flame, and he, the protege of princes and princesses, dared to slay a member of the ruling class. Among a people ready for freedom the deed would have been as a spark in dried grass. But the snivelling slaves for whom he had risked everything made no movement. They could not distinguish between him and those among whom he had been reared. To them he was one of their masters. That sympathy could overleap class barriers they could not believe. His own people turned against him. The news of his deed had already antagonised the Court circles. The hot-headed young rebel stood alone.

There was only one thing to do—he fled.

The Exile.

In that ancient world there were wide spaces in which a man might easily lose himself. The solitary fugitive was soon swallowed up in the silence of the wilderness. Here were no Court intrigues, no servile hate. Here he could be himself. But he carried with him the bitter memory of failure. He had allowed his best instincts, his most magnanimous impulses full play, and they had miscarried. His life was broken. He had pitted his strength against the selfishness and faithlessness of the world and his strength had been as a wave flung, crested and seething, upon the rock.

The desert landscape fortified this mood of self-despair. Its vastness and brooding silence hushed the angry clamour of his embittered soul.

Slowly his humiliation became his peace. From being a prince he had become a sheep-herder. From dreams of greatness he had come down to the prosaic actuality of this wandering life of the outlaw. He saw himself an irresolute dot upon the vast panorama of the wilderness, driven by the chance winds of passion and circumstance. But this degradation was proving his salvation. Through it he came to recognise a Presence—a Power to which, in some mysterious way, his little life was linked in bonds of service. This Over-Lord who drove the winds and unharnessed the storms was calling him to some supreme service. The outlaw life was a preparation for something he could not see. Every shred of egotism and impatience must be beaten from him. He must learn to grasp big issues, to encompass vast designs with the steadiness of faith. This he knew, but no more.

The Vision.

Then one day the thing was made plain to him. The voice that was calling was the voice of the slave people that had rejected him. Their tragedy was still going on—dragging itself over weary monotonous years of hopeless toil. But the thought of his previous failure daunted him. Moreover, the desert had become sweet to him. Here he was free from the turmoil of revolt and revolution. Why need he again meddle with the sordid grievances of these workers, and become involved in this bitter quarrel? What was to be gained by flinging himself single-handed against the proud strength of entrenched privilege and the might of a dominant race?

Then it was that there was revealed to him THE GOD WHO CAME DOWN. Hitherto he had thought of the mysterious power that brooded above the sweltering desert sands as remote and awful, making His habitation in mountain heights. But the vision that now dawned upon him declared that this God was linked with the destinies of his race and that He stooped from His sublime heights to effect their deliverance. "I am come down to deliver them," said the Voice. This man, too, had come down to deliver. And it had all proved a mistake. Years ago he had abandoned the Court for the sake of these ungrateful kinsmen of his. Was he to repeat that error? But now something more than his own impulses urged him. The quietness of the desert, its remoteness from the squalid misery of the world must be given up as the luxury and adulation of palaces had been abandoned. Self-confidence had once given place to a sense of impotence. Now the consciousness of individual weakness gave way to an overwhelming consciousness of divine direction.

He turned again to the cities of men, and stood once more in the thronged streets among loungers and sellers—a strange other-world figure in the noisy bazaars, austere and grim, the fierce fires of his mission burning in his eyes.

Outlaw.

story with a Modern Meaning.

It was not long before those bazaars were humming with his name. And the day came when, from that land, smitten with strange calamities, the children of captivity passed, under his leadership, into the freedom of that larger world which, for their sakes, he had abandoned, to give to us all, after many centuries, the supreme revelation of THE GOD WHO COMES DOWN.

The Modern Parallel.

This ancient story has always seemed to me peculiarly relevant to our own times. I believe it contains splendid guesses at those truths by which we may win freedom for the hosts of enslaved wage-earners, and the overthrow of the cumbersome system under which they toil. I wish we could hope that the lessons of this chapter in the story of the People's Deliverance would be re-read and pondered.

There is small prospect of success for us, I believe, until we, too, have had a vision of "the God who comes down." God must be conceived no longer in the terms of remote and inaccessible majesty, but in those of the warm human brotherhood of Jesus' personality. How faded is the glitter of Pharaoh's Court beside the splendour of the Carpenter's shed in Nazareth! Such a God creates a race of men whose instinct is the instinct of descent. The world to-day is full of those who are governed by the desire to ascend, to climb out of the ruck, to rise above the sordid struggle of their fellows, to escape by any means from the insecurity, the ugliness, the monotony of life on the level. The story of the gospels is a challenge to all this. It is the story of the Descent of God into everything from which the majority of men are trying to escape. He sought misery as others seek luxury. He pursued obscurity as others pursue fame. He interwove His life with the common cares of common people as determinedly as the rest of us try to disentangle ourselves from these things. Nietzsche's Superman, climbing above the crowd, has been our God. But the God of the Christian revelation is that of the God who comes down to the crowd.

For the Man Who Goes Down there is no sustaining strength but that of this God. He will find little response on the part of those whom he comes to deliver. He need not expect the plaudits of hero-worship. His will be a lonely path. If he seeks for encouragement in his own individual strength he must expect crushing defeat, disillusionment. The only strength that serves for this task is that of the consciousness of a Divine Commission which has bent and broken our own wills to its purpose.

Under leadership of that type we may yet see the Promised Land. The serried ranks of the despoilers have no weapon against the power of selfless love for the unlovely. The possessors of privilege may harden their hearts with every blow of fate and refuse to read the signs of the times. Their parasites in Press and pulpit may prophesy smooth things.

But the word has gone forth—"I have come down to deliver My People." And the word of God will prevail.

PETER THE HERMIT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

FOUR MONTHS IN MOSCOW.

Dear Sir,—I went to Russia in the latter part of 1918, where I worked as an ordinary worker for about four months in a Soviet factory in Moscow.

I desire to address the intelligent sections of the working and middle-classes on what I saw there of the daily life of the people, together with a few remarks on what I think should be done here.

The address would be "Four Months as a Worker in a Soviet Factory in Moscow," and would contain such items as:—

Why I went to Russia. How I got there.

Getting a job.

What the factory looked like.

Would the workers work.

Did the workers ever force the hand of the Government?

What the Communist workers said.

What the Non-Communist workers said.

What the Communist officers said about fighting to the bitter end.

The fuel supply. The food problem. Street Traffic. Condition of the streets. Sanitation.

Baths. Water Supply. Transport.

The Red Army in Moscow. The Police.

A visit to the Art Gallery. The ballot. The Opera.

The English prisoners in Moscow. Effect of lack of fatty substances.

The first anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

In common with many, I believe the capitalistic economic system is doomed, and that the transition period towards "The Co-operative Commonwealth" promises violence, bloodshed and chaos. I believe this transitory period can be made peaceful and short if the intelligent sections of the middle and working-classes are united and understand clearly what they want. A definite, worked-out, practical programme is, short of actual demonstration, the most convincing argument. This, I venture to assert, can be done. The time is over-ripe for it. If you can help me to arrange meetings, or put me in touch with those who can, I shall be much obliged to you.—Sincerely yours,

HAROLD BANKS,

32, Holland Park, W.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3-15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6-30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

Why "Possess" the Rhineland?

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

After recent events in Ireland it is too much to expect that the British Government will seek to pursue an enlightened policy in regard to Germany. What is wrong with modern Governments is not that they love cruelty, or to suppress liberty (as they understand liberty), but that they are spiritually dead. They see the world and life in the simplest physical and materialistic relationship, and their chief aim is the preservation and dominance of the upper class. The spirit of materialism has so far consumed them that they cannot read the signs of the times. They are strangers in their own lands, alien to the peoples they so futilely try to govern. Of the source of modern unrest, the motives that are behind the workers' agitation, they have not the slightest idea. Hence they punish and repress, punish and repress, knowing not what they do. By and by they will lose their heads, afterwards their feet also; when they will fall headlong into the abyss.

I have just spent a few days in the occupied area of the Rhineland. From Cologne to Worms, which are the limits of my travels in this area is an armed camp. Soldiers keep guard in all important places and buildings, and are to be met with in all streets. Notices issued by the Military Authorities are to be seen on every hand. The atmosphere is decidedly militarist. Presumably these troops are there to enforce the Peace Treaty and to prevent the re-birth of militarism. They are unable to do the former for the obvious reason that the Peace Treaty is impossible. And so far from abolishing militarism they are all the while stimulating it. In the whole West and South-West of Germany the Pacifist movement sleeps. "We can do nothing while these troops remain" say the pacifists, "we are laughed at if we speak."

Materialists never and soldiers rarely take account of or understand psychological forces. Hence in Germany they assume that the best way to teach the people to forget militarism is to constantly remind them of it, as in Ireland they assume that the best way to teach the people to love their enemies is to make those enemies more odious.

At the best Germany is incapable of making any effective opposition to the will of the Allies. Her military possibilities under the Peace Treaty are wholly negligible so far as the Allies are concerned, while the almost universal abhorrence among the town workers (who are nearly all socialistically inclined) of the old régime, of the ideals and policy of the Nationalists, makes the idea of a German attack on the Allies almost farcical. Then why an army of occupation at all? And in any case why black and yellow troops? The only answer is that the French have lost their reason in an atmosphere of revenge and fear, and that the Allies altogether are ignorant not only of the most elemental laws of psychology but of the mind and aspirations of the German people—as they are, for that matter, of

their own. If ever a people had done with, or wished to have done with militarism, it is the German people of to-day, for I am convinced, after three months of careful study of German life, that if treated reasonably, and left to herself, Germany would develop a quite new civilisation and be the spiritual leader of the West.

It is just possible that if the French were to attempt to possess the Rhine, a military protest might be made, for the Rhine appeals to something poetic in the German soul, and is not to be put in the same category with the Saar Valley, for instance, important as that territory is.

Yet, in spite of these facts, the one thought of the Allies is to enforce the terms of the impossible, revengeful Peace, and even by the threat of extending the area of occupation. But on similarly false principles they are acting in almost every part of the world, creating the very thing they desire to destroy. Having lost their own soul they think the world is without soul too. In Germany they are playing into the hands of the militarists, whose objective, however, is not France but the centres of German socialism!

I can only say that I should not like to live within the occupied area. I was not at home in the military atmosphere which prevails and was glad to get away. At the same time I do not wish to be unfair to the military authorities in charge. On the whole I found a good feeling to exist between the population and the British and American soldiers. The British Tommies, especially, have a good name, and are generally liked. Also I was told by the Left Wing Socialists that in spite of certain much resented prosecutions and prohibitions, they are not badly treated by the British authorities. But one cannot say so much in regard to the French. The latter have tried, though unsuccessfully, to enforce the teaching of French in the elementary schools, and have actually forbidden, as being too revolutionary, Scholars' Committees in the schools on the left bank of the Rhine, notwithstanding that they are in operation on the right bank. But worse than this, the French everywhere manifest a spirit of victorious authority. In consequence a bitter feeling exists towards the French and is apparent wherever the French are. In Mainz, for instance, one breathes quite a different air from what one does in Coblenz or Cologne. Indeed I am firmly convinced that the French occupation of Germany is good for neither country; it is producing nothing but passion and is demoralising the entire community. Nowhere in Mainz, e.g., can one witness the fraternising of citizens, of hosts and hostesses, and soldiers, in restaurants, etc., as one can in Coblenz and Cologne.

Then, too, there are many minor hardships connected with the occupation. In Cologne e.g., about 2,000 sets of apartments have had to be handed over to the Army for the use of British officers, in spite

of the fact that there are in the city no less than 13,000 applicants for dwellings. The over-crowding is fearful. Also one may hear sad complaints about the officious manner and disregard for property of many of these officers. Moreover the people are conscious that they have to pay for the upkeep of this army, which is particularly hard in face of the fact that, owing to the low value of the mark, British and American soldiers, in addition to their keep and clothing, receive an allowance equal to at least double the wage of the average worker in these districts. The soldiers can afford to throw about things that it is utterly impossible for the average citizen to buy. In such circumstances peace and contentment are scarcely to be expected.

In addition there are social evils which always accompany an army, especially an army quartered on a city. And we must remember that this army is not there for a few weeks only, but for a period of years. One hears distressing stories everywhere. The license which is allowed to the soldiers is spreading, I am told, to the Germans, who were so recently soldiers themselves, with the result that the blood of these cities is being slowly poisoned.

On the other hand there are slight mitigations. I was authoritatively informed that quite a number of British and American soldiers have become engaged to German girls—a fact easily ascertained owing to the German custom of publishing betrothals—many of whom have decided to remain in Germany. Also, I was told, many soldiers have used their spare time to learn the German language, and are busy reading German socialist literature.

But the great offence of the Occupation is the presence of black and yellow troops. The Germans feel this to be a great humiliation, but they tolerate it with wonderful patience conscious that it is a greater humiliation for France. Also they have sympathy for the coloured men, in spite of their frequent lawlessness, for they know that they have no business to be there and also that they badly want to return to their native land. They have been away from home for many years and life for them is hard in a land which is foreign to them spiritually as well as physically. We ought to sympathise with these men. On the whole they are not bad fellows, are frank, free, jolly and honest, and have not bad faces. But they are like big schoolboys and are possessed of strong physical passions. A soldier's life in European cities, with "conquerors'" rights is the most dangerous that could be given them.

On Saturday last, May 1st, I stood on the plinth of that noble monument to the Reformation, in the ancient town of Worms. In the midst of the statues of the leading figures of that time of spiritual upheaval—Luther, Wycliffe, Melancthon, Huss, etc., a prominent educationist with whom I was speaking explained how he believed the fundamental truth in Luther's doctrine, which the churches had unfortunately lost sight of, would be developed and realised in the Socialist movement. It was an inspiring thought. Wandering about the gardens in the square were socialists wearing their May-day

badges. Over against the monument stood three black soldiers on guard. Instinctively I repeated the words: "They know not what they do." What a pity! I thought.

But on thinking I concluded these words could be said with far more justice of the men who had sent them there. And I fancy we shall have a practical proof of this in the not distant future.

Rationing of Houses.

Writing in "The Glean" Miss Muriel Lester says:—

We rejoice to hear that the Labour Mayors of the London Boroughs have held a meeting in Shoreditch Town Hall and discussed the **Rationing of Rooms**.

Our readers are already familiar with the bright idea, through the April "Glean's" report of the visit of Jack Catchpool (of Toynbee Hall) to Kingsley Hall, when he told us how well the room-rationing scheme seemed to work when he was in Russia last year, staying with Count Tolstoi.

The Mayors' idea is to base housing schemes, not on expediency, nor on profit, but on the actual human needs of all individuals.

As we are not allowed to sleep in the streets in this overgrown city of ours, and as God made us in such a way that we must sleep somewhere, we claim that every person has a right to a room or half a room at least.

We do not see why we should have to sleep four to a bed as is often the case now.

We do not see why an old friend, home from the war should have only one room for himself, his wife and two children to cook, wash, live, sleep, and eat in.

We do not see why a neighbour's children should be contracting diseases of the lungs, through having to sleep in the same room with an elder brother who came home from France with tuberculosis.

Until the new houses appear, we should like the roofs of our houses to be made flat, so that we could take up a few mattresses and blankets and sleep with the sky as our ceiling, and the stars as our nightlights; but the landlords don't seem eager to comply with our wishes, and government officials are busy changing their minds between approval and disapproval of housing schemes on paper, so the Labour Mayors propose that wherever there are houses with bedrooms unoccupied, those rooms should be let to people who need them.

RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

The Message of Jesus.—W. Blair Neatby, M.A., Swarthmore Press, 2s. 6d.

Some Christian Essentials of Reconstruction.—Essays by various writers (edited by Lucy Gardner, for the Inter-denominational Conference of the Social Service Union), G. Bell and Sons, 5s.

Towards Spiritual Democracy.—Henry J. Stone. Swarthmore Press. 2s.

Touch and Go.—D. H. Lawrence. (Plays for a People's Theatre; No. 2.) C. W. Daniel, Ltd. 3s. 6d.

Christ and the Pharisees.—Albert E. Baker, M.A. C. W. Daniel, Ltd.

TO CHRISTIAN INVESTORS.—Those desirous of investing in non-industrial concern, with security and reasonable interest, and also helping to solve grave social problem, should communicate with Mr. Frank Griffiths, 51, Alkham Road, N. 16.

HOLIDAYS AT OLD HALL, BARMING.—Adult School Guest House.—Apply, Warden.

Bookland. Lenin on Revolution.

People who oppose the methods employed by the Bolsheviks do not always realise that those methods are not due to the blind impulses of anger. Nor does the Russian revolutionist adopt force in the way that the militarist does—in obedience to traditional usage. Men of Lenin's type have thought out the whole question. They have rallied science and philosophy and history to the consideration of the problem of the best means of effecting a transition from the Capitalist to a Socialist state of society. So far from such men being hot-headed enthusiasts carried away by their passions, we doubt if there are anywhere at the head of affairs leaders with cooler heads, men who have studied more carefully and with greater scientific knowledge the problem which this generation has to solve. As evidence of this, we could not do better than point to the paper-covered volume, published by the British Socialist Party and the Socialist Labour Press, entitled "The State and Revolution," by Lenin. It only costs sixpence, which in these days is something of a marvel for a book of this kind.

Lenin versus Kautsky.

It is difficult to summarise the argument. Readers of Kautsky's volume on "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (reviewed in these columns) will know something of the position which the writer endeavours to overthrow. Kautsky, and Socialists in this country like Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden, believe in the possibility of a peaceful evolution by political methods from the present capitalist regime to the next stage in social development. Lenin vehemently denies this. His case may be best presented, perhaps, by a passage from an article by William Paul in the "Worker"—a paper representing the Left Wing of the Socialist movement. Reviewing Lenin's book, Paul says:

The reformist-evolutionist Socialist visualises the transition stage as something operating within Capitalism. On the other hand the revolutionary Communist clearly realises that Municipalisation and Nationalisation, as advocated by the Labour Party—like Imperialism and Trustification—are merely tentative efforts to prolong Capitalism, to regiment the workers under a soulless bureaucratic machine specially designed to maintain class rule, and to intensify class exploitation. Hence the much vaunted transition period, talked of by the MacDonalds and Snowdens is not a transitional step towards Socialism at all; it is in reality a transition from the unorganised, individualistic and competitive condition of Capitalism to its more rigidly organised, monopolistic, and intensified condition! This transitional process is claimed to be the best for Labour because it proceeds by the path of peaceful reform, and in addition, is eulogised because it is constructive.

First of all the Communists declare, in opposition to the I.L.P. reformers and sentimental Labourists, that it is impossible for the masses to assist in any scheme that will prolong Capitalism. Secondly, the merits of any social policy cannot be determined by the fact that it is peaceful, constructive, or evolutionary. The only test of a Labour policy is whether it will destroy class society, class domination, and end wage slavery, which reduces all workers to the level of merchandise. We contend that all the emotional twaddle poured out by MacDonald against violent and bloody revolution loses sight of the

painful fact that Capitalism in times of Peace is more bloody than any revolution, but that Capitalism during a war—well, look at the statistics of 1914-18; look at the millions being deliberately murdered by the Blockade; look at Austria and Hungary; behold Ireland, Egypt, and India! The death rate from industry alone would justify a revolution to end the present social chaos, and it would be less bloody than a continuance of Capitalism. But why does MacDonald, like the anti-Socialists, always seek to imply that revolutions are necessarily bloody affairs? **Revolutions are bloodless** in the measure that the revolutionary masses have superior force to the ruling class which they are uprooting. Force, let it be said for the thousandth time, is not necessarily violence. Force is the determination of any class, organised on every plane of social action, to enforce its will upon society. The equipment of the Force of Labour, organised in every phase of its activity, would be the best indication that the revolution in this country will be comparatively bloodless.

The Scientific Mind.

But the scientific method employed by Marxians has its limitations. It can describe the past but not the future. The evolutionist can show how Man became Man, but he is unable to tell us what undreamt-of powers may still slumber within us. An historian of this type standing at the beginning of our era would have regarded as incredible folly the story of the early Christian movement and its success. The scientist is instinctively the foe of the unusual. He deals with the laws of nature as these have been revealed in the past, and, in his way, is as conservative as the most legally-minded defender of constitutionalism. It is only when phenomena have appeared and been related to preceding phenomena that they become acceptable to him.

There is no room in the Marxian scheme of things for moral miracles. And because there is no room for them in the mind of the average man, they do not happen. But to argue from the fact that the methods advocated by Jesus have never proved successful is like arguing from the absence of electrical apparatus on a Pacific Island that the force of electricity could not be generated in that part of the world. Jesus' method is so revolutionary that even the revolutionists cannot understand him.

The Theological Controversy.

Two things will strike the reader in this book and recall the atmosphere of the theological arena, if he has ever breathed it. First, Lenin's almost superstitious belief in the verbal inspiration of Karl Marx, and, secondly, the bitterness with which he treats his controversial opponents. "The State and Revolution" vividly reminds us of the theological tracts of the Puritan era.

TO CO-OPERATORS.

The "Crusader" stands for an International Co-operative Commonwealth. If you don't take it you miss a point of view essential for the understanding of the Social Revolution.

Towards the Co-operative World.

That a fundamental change in the present system of industrial society is imperative now meets with common acceptance; and also that this change must be so thorough and complete that it is best designated by the term Revolution. The word "revolution," however, is to many a very terrible word. Its very utterance causes awful phantasies to arise in their minds. It does so, partly because the word "revolution" in the past has been associated with deeds of violence and partly because those who are afraid of revolution view the present system as being somewhat of an eternal order of things. A study of social evolution, however, reveals clearly the fact that the causes of most of the great changes in society, changes so great as to amount to revolution, have been simple, peaceful, sometimes even accidental discoveries. Thus in passing from the stage of primitive communism to the era of private property, the simple, possibly accidental discovery of the domestication of the animal played a great part, while in a later period the peaceful discovery of the steam engine brought in the present phase of Industrial Capitalism. What has been the cause of the trouble in the past has been the failure to use aright the newly-found force which was destined to alter the system of living. Social development shows that it is not the discovery that has been wrong, but the method of its application; and that great change or revolution may be possible without violence. To those who view the present system with any idea of fixity, the study of social science will demonstrate that great changes have taken place in society, are taking place, and must take place. Movement rather than fixity is a characteristic of society. Social science demonstrates that humanity has passed from Slavery to Feudalism, from Feudalism to Capitalism, and it states with the authority of a science that we must pass into the period of Socialism; for it discerns that the past social changes have been brought about because the elements of a new society were contained in the old, and it sees in the present capitalistic system the elements of Socialism, the embryo of the new social order. This embryo, social science states, must continue to develop and one day break the shell of capitalism which is preventing its full development. Looked at in the light of scientific social evolution, "great change" or "revolution" need have no terrors, but rather it should be welcomed. Indeed, revolution must be welcomed, for it is inevitable. The great work for us all is to profit by a scientific study of the past and present, so that the great revolutionary change may come by peaceful, humanitarian methods.

Capitalism and Co-operation are usually looked upon as two totally different systems—as in many respects, indeed, they are—for the system of industrial capitalism is production for private profit, while the system of industrial co-operation is a system of production for communal use. Yet modern capitalism possesses a great co-operative element. It possesses some of the qualities of the new social order, which, when fully developed, will break up the present system. Capitalism may be

termed incomplete co-operation, for at the present time capitalism has developed to that point where nearly everything is produced co-operatively, distributed co-operatively, and yet owned privately. Social production and distribution and individual ownership are incompatible, and it is the effort to attain compatibility in production, distribution and ownership that constitutes the revolutionary movement in the industrial world. From this fundamental contradiction of communal production and distribution and private ownership spring forth many others which render continually more unstable the present form of industrial society. Other subsidiary contradictions in capitalism are that it gluts the world's markets with commodities while at the same time it throws the wage-workers into unemployment and starvation. It also seeks to prolong itself by waste—particularly in the form of armaments. A consideration of the incompletely developed co-operative elements in capitalistic society and the cruel and wasteful contradictions arising therefrom will convince any thinker that the downfall of capitalism is inevitable. The problem is, how can this be accomplished in a speedy and pacific manner? Can the Co-operative movement help in this solution? Undoubtedly it can do much if it but realise its power and opportunity. Already it provides an opportunity for the democratic control of industry by the consumers, but as yet even in the Co-operative movement the full co-operation of producers and consumers has not been attained. It must, however, adopt the logic of democracy in this direction. The more completely the Co-operative movement develops itself democratically the more certain will it make the realisation of the ideal of the Co-operative Commonwealth possible. It will thus afford a training ground in full industrial control for those who have for too long been dispossessed of the opportunity. By its thorough democratic industrial development, and by union with the Industrial Labour and Political Labour forces, the Co-operative movement can help society to move along the line of true industrial freedom. Within the capitalistic system there is possible of development those powers which will complete its co-operative elements and bring harmony on the industrial side by the attainment of communal production, ownership and distribution. Thus in the transition from the present industrial system to that of the Co-operative Commonwealth there is no need for bloodshed if the moral, spiritual and rational forces at our disposal are used to the full extent.

We must realise that God in His Divine Goodness and Power has so organised the world that if we but put ourselves into right relationship with the physical, social, moral and spiritual laws of the universe we can have life and have it more abundantly. There is no need to fear revolution; what we have to fear is the method of revolution. Our aim should be to bring about the right revolution by the right method—the Christian Revolution—that society where we shall give "unto this last even as unto the first."

THE LABOURER.

Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington on Coercion.

Mr. F. C. J. Sheehy Skeffington, a Dublin journalist, and one of the few pacifists in the Irish movement, was shot on the 26th April, 1916, in the course of what is known as the Easter Rising, by the orders of Captain Bowen-Colthurst. Mrs. Skeffington, speaking at a meeting organised by the London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation at the King's Weigh House, London, referred at the outset of her remarks to this tragedy, saying: "I am the widow of a pacifist, but when you talk about reconciliation in Ireland I am inclined to echo the remark of Voltaire concerning Capital Punishment, 'Let the assassins begin.'"

Mrs. Skeffington informed the audience that Captain Bowen-Colthurst, who had been found guilty of the manslaughter of her husband by a court-martial and declared insane, was now at large and in active service in the British army.

"How do you think I felt personally," she asked, "when I realised that the murderer of my husband was at large and might at any time go to Ireland. Do you not think that I asked myself for a moment whether it would not have been better to put away Captain Bowen-Colthurst? If you were up against the same proposition you would probably ask yourselves that question. You who hold pacifist views," she continued, "will be glad to know that I decided that I should not do that. But you will not be surprised that I have asked myself the question. I

give you that illustration in order that some of you who read day by day in the papers the stories of so-called outrages may understand."

Speaking of the state of Ireland and the methods employed by the Sinn Feiners, Mrs. Skeffington said that already some three hundred and forty blockhouses, or the beginnings of such, had been destroyed, and this without the shedding of a drop of blood. When a police station inhabited by women and children was demolished, the family was first allowed to go out and find hospitality with neighbours.

The speaker gave several instances of the effectiveness of the Sinn Fein organisation. It had established a Post Office, Courts of Law, and was dealing with other public needs such as agriculture, fisheries, and education. It was also setting up an Industrial Commission. The impending County Council and Rural Council Elections, by which a large majority of Sinn Feiners would be elected to office, would give the Republicans a still greater opportunity to administer the affairs of the country.

The meeting undoubtedly was of considerable propagandist value. As one speaker said, "Any work we can do for Ireland must be done in England. It is public opinion at home that has to be roused. Labour especially needs to be informed as to what is being done in its name."

The Individualist.

We met in London during the war at a time when life in a pacifist office was becoming dull and dreary to me. He came like a breath of life from the everyday world, with which I was fast losing touch.

I will call him Olaf, because of his admiration for the Vikings. His clothes were rough, but his countenance was fair and open. Sturdy of build, he carried his body well, and was of medium height. A glance at his hands showed that he had been accustomed to hard work.

He came to the office selling Christmas cards, the work of an artistic brother and sister. A conscientious objector, Olaf had been captured by the military and put into prison. On being returned to camp, however, a way opened out for him to make his escape. Since then he had helped his people at home.

It was not long before I found that he had been to Australia; was devoted to the outdoor life; hated tyranny and organisation; loved the beauty of Nature and the freedom of man; and was a most pronounced Individualist, without being either a nuisance or a bore.

"I presume you are still in hell (otherwise London)," he wrote one day. "Preferring prison to London, I've been stuck in the healthier Essex clay

since seeing you shortly after Christmas." He was writing to inquire whether I could do anything to secure for him a five-roomed cottage in a healthy district, and suggested an advertisement in the news sheet of the Fellowship to which I was attached. There is consumption in his family, and where he was living at the time had evidently not met with the doctor's approval.

In my reply I twitted him about his applying to a Fellowship, which was also an organisation, and therefore, in his view, out of keeping with pure individualism. Back came a letter which showed the sturdy independence of the man. He pointed out that his letter was personal to me, that he had offered to PAY for the advertisement ("just as he must in the 'Daily Mail,'" he observed), and that he liked manhood but hated organisation and despised its benefits. "Religion and love organised," he wrote, "are as bad as war and oppression organised. You have killed any element of worth in both; and in proportion as one shelters in an organisation in the wind of adversity, so one's own development is retarded and one's strength sapped. . . . The stamps enclosed are to pay for the paper used in writing to me and to cover postage and time. You would have much more if I could sell my boots (or what there is left of them)."

Christian Commonwealth Fellowship.



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscriptions for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, pendants, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Postage 1½d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

Boomerangs.

You have heard of the famous weapon of the Australian Bushman which, flung far out, does its work and returns to the thrower? Behold then your organiser, from the eminence that is near St. Paul's, sending forth boomerangs (which are your own gift) in the sure faith that they will return home!

Suppose there were no Fellowship?

What a dreary wilderness of a world, you say. Yes, but some of you did not discover Fellowship till you found the C.C.F.; and most of you had some qualms when we lost our old paper, lest our Fellowship should lapse. "How many of us have been concerned at the possibility of losing our Fellowship?" writes 5095 (Bilthoven, Holland). "But I, amongst others, felt that it really must not fall through, and I think you have now found a delightful home for it. I have been trying to get a special friend to join this Fellowship. I very much hope she will." "For a time I feared for our edifice not made with hands," 3351 (Victoria, Mon.) says. "However, you have fixed us up very nicely, and the best thanks of the Fellows are due to you. I have just received my second copy of the 'Crusader'—a brave little paper." "I should be dreadfully sad to miss the Fellowship Column and all that it means to me and others," comes from 4053 (Bournemouth), and 2457 (Finchley) is of the opinion that "so many are willing and ready to help others, but don't know where and how to begin; the Fellowship opens the way and gives the needed opportunity. So I earnestly hope you will continue the good work begun and carried on so successfully," she concludes. So do we all. And we are very grateful for words that help and encourage us, and more than glad to know that the Fellows find so much in the Fellowship. But only words knocked home by a deed can carry our work forward. And therefore the boomerangs.

"Under Orders."

"Aim high and keep your waggon hitched to a star," advises 3731 (Cleveleys). "Call us to service, demand from us sacrifice. Ask us to give, for the sake of Him who gave everything, to help win the children of men into a bond of love and fellowship. My best is at the disposal of the movement." And as a corollary to this, 1863 (Pontardulais) says: "Though in a new ship we are still 'under orders.' And Fellowship orders should not be ignored where funds are concerned. I must send my contribution

in a day or two. Rest ever assured of my support, and willingness to give what help I can, when I can, always."

"The Greatest of These —"

A wise old teacher, when sending his students out to their work in the world, was in the habit of telling them that for success they needed three gifts—Grace, Grit, and Gumption, and the greatest of these was Gumption. For us, the Order of the Day is "Forward," and to obey we also have need of these gifts: Grace, certainly, for it is the soul of Fellowship; Grit, to face our many difficulties and problems; and Gumption, to understand the things of common life; e.g., that there is a business side to Fellowship, and that we still have our waggon on the earth, although it may be hitched to a star. And the C.C.F. can only go forward if its members are endowed with these gifts. We have to be self-supporting now, and just at present we need new literature and stationery, for the present stock is out of date; and paper and printing are costly. And we need to do a good deal of circularising, that every member may be certain to see our new organ, the "Crusader"—and postage is going up! Therefore it is that we appreciate the "gumption" that shows itself in such words as these from 2447 (Limerick): "And the little bit of paper enclosed herewith is a more tangible expression of Fellowship—for we cannot exist without munitions of peace." Therefore is it Fellowship to pay subscriptions promptly to date (on the anniversary of joining), to enclose stamped envelopes when personal replies are necessary, and, if possible, to help our Literature and Stamp Fund.

The boomerangs have flown.

To Co-operators.

You will notice that this issue is yours in a special way. Will you make it known among your friends who are Co-operators?

Introductions.

5385 (Wolsingham) is a home-maker, and mother; she is keenly interested in letter-writing and journalism.

5103 (London, S.W.) is an Indian student just arrived in England and introduced to us by his cousin, 2266 (Hyderabad); he will be glad of friendship. He is a Hindu and wishes to come into touch with young men in particular.

5389 (Wallington), interested in walking and gardening, has not many friends; she would prefer links in the thirties and forties.

Fellowship Wanted.

5095 (Bilthoven, Holland) asks if we can offer a home for a month, in May, June or July, to a young Dutch lady, who wishes to improve her English; she would willingly help with children, sewing or domestic work, in return for her board. She is a very pleasant and helpful companion. Here is an opportunity for international Fellowship for yourself and your children!

Annual Subscriptions and New Members.

We acknowledge, with thanks, the following annual subscriptions:—A.P. (Paddington, 1s.); J.R.B. (Rothie Norman 5s.); V.A.S. (Reigate, 2s.); J.B. (Birkenhead, 2s. 6d.); A.W.W. (Aberdeen, 2s.); F. Ll.-J. (Isfryn, 5s.); J.W. (Victoria, Mon., 2s.); P.C. (Anerley, 2s. 6d.); M.C. (Pembroke, 1s. 6d.); H.K. and R.H. (Manor Pk., 2s. each).

Miss Lilian Smith (F.O.R.) begs to acknowledge £3, received from Mr. W. H. Marmy and friends, for the Children's Hospitality Fund.

SIDELIGHTS.

Passports Refused.

The Society of Friends desired to send out two delegates to America, Mr. Roy Calvert and Mr. Rowntree Gillett, to visit and report on the religious work of the Society in America. There was nothing in the nature of political propaganda about this mission, as the object of the two British "Friends" was merely to visit Conferences of their co-religionists in America. They have been unable to get their passports vised by the American Consulate in London, and the Society of Friends is left wondering what the reason can be. Is not Mr. Hoover a member, and are not many prominent Americans members, of the Society, and is not a Conference to be held in this country, to which several hundred American Friends are coming. The Friends, therefore, are not suspect in America. I cannot help thinking, having enquired carefully into the credentials of Mr. Calvert and Mr. Gillett, that some mistake has been made by an over-zealous official—not here, but in America.—"Westminster Gazette," May 14.

Success of Keynes' Book.

We read in the "Nation":—

"I suppose nothing like the success of Mr. Keynes's book has been known in the records of serious literature in our time. In all 100,000 copies of its various editions have been printed, and the early sales of the work in America were at the rate of 1,000 a day."

The Labour Research Department, 31 Eccleston Square, S.W. 1, has issued a cheap edition of "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," at 2s. 6d. a copy. The offer, however, is limited to Trade Unions, Socialist and Labour bodies, Co-operative Organisations, etc. Orders should reach the Secretary before June 15th.

"Even German."

Humour is not very conspicuous in every advertisement, so let us give thanks for Hugo's announcement about languages. We are told in large letters that we may learn Spanish, Italian, and Russian, and then, in small type underneath, we are told that we may be taught "even German." "Even German" is rich. Hugo does not want to lose any business, but he does not want to be suspected of pro-Germanism. The suggestion of the poster is that Hugo would rather not teach German, but that if anybody is really anxious to learn the hateful language Hugo will swallow all his scruples and teach it. We must have got pretty far down if the teaching of German has to be apologised for in a poster.—"Truth-Teller."

Religion in Russia.

E. St. John Catchpool, who was engaged in Quaker relief work in Russia from 1916 to 1919, told an Oxford meeting that during the past 30 months Soviet Russia has made greater progress in practical Christianity than any other nation in the world. By practical Christianity, Mr. Catchpool explained that he meant the marked attention given by the Soviet Government to food shortage, education, child welfare, maternity care, and housing.

Under the Bolsheviks the eagerness of the people for true Christianity is for the first time finding true expression. The Tolstoyan movement is growing by leaps and bounds. Although the Bolshevik leaders are out of sympathy with the organisation of religion in Western Europe, they are encouraging the unfettered development of Christianity. A large part of the popularity of the Soviet Government is due to the realisation of the people that its programme is Christianity in practice.—"Herald."

Dancing on a Volcano.

Apart from the Court, this season will prove one of the most brilliant on record. The number of balls and dances

that have already been arranged are much above the average, and many of our leading hostesses will once more be entertaining. Dancing is likely to prove as popular as ever, and most of the hotels and restaurants which possess ballrooms are already almost completely booked up from now to the end of July.—"Observer."

The Religion that gives "Shocks."

"The greatest thing in Christianity is that you never know what it will do next."—Dr. H. R. Mackintosh.

Starving Poland.

Mr. Gloor, head of the International Red Cross Mission at Warsaw, reports:—

... There are in nearly every town hundreds of children, most of them orphans who run wild in the country and steal in order to obtain food. Amongst these children cases of death from starvation are frequent. Emaciated and ill, they come to the orphanages of the International Red Cross, where an effort is made to give them at least some temporary comfort. ... In the regions of the Polish occupation there are 2,000,000 children under 15 underfed and fading away.

It is this starving Poland the Allies are hounding on to attack starving Russia.

The Socialisation of Disease!

During its sitting of March 18, the Executive Council of the League of Nations discussed measures for combating the epidemics which are devastating Eastern Europe. In this connection the Council was mainly concerned with giving help to Poland, in order to prevent the spread of spotted typhus and cholera. It is feared that both these diseases may gain ground and be propagated in other parts of Europe during the coming autumn and winter. ... —"Journal de Geneve."

Bolshevism at Hampstead.

Speaking on Rogation Sunday at a service held for the purpose of blessing the Allotments at Primrose Hill, the Rev. A. S. Duncan-Jones, according to the "Hampstead and Highgate Express," exhorted the people to pray that the tillers of the soil throughout the world might be blessed in their labours, and that the Governments of the nations might get so inspired with the spirit of brotherhood, as to secure that the fruits of the earth were fairly distributed to feed the people, and not cornered to enrich the few, that all might have bread before any bad cake, and that the idea might be attained of a common stock for the benefit of the whole world."

THE HELLED.

Books suggest that our modern word "hell" comes from an old English verb meaning to build a wall round about, to enclose and to separate. To be helled was to be shut off from. It is a fruitful suggestion. We have helled ourselves and each other, and that is why we are in hell. We have lost the divine unity of the spirit. We live separately. The classes have helled themselves. The Churches have helled themselves. The nations have helled themselves. We have built stupid, selfish walls to shut out, and to shut in. We have just perpetrated a huge, new, mad scheme of wall-building, and have the hypocrisy to call it a Treaty of Peace. We delight in enclosures and blockades and offensives. We have no belief in the free flow of human intercourse, for we have forgotten that society is one body. And so the whole world bristles with barbed wire and bayonets, and echoes with the bombs of the helled.—"S.B." in "The Coming Day."

The Crusader

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Twopence.



The Outlook.

IN the course of a statement on the new Government policy in Ireland the Lord Chancellor is reported as saying: "If the existing military formations of this country are insufficient for the task that awaits them, we shall as little hesitate to go to the people of this country and ask them to increase these forces as we did in the crisis of the recent war." No doubt, if this threat is carried out, and the Government issues fresh recruiting appeals, it will be on the same grounds as "in the crisis of the recent war," i.e., the defence of the rights of small nationalities! The Lord Chancellor seems to imagine that the country will respond as readily for the purpose of suppressing the national claims of Ireland as it did when it was called upon to support those of Belgium.

TALKING about Ireland, the term anarchists applied to Sinn Feiners becomes every day more ridiculous in the light of what we are learning concerning the organisation of the country by Republican officials. The "Observer" even goes so far as to suggest that the "Government has

decided to accept assistance from the moral authority which Sinn Fein possesses in order to stave off anarchy." As a sign of this it states that "The holding of Sinn Fein courts to deal with land cases in the West of Ireland is fully reported in the Press and is apparently permitted."

THOUSANDS of years ago our ancestors decided that it was wiser to use a captured enemy as a slave than to kill and cook him, and thus the age of cannibalism passed into that of slavery. A similar transition is to be effected in our relations with Germany. The original intention of the Allies seems to have been to cripple their enemy's commerce beyond hope of recovery. But they have changed their minds. Germany, instead of being destroyed, is to be set on her feet by means of a loan. She thus becomes the economic slave of the conquerors, contributing a constant stream of interest and repaid capital to their exchequers. The scheme has the distinct advantage, from the Allies' point of view, of giving the creditors a very influential voice in the internal affairs of the debtor and of supervising her economic and social policy.

WHILE the Government is providing for an increase in rents, and failing to provide the necessary increase in housing accommodation a "movement for the employment of direct labour in housing schemes is growing," says the "Herald."

"Tilbury Council, which is entirely composed of Labour members, has inaugurated its scheme for building at a cost of £2,000,000 1,520 houses, a police court, child's welfare institution, fire station, municipal buildings, public baths, library, and shops. The whole scheme really amounts to the building of a new town for the Tilbury dockers, and it is proposed to extend these developments still further as soon as the present scheme is completed."

The Building industry seems likely to lead the way in showing what can be done by "direct labour." Tilbury shows what can be done by a Labour Council.



Justice

Certain preachers and theologians during the war were emphatic in warning us that God was not only loving: He was also just. They insisted that the Cross was not the complete revelation

of His character, but that there was another and sterner side. I will not stop to enlarge on the betrayal of the whole Christian Gospel which this implies. It must be evident to any serious thinking man not suffering from war fever, that any exception to or incompleteness in the love of God, invalidates the whole Christian position.

A large number of those who spoke thus were driven to take up this position by the need of saying something to tone down the glaring inconsistency between the recognised principles of the Faith and the ethics of war. But a few no doubt were genuinely anxious to find some place in the scheme of things for this that men call "justice." If love is all—the Alpha and Omega in our conception of God—what becomes of this sterner virtue? Surely, They argued, justice does stand for something in the divine government.

Now that is a perfectly legitimate question, and the answering of it may be a not altogether unprofitable task.

Think, then, of a community governed solely by love. The punitive idea has been banished. For those who have sinned against society there is nothing but pity and ministering effort to bring them back to their right senses. Nor is there any difference made between efficiency and inefficiency, between those who contribute service of the highest value and those who contribute only the lowest grade of labour. All the members of this body are treated as the children of one family.

But is there no difference whatsoever between one member of the family and another? Is the law governing the life of the community simply one of mechanical equality? Is it not evident that even in a family there are distinctions? All do not receive the same measure of food. In the case of some, larger expenses are entailed than in the case of others for educational and other purposes. But the principle governing this unequal distribution is not that of justice as ordinarily conceived—that is, it is not those who bring most to the family funds who necessarily receive most from them. An invalid who cannot do an hour's work may receive more than any.

The law that is at work here is that each receives according to his need, and it is in the exact correspondence between the gift and the need that the justice consists. If the bigger and stronger

members, by reason of superior strength, secure food while the weak and sickly went without, would be no misuse of language to speak of such a régime as "unjust." Love is just when it discriminates according to the requirements of each individual.

The preachers and theologians referred to, spoke as though justice was something that modified or corrected the excesses of love. They introduced dualism into the character of God. But interpreted as it is interpreted above, justice becomes an attribute of love itself, emphasising the care with which it works. Justice is that rigorous rule out of personal preferences, the claims of those who may have first of all given to us, and of all else that might deflect from the purpose of giving according to the need of the recipient.

This somewhat abstract discussion is not without its practical value to-day.

Labour is claiming a larger share in the wealth it produces on the ground that that wealth is its own creation. Here we have the old conception of justice. "Let those who labour enjoy the fruits of their labour, and let the idler learn in the stern school of starvation what is expected of him." That this is a vast improvement upon the present state of things I need not say, nor that the realisation of that ideal would constitute a tremendous revolution.

But it will be obvious that it is not a complete and final statement of social justice. It does not include the aged and sick, for whom another law must be invoked. And where are you going to draw the line between physical disability and mental and moral disinclination for work? Is idleness due to moral failure? Are hereditary influences no factor in creating a dislike for work? May you not find yourself dealing with some slow-moving mind that has not yet found its vocation and cannot bestir itself until it knows that it has discovered its true calling? Scores of reasons might be given why it is impossible for society to pass judgment upon and penalise the apparently anti-social parasitic individual. The Christian revolution goes deeper than this, "If thine enemy hunger," it says to Society, "feed him. Get him on his feet. Do your part in enabling him to become a serviceable member of the community. If he still refuse to work—well, that is his affair. Ne'er-do-well though he be he is a member of the family and as such must be maintained."

That principle may be regarded as quixotic, and may seem impossible. But at any rate it will be regarded as even more subversive of the present order than even the wildest Bolshevism. All claims based on what is due to us tend to become pharisaical. To demand this or that because we alone are truly serviceable to Society runs dangerously near the Spirit of Self-righteousness. And self-righteousness is not unknown among those of us who proudly call ourselves "the workers."

Beyond and beneath the claim of Labour is the need of Man and it is on the need of Man that the last and greatest revolution will be based.

THE TRAMP.

On Human Nature.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

One of the most encouraging signs of the efficiency of the "Crusader" as a thought-provoking journal is the fact that all sorts and conditions of people from all parts of the country—and frequently of other countries too—feel interested enough to read what we have to say and to tell us what they think about it. Of course, the letter of thanks from the person who agrees with one is very acceptable—provided that one does not get too many of them! But I hope those friends who have written such letters to me will not feel slighted when I say that the letter I value most highly is that of the person who does not agree with what I have written, and tells me so courteously, and—more valuable still—tells me why he disagrees. It is the hardest thing in the world to look at a problem from the point of view of the other fellow. Many of us are so thoroughly convinced of the truth of our own case that we are apt to overlook the fact that there are millions of our fellows who cannot possibly see eye to eye with us, simply because we have not taken sufficient pains to put our case before them in detail, but have tried to make them see the whole case at a glance. Some people are quick to grasp a position in its entirety, but most people want to grasp it detail by detail. This is particularly so with regard to the case against Capitalism. Much of the so-called "scientific" Socialist literature is absolutely useless in the hands of the ordinary person who is feeling his way towards the light; it ignores the simple questions that occur to the normal mind, and in this respect it is, I think, not so effective as the early Socialist literature of the type of "Merrie England" and "Britain for the British."

Now this preamble is merely leading up to the plain statement of the fact that hundreds of thousands of people are still fogged over the questions that most modern Socialists believed had been answered once and for all a generation ago. Let me quote a case in point. In the May-day issue of the "Crusader" I wrote about a woman friend of my early days who had worked hard at a factory until her sight began to fail, was "sacked" for bad work, and ultimately found rest in a canal. I called that story "A true picture of the soullessness of Capitalism." A copy of that issue of the "Crusader" got into the hands of a Christian minister, who I imagine, had not been a regular subscriber, and the following letter, which came to me last week, is the result:—

"Sir,—Shouldn't your article on page 3 of the "Crusader" of April 30, be called 'A true picture of the soullessness of HUMAN NATURE'? WHY 'Capitalism'? Wouldn't many workmen act in the same spirit as the capitalist you describe? Is it not a fact that a workman who becomes an employer is far harder to his employees than a man who has always been an employer?"

There we have the old, old "Human nature being what it is . . ." argument brought forward by a

minister of the Gospel who should surely be the last person in the world to use it in the way he has done. And that is why I prefaced this article with a plea for more "elementary" propaganda. I do not know the writer of the letter, but he is obviously a "seeker," and I welcome his criticism. There are thousands who are quite sincerely asking his questions, and until he and they are answered there is little hope of progress towards the Co-operative Commonwealth of our dreams.

The answer to the first question is most emphatically in the negative. Not all the parsons in Christendom will ever make me subscribe to the doctrine of "The soullessness of human nature." I have had a fairly intimate experience of human nature. Like Paul, I "know both how to live in humble circumstances and how to live in abundance;" my experience ranges from "life" in the vilest of slums to the luxury of first-class hotels. And I am as sure of this as I am of my existence—that whenever "human nature" is given a chance to assert itself it shows itself as the very Soul of God in man. I could fill pages with personal experiences of the truth of this belief, but every reader will surely repudiate such a hideous doctrine as that implied in the first question.

"Why Capitalism?" Because Capitalism is as I described it—soulless, body-and-soul-destroying; because it is the greatest hindrance to the growth and development of human nature; because it would send humanity back to the ape and tiger period. Capitalism is the great Anti-Human Nature Machine, calculated to destroy every trace of human kindness and comradeship. The marvel is that human nature has managed to keep its soul alive while struggling within its claws.

"Wouldn't many workmen act in the same spirit as the Capitalist you describe?" Of course they would. I've seen them doing it. The law of Capitalism is "Everyone for himself and the Devil take the hindmost!" Some workmen struggle against this unnatural law as long as they can, and at last are forced by sheer economic necessity—by the sight of starving women and children—to stifle their better nature and join in the great game of grab. Others are not so highly evolved as to desire to resist this law; but instead of all such undeveloped natures being given a chance to develop, every inducement is given them by the Capitalist system to sink lower into the mire of greed and selfishness. From these two types come the workman who becomes an employer "and is far harder to his employees than a man who has always been an employer." I don't admit for a moment that every workman who becomes an employer acts in the way suggested by my critic, nor do I admit that most of them do; but I do know that where such cases occur they are the inevitable result of one of the two causes given above.

I thank my friend for his letter.

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Progress of the Revolution.

The Bolshevik victories show that the Russian Government is far from being at the end of its resources. Should it be able to deal equally successfully with the Japanese menace, it will have little to fear from external opposition.

Mr. Wellock's article on another page points to the probability that the Russian revolutionists ere long may find themselves reinforced by a movement similar to their own in Germany. This anticipation of events is confirmed by another correspondent whose article we hope to publish next week.

Face the Issue!

The blindest individuals must now be aware that we have to reckon, for good or evil, with the ideas for which Lenin stands. They must be faced in the most resolute manner. If and where they are wrong they must be met by reasoning and faith as strong as those by which they are supported. The question of the use of Force must be re-examined. Texts and truisms will not serve to prevent the rising indignation of the workers finding expression in acts of violence. Hysterical excitement will only make matters worse. Each of us must take hold of himself and with steady mind face the issue frankly and fearlessly. We want more honest thinking. We want a more realistic sympathy with those who suffer from the evils of our Social System. We want a deeper realisation of the fact that, for all who are dedicated to the ideals of the Kingdom of God, it is "now or never."

Form and Force.

These are the things which we of the "Crusader" have set before ourselves. We want to give coherent form and driving force to the Christian gospel in its application to the needs of the hour. That we fail most miserably in respect to both form and force we know only too well. There are hasty sentences that we would erase if we could. There is much that we ought to have said but did not. But so far as we know we stand alone, as a weekly periodical, representing the only type of Christianity that will serve in these days—revolutionary Christianity.

If you feel the urgency of the need of such a paper you will not be content to take it and read it. You will pass on its message, like a flaming torch, from one to another until there gathers about us a growing body of people who believe with us that the only hope for the world is in a revival, in every sphere of life, of real Christianity.

England can never be Splendid all Through.

In the course of a five-minute speech at the recent conference of the Union of Democratic Control, Mr. E. D. Morel remarked: "England can never be splendid all through while we allow our Foreign Policy to be decided behind closed doors."

The idea that England might be "splendid all through" recalled to my mind a vision of many parts which are at present far from splendid. Take just one spot—Westminster Abbey—and note the beautiful design and workmanship of the exterior. Will the people who worship there be inspired with a desire to make England splendid all through?

It would surely be sheer cruelty to guide their footsteps and make them explore haunts about five minutes' walk from the Abbey. Perhaps, however, the peace of mind of these people has already been disturbed. If so, can they really worship in an atmosphere of beauty while quite near to the Abbey there are houses in a terrible condition, where people are herded together. Tired looking mothers emerge from the doorways. They are usually wearing a prehistoric shawl to hide the rags beneath, and invariably have a baby in their arms and a toddler hanging on to their skirt. The men are untidy and uncouth—but they can swear expressively. But that is the language of their street, and no one takes offence. They are very human, these people, and have an etiquette of their own. Round the corner a small urchin appears. He is clad in a suit of holes held together by a few obstinate shreds of cloth. He is partially bald—he has had ringworm, and his face is covered with sores—and dirt. Not an object to inspire love, but his mother's thin face softens and brightens as she exclaims "Halloa, you dirty little devil." A West-end mother who rings for her children to come down for a few minutes could not throw more genuine affection into her tone.

England can never be splendid all through until all have an opportunity to live a full and a free life.

We appeal to all who feel that the "Crusader" is performing a useful task in indicating a plan of campaign to unite in an effort to introduce the paper to a wider circle. Our circulation is an international one. Mrs. Layman, writing from Zurich, writes: "I have been so glad of the paper—after reading, the papers have been sent to Vienna, where my husband has read some of the articles to the Austrian people. It is a paper which speaks the truth."

We acknowledge with thanks 10s. from Jessie Jeffries, Golders Green, £1 from Miss Ratcliffe, one of our secretaries, towards the Thousand Sixpences Fund. Miss Clarke, of the "Crusader" Office, is also paying a voluntary levy of sixpence per week.

A friend from the Bedford College for Women, Regents Park, in sending a donation to the Fund, remarks: "It is so much easier to help in this way than to fork-out a big subscription."

THE PLOUGHMAN.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAVY AND BEDDOW.

The following is the sapient comment of the "Church Family Newspaper" on the present tragic position in Ireland: "We know the difficulties in the path of the Executive, but we are confident that a consistent plan of campaign against the rebels will bear good fruit." More militarism! And not a word about the fact that we are in Ireland for selfish purposes, and are trying to govern Ireland against the will of the vast majority of the Irish people.

* * *

Now, let us suppose the boot on the other leg, and Ireland making laws for England against England's will. Let us suppose an Irish military occupation of England to exist for the enforcing of the orders of an Irish Executive housed in London. Let us suppose scores of English members of Parliament locked up in Irish jails. Let us suppose the suppression of newspaper after newspaper, and the almost daily arrest and deportation of English citizens without trial and without even a charge being made against them. And let us suppose this sort of rule to have existed actually or potentially for about seven centuries. And then let a Christian journal in Ireland say: "We know the difficulties of the Executive, but we are confident that a consistent plan of campaign against the rebels will bear good fruit." What should we think of such a paper?

* * *

And then in full view of our own rapacious militarism we talk about German militarism! For example, the former Berlin Correspondent of the "Christian World" ends his article this week with these words: "Both at Folkestone and at Spa, Allied statesmen have been and will be much occupied with the grave question whether Germany will show readiness to adapt herself to what the world requires of her. She must disarm, she must demobilise, she must be compelled to maintain an orderly and responsible government, and she must pay every penny that she can afford. Even in her own best interests she must be made to pay, for the world has pronounced her guilty, and its judgment is just. Folkestone and Spa should bring this home to her." How we do hate the militarism of other people while we support our own! And we get so angry if someone looking on at what we do, and listening to what we say, cries "Hypocrites!"

* * *

But the "Challenge" is not hypocritical. It frankly owns up to its belief that this soldiering business may be quite compatible with a strict and honest following of Him who said "Love your enemies." Here is its quite explicit statement published this week: "We believe it has often in the past been the duty of Christians to take up arms; and we believe that it may be so again." There is an admirable openness about such words, but the risk to a Christian journal when taking up such a

position is clearly seen in the fact that the "Challenge" was unfortunately hurried into supporting the Polish adventure, the disgraceful truth about which is slowly leaking out in Parliament, thanks to the courage of such men as Lord Robert Cecil. I speak with genuine respect of the "Challenge": none of us can forget how very much the cause of peace owes to its efforts in time past. But when it said of the sudden Polish attack on Russia, "On every ground we trust a victorious conclusion will crown the present offensive," it surely committed itself to the spirit of Islam rather than to the spirit of Christ. And the lesson is plain. Just so long as Christian people leave this terrible question open, just so long will they fall into these pits.

* * *

We know the man who complains that nobody speaks to him when he attends Church. And we also know the man who is annoyed if anybody does speak to him. Mr. Bernard Snell, I see, has been writing an open letter to the first sort, and here is how he puts it: "You say you worshipped with us for several Sundays without being greeted by anyone. No deacon congratulated the Church on your coming, no sidesman grasped your hand as if you had been an old school-fellow, your neighbour in the pew did not invite you home to dinner, nor was the minister standing at the exit to give you a personal valedictory and wish you safe-conduct through the wilds of Brixton to your home. And so we are not to look upon your face again. Come, now, is it not all rather childish? To how many of us did your more expansive self speak? We knew nothing of you, but at least you knew us as upholders of the Church, and you might have said 'May I congratulate you upon your service?' or even, 'You seem to be none too abounding in helpers here, can I push things along a bit?' But I have not heard that you said that. Please do not blame us for not having intuition enough to infer from your silence all the benedictions that you had in your power and intent to bestow upon us, if we had but known the day of your visitation. Blessings on you, on whatever shore you tarry."

* * *

I cannot say that I think logic is the strong point of the following from the "Church Times." The idea seems to have been to deal a staggering blow at Prohibition: "Fanatics operating on a large scale (a polite description of the other side, commonly known as "Pussyfoot" and Co.) cannot be safely disregarded. Church people must make it plain that whatever form their exercise of personal liberty may take, they can be no parties to a corporate action which attributes to God the creation of an evil thing. To tell the drunkard it is not his fault he is drunk but God's, is what, in effect, the advocates of prohibition are doing." I have read that over several times very carefully, but the argument becomes more mysterious every time I read it. Perhaps I will try again to-morrow when I am fresh,

The War of the Oil Kings.

Oil promises to become the symbol of the present age as gold was of the last. It is at least true that it is for the possession of this commodity that the peoples are to-day struggling in Asia, Europe, and America.

Perhaps there is no phase of the world situation which throws such a light upon our present condition as this conflict concerning the oilfields.

Of the importance of oil to the industry of the future there can be no doubt. It promises to become the chief driving power of transport. It has only to be remembered what the coalfields meant to this country in the industrial revolution to understand—especially when one realises that the British Empire within itself produces little more than two per cent. of its oil—the importance, from the imperialistic point of view, of possessing ourselves of the oil districts.

Imperialism v. Capitalism.

The interesting thing in the controversy now going on about the future of Mesopotamia is that we have there, ranged against one another, the two great forces of Imperialism and Cosmopolitan Capitalism. The claims of France and of the Dutch and Shell group of financiers represent international Capitalism. They are, not unnaturally, up in arms against the suggestion to ignore the understanding arrived at before the war, and formally recognised by our Foreign Office, with the Dutch Company. In this protest against the claims of British financiers the Dutch capitalists are joined by America. "Thanks to the wasteful management of the Trusts," says the "Nation," "American supplies of oil are likely to be completely exhausted in twenty years, and the demand already so far exceeds the supply as to make of oil there, as elsewhere, an acute political question. Mr. Wilson has forwarded to the Senate an official report, which is, in effect, a sharp protest against our exclusive policy, which bars foreigners from oil fields under British control, and prohibits foreigners from acquiring shares in British oil companies. It seems that a formal protest was made last October against the exclusion of Americans from the Turkish fields." For the most part our Press has supported the claims of the Imperialists. The "Observer" is a notable exception. In last Sunday's issue Mr. Garvin made a strong plea for a more generous policy.

"For our indispensable supplies in the oil-age we must seek the world's widest good will, and to keep it we must show reciprocity. . . . The cry for breaking this arrangement (with the Dutch Corporation) in order to give British concession-seekers a monopoly of everything outside the French quota breathes not only a selfish and grasping but a suicidal spirit—deadly to an Empire which for years must draw incomparably more oil from foreign sources than foreign interests can ever take from the Mesopotamian yield."

It is well to note this international tendency of Capitalism. It is one of the forces which, however blindly and selfishly, are helping to break down

the old bad racial barriers of the past. Though they know it not these Capitalists are helping to build the new world.

Another Claimant.

But the situation is not quite as simple as this statement might lead us to believe. There is another claimant to the oil fields.

In the "Sunday Chronicle" we read:—

"The news from Russia just now is mysterious and interesting. It is the supreme effort against the Soviet Government. If Lenin wins then our hold of the oil fields, of which Baku is the centre, becomes doubtful."

I pass by the frank avowal as to our motive in opposing Lenin. From one point of view it may be argued that Russia is but another of the national groups putting forth their claim to the all-important commodity. But that would not be correct. Russia represents neither imperialistic ambitions nor International Capitalism. While these two are quarrelling she adds what is virtually a third voice—that of the People themselves. To them the difference between national and international financiers is all but negligible. Whoever wins they will remain as they are, deceived and exploited. Russia is the symbol of their claims. This new power—the source of untold future wealth, this driving force of the world's industry belongs to them. There can be no monopoly, either national or class, in the resources of our common Mother, the Earth.

Divided though they are among themselves the powers now striving to bring about Russia's overthrow are united in the determination that whoever obtains the oil it shall not be the People.

But the last word is not with them. "The Earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof."

Religion & Labour.

DINNER-HOUR ADDRESSES

on FRIDAY AFTERNOONS during JUNE

at 1-25, at ST. MARTIN'S-IN-THE-FIELDS

Trafalgar Square, W.C. 2.

June 4th—CHRISTIANITY AND REVOLUTION.

Dr. H. T. HODGKIN (Sec. Friends' Foreign Mission Association).

June 11th—THE RELIGION OF A WORKING MAN.

Mr. WILLIAM STRANG (Nat. Brass and Metal Mechanics).

June 18th—THE ASPIRATIONS OF LABOUR AND CHRISTIAN IDEALS.

Mr. E. WILLIAMS (National Painters' Society).

June 25th—PLANNING THE NEW INDUSTRIAL ORDER.

Mr. MALCOLM SPARKES (Industrial Council for the Building Industry).

Further particulars and reports from League of Faith and Labour.
11 Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C. 4.

"HANDS OFF RUSSIA" DEMONSTRATION.—Brotherhood Church, Southgate Road N., May 30th at 7. Commander Grenfell and others.

day, May 28th, 1920.

An Open Letter to "The House of John Dyer."

GENTLEMEN.

A friend has recently passed on to me a copy of a monthly leaflet entitled "Progress," in which are chronicled the affairs of your business establishment, together with articles of a more general character setting forth the aims and ideals by which you seek to order your relationship to your customers and employees.

I note that you have in operation a co-partnership scheme under which your employees share in the profits of the business, and that you endeavour to foster a friendly spirit and to encourage the feeling of partnership as between yourselves and those employed in your house. The members of the Company, I learn, have signed the Shareholders' statement and are determined "to pay a fair wage just as a reasonable and just charge upon the business." Comparisons are odious, but one cannot but contrast your methods with those of John Lewis and credit you with a large balance in favour of your cause.

May I congratulate you on your business acumen and the quality of vision which has entered into your conception of a commercial establishment. I note, for instance, the counsel tendered your employees as regards their behaviour to customers. You realise that a pleasant smile and such things as remembering the names of those who patronise your house, have a business value, and that the humanising of the relations of buyer and seller is an important factor in commercial success.

You have applied the same principle to your relations to your own employees. You can see that under such treatment as you mete out to them they are likely to prove more efficient in your service and that as you study their interests so will they study yours. This shows breadth of outlook—reveals how much can be done even within the limits of the present system.

But that you are still working within that system I need scarcely point out. I read on one page of your leaflet the assertion that you "try to wipe out competition and substitute co-operation. We try," you say, "to rid ourselves of exploitation for private gain, and supply the spirit of service for the common good." That, of course, can only apply to those within your establishment. In spite of your best attempts you are at present compelled to remain a part of that commercial system which is based on the principle of private gain rather than public service, and that as a part of that system you are under the necessity of competing with others in your line of business. Until you are a part of a universal co-operative industrial and distributive system, I fail to see how you can fully carry out the ideals by which you appear to be animated. And I am afraid that instead of hastening the creation of such a system your methods are apt to create a special class of workers whose own privileges blind them to the evils inherent in the present order of society.

There is, of course, much more to be said on this point, but I am anxious to pass on to what is, in my opinion, of even greater importance.

"All good things in a company," I read on one page of "Progress," "begin at the top."

You will allow me to say that I think that is fundamentally wrong. The only freedom worth winning is that which we win for ourselves. The industrial society toward which we are moving will be brought about by the workers organising themselves, appointing their own leaders and managers, and at all points exercising a controlling voice in the conduct of their industry. This is the opposite process to that which you have inaugurated. Society should be built from the bottom up. It cannot properly be organised by those who through good fortune happen to be at the top. "Gentiles," runs a certain saying relating to the Christian order of society, "lord it over one another and are called benefactors. . . . But it shall not be so among you." Even beneficent lording it over others, the "paternalism" of a well-conducted business house does not correspond to this Christian ideal.

No doubt you yourselves see these limitations to your experiment. Nevertheless, for the sake of others, who may imagine that co-partnership will solve our problem, it may be as well to point it out. Personally, were I in a position to do as you have done, I should prefer to identify myself with the working-class movement and, serving within its ranks, endeavour, by comradely service, to lift the whole body of wage-earners to a position in which they might own and control the means of life.

Forgive these criticisms. They are offered in no churlish spirit. Indeed, mistaken as I believe is the enthusiasm and satisfaction expressed in your leaflet, I fully appreciate the courage and practical idealism you have brought to bear upon a very difficult problem.

I am, gentlemen,

Yours very sincerely,

STANLEY B. JAMES.

CHRISTIANITY FROM THE QUAKER STANDPOINT.—

Public addresses will be given on Sunday evenings in May, at Devonshire House, 136 Bishopsgate, E.C., at 6.30. May 30th, "The Kingdom of God as the Christian Ideal," by Edward Grubb, M.A.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—

Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Reyden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

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Dr. ORCHARD ON THE SC

Old-fashioned Christians used to maintain that the Gospel was the one remedy for all the ills of mankind, and they were inclined to complain if their preacher did not proclaim the Gospel. They resented the introduction of ethical or social subjects. Dr. Orchard in a recent sermon at the King's Weigh House Church, said that there had been a change in this attitude, and that we had come to reject such limitations as too narrow and even to suspect the sincerity of those persons who wanted to confine all preaching to the proclamation of the Gospel. At the same time, he agreed that there should be a natural hesitation before the pulpit was used for any and every form of propaganda. We did not want to make the Church of God an area of strife and division. It was almost the last common meeting-place for our humanity. He himself was bombarded every week with requests to preach about this, that, or the other great evil and social abuse. And if he surrendered to these requests he would certainly have no lack of subjects. They would take him all round the year twice every Sunday, and he would never get within the teaching of the Gospel. Yet, after all, was not the Gospel itself controversial? Was it not, indeed, the most controversial thing in the world? The evangelical revival was not entirely above suspicion of being, partly at least, motivated as an antidote to the kind of thing which was at present taking place on the Continent. The Gospel was sometimes taken to the poor with the view, more or less defined, that it would keep them contented.

Thy Kingdom Come Now.

Now, where was the truth about our Gospel? He thought it would be found by a deeper understanding of what the Gospel itself was. The New Testament use of the term was very much wider than the common acceptance. The teaching of Jesus was defined as the Gospel of the Kingdom. But the Kingdom of God, said certain people, was something within a man, not outward at all; these founded their contention on a single text, itself of very doubtful translation. Others said that it was something entirely future. It was not altogether the fault of scholars that such a confusing and disappointing answer was returned when the question was asked about the Kingdom. But the modern scholar never seemed able to see all the facts together. He took those which appealed to him as intelligible, and he shut out everything else as man's interpretations or interpolations. But if they went to Paul they would find that Paul looked to the Gospel to make such a change that there would emerge on this earth a new race of beings, to whom the apostle gave the name of sons of God. Paul, associated popularly with the purely individual notion of salvation, yet maintained all through his epistles this world view.

Individual and Social Salvation.

The modern Socialist, Dr. Orchard continued, was

always telling them that what was really wrong was the social system. That system must be changed from a competitive to a co-operative basis, and then it would be found that human nature would respond to the new environment, that it would change, too, and that our common existence would become beautiful and joyous. This was replied to by the individualistic Christian with the argument that you could not get such a system without first changing people themselves. Without a change in human character it would degenerate into slavery, anarchy or slow starvation. Suppose, said Dr. Orchard, we ruled out the extremists on both sides. Suppose we ruled out the Socialist, who in all his vision of revolution did not envisage any change in human nature; and equally ruled out the individualistic Christian who did not envisage any change in human society. Then he thought it would be agreed by all the rest that the Christian ethic did demand that for instance, we should be willing to work for others and not for ourselves, and not for reward but for the glory of God, and the only stipulation the Christian must make to this general agreement was that men must first be made Christians before this could be done. The Socialist pointed out that the Gospel had been preached for two thousand years and that the condition of the world to-day did not suggest that it had had much efficacy; and even if the preaching of the Gospel as moderns understood it were dated from the time of the evangelical revival, it had to be remembered that that revival was coincident with the rise of industrialism which rivetted the chains upon men's souls and bodies. And it must be agreed that despite all our progress and all our improvements, society was being driven into a position of absolute civil war, which must end in its complete destruction.

The Making of Socialists.

Now the Gospel did look for and expect individual conversion. By individual conversion a man was changed from an anti-social into a social being. Conversion meant that a man was taken from this present evil condition of an anti-social society and was baptised into a new society, by which he meant the Catholic Church. The anti-social self of him was broken up. All the vanity and glory of that world, of which so many thought that it was the only thing to live for, was struck away. Man was changed on conversion from being an individualist into being a Socialist, using the words not in their political but in their ethical significance. We must get the social Gospel, and it must have a new theology as its basis. What, indeed, was the good of Church observances if they did not quicken the social conscience? What was the good of going to sacrament every day if it did not quicken in one a social concern?

The One Table.

The great doctrines of Christianity, Dr. Orchard went on, had obvious social implications. The in-

Panacea?

SIGNIFICANCES OF CHRISTIANITY.

Incarnation of Christ showed that there was only one possible way for the redemption of men. It was the way whereby those in places of power came down to the lowest level and thereby lifted men up. In the House of God, again, there must be only one table of the Lord. To have more than one table was schism. And the social implication of that was that the common things of life must be shared at the one table. The Gospel, yet further, declared the possibility of the rule of God in human affairs. That was a perfectly possible thing if people would only believe what they uttered in the Lord's Prayer, "On earth as it is in heaven." Make it plain that this was possible, and forthwith men's expectations would be widened and their enthusiasms fired. It was of no use to say that the Socialist creeds were utopian. The fault with them was that they were not utopian enough. Why, according to the teaching of Jesus Christ, this new kingdom could come in immediately! Scholars were inclined to assert that our Lord was mistaken about the coming of the Kingdom, and thus there had been hanging over the Church an indefinite pessimism, the result of the view, hardly expressed, hardly even self-confessed, that Jesus was wrong originally, and that we could never expect anything but second-bests.

The Synthesis of Religion and Socialism.

What we wanted was a set of preachers in the pulpits to proclaim the Kingdom of God as an imminent possibility. Dr. Orchard believed that a tremendous power would be liberated if we could have a synthesis of the forces of religion and Socialism. Once men could be got to see that the implications of the Christian religion and the applications of its great principles made for a new social order in which the will of God was done, incalculable results would follow. And such preaching was needed, not only in the pulpits, but in the market squares and on the village greens. Men were needed who should abandon everything else to proclaim this truth, begging their way as they went, and yet glad and happy, tireless propagandists of the Gospel on which the salvation of humanity depended. It was not only the new synthesis that would be needed, but also a new baptism of the Holy Ghost; and with this there would come one of those great sweeping upheavals which lifted humanity on to a higher level such as centuries of slow growth had never been able to attain. A revival was needed, but a revival which should be no mere emotion, nor take merely an ethical shape. It must be a revival demanding a corresponding social change.

The Social Implications of the Cross.

The social significances of the Christian religion have been the theme of more than one deliverance from the King's Weigh House pulpit in recent weeks. In a sermon a little subsequent to the one just outlined, Dr. Orchard bade his hearers read the Cross of Christ socially. He thought that when the

Cross was studied in the social picture its difficulties were taken away. It was a historic fact that the sin of this world, the sin of the world order, the sin of thousands and millions of persons concentrating into and creating the social organism which we called the world, fell upon Jesus in its blindness, its craftiness, its fury, and killed Him. Yet He let it fall there and broke that ghastly entail whereby crime bred crime for ever, and every sin provoked and excused another sin, and every war held deep in its cup a worse. Here for once was blood which did not call for vengeance. The Cross was murder of the most depraved and sacrilegious kind, and there it was that Jesus, praying for His murderers, broke the spell of sin.

The Suffering of the Innocent.

Dr. Orchard believed that the Cross was best appropriated from a recognition of its social implications. All the difficulties about the atonement which were so vocal 30 years ago had gone. How could the innocent bear the sins of the guilty? Why, they always did! Who suffered for the sins of the world? The innocent, not the guilty. But how did the suffering of the innocent avail to save the guilty? It saved them by opening their eyes. If sin always fell in its full penalty on those who deserved it, we should say, "Serve them right!" Man began to have his conscience awakened when he made the staggering discovery that all his sin fell ultimately upon One who was God, and that God bore it, and bore it without enmity in His heart, and forgave it. Our personal realization of what the Cross meant grew best out of the social aspect of that great redemption. Where the old evangelicalism failed was in making the Cross purely individual, and in time that evangelicalism destroyed itself. It raised such questions as no man could answer. But the moment the Cross was put forward as a social fact and the beginning of a social redemption, evangelicalism could be taken back again, fitted into a Catholic setting. Some hearer might say that he did not want to bother with social problems; he wanted to be sure that he was saved. "Let me speak to you severely. How do you come to appropriate to yourself the Saviour? Take a lower seat, a humbler view. Say, 'I know He died for everybody, therefore He must have died for me,' not, 'I know He died for me, therefore He must have died for everybody.' This latter is building things up on their apex. There have been thousands of magnificent souls who have been willing to say that they placed their own individual hopes of salvation on the fact that they were born into a world which Jesus died to save. If you do want the personal assurance, and want it not selfishly, then you may find out through prayer and watching that salvation has taken effect in you. But I warn you that the revelation you will get will break your heart. Think what holy fires you are concentrating upon yourself! And you will bear the stigmata."

The Approaching Crisis in Germany.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

Two subjects are being universally discussed in Germany at the present time: in private circles, the coming revolution; in open circles, the problem of existence. They flitter like shadows around all election discussions.

Until quite recently I believed that the big capitalists of Britain and America would, in their own interests, be sufficiently far-seeing to prevent the economic collapse of Germany. But their greed consumes them, and now it is apparent that they are as blind as materialists have been since the dawn of history, and that they are hastening the very situation they most fear—and their own destruction.

Not that I believe a revolution in Germany would thereby have been avoided. That event will come sooner or later—and probably soon. But had it happened when the economic life of the nation was in a healthier condition than it is at present, and hunger was not so rife, it might have been less bitter and more fruitful than it is likely to be. Germany to-day is an outstanding example of the bankruptcy of capitalism, a proof of the impossibility of further progress for civilisation under the existing régime. Under capitalism Germany will never recover. Everywhere the workers are undeceived and are unwilling longer to be the tools and slaves of devouring self-crowned kings. Politically as well as economically, the present state of affairs cannot last much longer. The Government has lost its hold upon the country. For all effective purposes the army is in the hands of the reactionaries, who snap their fingers at the Government, and the significance of their latest manœuvres is unmistakeable. In the sphere of economics, the profiteers, big and little, have their way. Even while the people starve and go half-naked, the manufacturers, instead of endeavouring to make things that the people need, and at reasonable prices, prefer to make luxuries at enormous profit, for the rich at home and abroad.

Events since the Kapp rising have revealed the state of feeling that exists between the classes; and it is such that no available authority is likely to bridge the gulf between capital and labour before the final catastrophe arrives. To all appearances a revolution lies not far ahead, and when it comes it will be terrible and bitter. The Allies might have postponed it, they could not have prevented it. Moreover, the first steps towards it will be taken by the Right. There is no need for the Communists to preach the Class War and the Dictatorship. The Class War rages, and soon there will be what is tantamount to a Dictatorship of the Right. It is now clear that the Capitalists themselves, not in Germany alone, but everywhere, are going to justify Marx's prophecy, bring the very situation which he said would come, and which the capitalists have all along feared. The perpetual wobbling of Lloyd George, always followed by collapses to the will of France and the big capitalists, has sealed the fate of Germany,—as it will by and bye seal the fate of

France and of England. The fruits of his policy towards Germany (and towards Russia)—hunger and militarist reaction—are hastening a crisis whose effects will be felt throughout the world.

The political and economic situation in Germany is becoming daily more impossible. Food is growing scarcer, and prices are soaring to unbelievable heights. The people cannot buy, and their powers of endurance are well nigh exhausted. For they have borne these conditions through four or five years. Also they have lost all hope of help from the outside. They believe in the British workers, and in the Socialist movement generally, and have faith that when the crisis come, Socialists throughout the world, and especially of Britain, will not fail them. But they know that at present capitalism rules the earth, and that profit is the sole principle of its politics. For this reason they are not prepared to sacrifice more than they are doing. They know only too well that however hard they work, the present level of subsistence will be maintained, and that the capitalists, at home and abroad, will reap the benefit. Indeed, the present condition of the world is just a proof of the breakdown of capitalism.

But bad as the economic situation of Germany is, I believe it will grow much worse during the next few months—till the August crops; when food will be more plentiful, prices lower and trade brisker, and it is significant that owing to the recent enormous rises in prices, foreign sales have suffered a severe check—which means, of course, that the foreign food supply will diminish. With increasing unemployment and food shortage, one trembles to think of the immediate future of Germany.

Thus, with hunger and capitalist reaction rampant, it is not difficult to see what is likely to happen in the near future in Germany. But of the two things, I believe that reaction will be the more likely to provoke the revolution. Indeed, even now the reactionaries are doing things that are tantamount to a Dictatorship. Soon their purpose will be disclosed, when the crisis will come and resistance be unavoidable. What follows may very easily develop into a world revolution, and probably will if the war against Russia continues. But in any case, I am more than ever convinced that such an event awaits us.

Three months' close touch with a hungering folk has burned into my soul. The social system that brought the war and has plunged the world, against the will of the great body of mankind, into tumult and enmity; that by means of a savage, revengeful Peace spreads oppression in every land and renders freedom and sweet life impossible, must cease, and if Christendom would only make up its mind that it should cease, and would say so with a clarion voice, it would cease to-morrow, without a drop of blood being shed. But because Christendom is silent, or reactionary, men will fight for freedom with such weapons as she has taught them to use.

Even in the South of Germany, which is almost wholly agricultural, I have entered villages which have been entirely without bread for days together. In Stuttgart, the other day, I was told that during the previous week the price of bread and margarine had doubled. Yesterday I spent an hour in Tubingen trying to procure some margarine. I found only one shop that possessed any fat at all, and this they could not let me have without cards or a doctor's certificate. In the Ruhr area and the big towns of the North, prices are stupendously high. When two or three weeks ago I travelled from Bremen to Essen, the fourth-class compartment in which I was—a square box with "seating places for 9 and standing places for 11"—was piled to the roof with sacks of potatoes. It was so full, in fact, that we were unable to sit except on the potatoes, and when I left the compartment I was obliged to do so by the window. The talk—as ever in the trains and inns—was of food and prices, and of the latest attitude towards Germany of Britain, France and America. Such a horrible, humiliating fight for food I have never witnessed. The looks on the people's faces, the struggle of men and women to get their bit of edible property into the train, I shall never forget. Some of these potatoes were being fetched by the citizens of Essen, etc.; other were being taken hither by the peasants. Yet all this trade is illicit, as potatoes are supposed to be under Government control. But the Government is impotent and the peasants have learnt of the capitalists, and become profiteers. In such ways is hunger demoralising this country. "Unless one has relations in the country it is impossible to live," one hears on every hand. And indeed, one has only to observe the trains which come into the big towns from the country to see what is taking place. Everywhere loaded knapsacks, bundles of food, even bottles of milk—all purchased at famine prices! And the anxious faces! The fortunes that are thus being pent! It is terrible to witness.

The legal bread ration is 4 lbs. per person per week, but in many districts not more than two to three lbs. is procurable. And what moist, dark, heavy stuff most of it is! When this is finished the trouble is how to get a really satisfying meal. If potatoes are rationed, and unless one is rich one cannot afford to buy even "illegal" potatoes. Sometimes when I have not been able to get bread for several days, I have been so hungry that I have gone straight out of one restaurant into another. The art of catering is in appearing to present a good meal out of nothing; and in most city restaurants they have acquired it to perfection. Until, I fear that worse days are in store. The harvests lie four months ahead, and the hearts of our allied peoples are apparently cold.

What will follow? New demands for wages, still higher prices! So goes capitalism to its doom. Hitherto this vicious circle has been the hope of capitalism; now it threatens to become its prison. Only outside that circle is a free world possible. Hitherto must we find a way, and speedily.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

CHRISTIANITY AND BUSINESS.—A second Round Table Conference on this subject will take place on TUESDAY, JUNE 1st, at 7 p.m. at the offices of the Fellowship. The speaker will be Mr. W. Heron, a leading Yorkshire manufacturer. His subject is "A Business Man's View of our Civilisation." The meeting is entirely open and free.

OPEN AIR MISSION.—Friday, May 28th, 5.45, Marble Arch, H. E. Brown, Clifford Newton, H. Fuller; 7.45, Walthamstow, Hoe Street, Alfred Cordell, W. H. Hancock. Saturday, May 29th, 7.15, Ealing, C. Paul Gliddon. Sunday, May 30th, 8.15, Tottenham, outside Friends' Meeting House, J. Newton Harris, Clifford Newton. Monday, May 31st, 7.0, Forest Gate, outside G.E.R. Station, W. H. Hancock, J. Newton Harris; 8.0, Leytonstone, outside G.E.R. Station, Alfred Cordell, Horace Fuller. Tuesday, June 1st, 5.15, Marble Arch, C. Paul Gliddon, J. Newton Harris. Wednesday, June 2nd, 7.45, Lewisham, the Market Place, Rev. Frank Fincham, Horace Fuller. Thursday, June 3rd, 5.45, Marble Arch, Rev. Frank Fincham, C. Paul Gliddon; 7.45, Kentish Town, W. H. Hancock, J. Newton Harris; 8.0, Kingston, the Market Place, C. Paul Gliddon. Friday, June 4th, 5.45, Marble Arch, C. Paul Gliddon, Winifred Wood; 7.45, Walthamstow, Hoe Street, Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen; 8.0, Kilburn, the Grangeway, C. Paul Gliddon, Ivy Sheldon.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

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RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

- Social Theory.—G. D. H. Cole. Methuen and Co., 5s.
- Quakerism and the Future of the Church (Swarthmore Lecture for 1920).—Herbert G. Wood, M.A., Swarthmore Press, 1s. 6d.
- Military Discipline and Democracy.—Ernest Thurtell, with preface by George Lansbury. C. W. Daniel, Ltd., 2s.
- The Psychology of Conscientious Objection.—C. Egerton Parry, with introduction by J. Ramsay Macdonald. C. W. Daniel, Ltd., 3s. 6d.

Bookland. Militarism and Democracy.

Ernest Thurtle, the author of "Military Discipline and Democracy" (C. W. Daniel, Ltd., 2s.), is not a pacifist. His remedy for militarism is milder than the radical policy of total disarmament. He proposes the abolition of every form of conscription. With armies composed of volunteers he believes that war would soon be brought to an end.

It is in his definition of the word voluntary that the meaning of his proposal emerges. The so-called Voluntary System is very far from what the term suggests.

We seek deliberately to get men to sign an unlimited contract for military service under what amounts to false pretences. The essence of the engagement—the undertaking of the soldier to sacrifice his life or limbs in any cause which authority may decide upon—is kept right away in the background. Recruits are persuaded, bullied and cajoled into joining the forces for every other reason except that. They are urged to join in order to live a fine, free, open air life. Joining the army, they are told, means plenty of food, smart clothes, abundant leisure, excellent sport, a sufficiency of pocket money, and, as the recruiting posters say, 'seeing the world for nothing.'

Then, of course, the system, Mr. Thurtle points out, deliberately takes advantage of a man's economic adversity. Recruiting is never so good normally as when unemployment is rife. Lord Roberts called the Voluntary System "conscription of hunger." In the House of Commons, last year, Col. Dalrymple White asked whether, in order to stimulate recruiting, it would not be well to stop the payment of the unemployment benefit to all youths under 25 years of age. Mr. Churchill, as will be remembered, calculated on many demobilised men rejoining because they would find, after a very short experience, that civilian life had none of the glorious prospects to offer them of which they had fondly dreamed when soldiering.

Further, the binding of a recruit for a period of years to fight in any cause under any conditions is a violation of Voluntaryism as the author of this book understands it. He would universalise the permission given by Henry V., according to Shakespeare, before Agincourt:

"He that hath no stomach to this fight,
Let him depart; his passports shall be made.
And crowns for convoy put into his purse."

This selling of one's soul to the Military Authorities for any and every quarrel into which they may be pleased to enter is the aspect of militarism which most provokes our author's antagonism. "So it comes about," he says—

"That a soldier who also happens to be a democrat, may be called upon to fight in a war to bolster up some hateful autocracy, and yet have no redress. It is not even beyond the bounds of possibility that a democrat may join the Army for the express purpose of fighting in what he believes to be a war for freedom, and eventually find himself retained to fight in a war which he believes is only being waged for the sake of reaction and financial interests. Such things are possible. It does not matter what a man joins the Army for; once he is in it the authorities can utilise him for whatever purpose they wish. And even in democratic Britain those purposes are not always above suspicion. There is an old and very popular saying in the ranks that the army can do anything it likes with a man except change his sex!

"It is not only the possibility of having to fight in a war abroad, contrary to his convictions, that confronts the enlisted soldier. He may have an even more painful duty thrust upon him at home. There is the question of military intervention in industrial disputes, which, as already mentioned, is a sore point with organised labour and the cause of some estrangement between labour and the soldier."

In brief, the soldier on joining the army contracts himself, for a term of years, to fight for any cause his superiors may decide is worth fighting for.

"He has undertaken, if need be, to undergo the privations and terrors of modern war, to sacrifice health, limbs, and it may be life itself, all for an unknown cause. And the penalty for failing to keep his contract is imprisonment, or, in case of war, death."

The use of the Death Penalty itself is an infringement of the Voluntary System. When the question of abolishing the Death Penalty has been raised in Parliament the official answer has always been that discipline would be impossible without it, and the answer represents the truth.

"Without this weapon utterly 'fed up' and war-weary troops could not be kept fighting. The experiment has been tried. One result of the Russian Revolution was the abolition of ordinary military discipline in the Russian Army, and the death sentence was dispensed with. As a result, hundreds of thousands deserted until the army became but a shadow of its former self. Asked by the Kerensky Government to restore the army to efficiency, General Korniloff demanded the re-imposition of the death penalty both at the front and in the rear, as the only effective means of restoring discipline.

"There is a simple moral for anti-militarists in all this. (And who is not an anti-militarist in these days?) The moral is that no compulsion on the battlefield, means, generally, no fighting. Take away from your Military Law the power to make a soldier fight against his will, and there shall be no more prolonged, bloody carnage.

"This is the truth the thinking soldier brings back from the bloodstained battlefields."

Mr. Thurtle's remedy shares the defect of a large number of similar projects. It proposes to impose upon society a form of organisation alien to its spirit. While you have the present economic basis with its resultant unemployment, how will you abolish the economic coercion which forces the man out of work into the army? And so long as Diplomacy is in the hands of Capitalist Politicians who have their own secret designs and class motives in provoking wars in which the Democracy can have no real interests, how are you going to induce the authorities to give men the liberty to choose what they shall and what they shall not fight for? So long as the present form of Society lasts, so long will the State use its power (however veiled the coercion may be) to commandeer the lives of its citizens in the interests of the dominant class. A Voluntary Army, in Mr. Thurtle's sense of the term presupposes changes in the social and economic sphere of so great a magnitude that one imagines that they will sweep away the need of armies altogether. The conditions of Military Service at any time are the result of the social conditions obtaining in the nation at that time, and until those conditions are changed it is almost useless to talk about the introduction of some new form of military organisation.

Quakerism and the Future of the Church.

The Annual Swarthmore Lecture was founded in 1907, its purpose being to interpret further to members of the Society of Friends their message and mission, and to bring before the public the spirit, aims and principles of Friends.

This year's lecture on "Quakerism and the Future of the Church" was given last night (Tuesday, May 18th) by Herbert G. Wood, M.A., Warden of Woodbrooke Settlement, Birmingham, at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate.

"The pressure of economic strain and social change upon the Churches," said Mr. Wood, "raises very serious difficulties, but may have the result of purifying them and drawing them closer together. So far as the Free Churches are concerned, their too close identification with the tastes and interests of the middle-classes, and their needless divisions have undoubtedly alienated many. But more serious defects lie in the lack of a clear intelligible theology and divergence of opinion as to the ethical principles of the Christian religion. The passing of Calvinism has left the Free Churches in a theological haze. We are still groping after a theology which will be at once simple and profound, loyal to the historic revelation and loyal to the manifestations of truth in modern science,—a theology that will satisfy the mind and stir the heart—a theology that can be preached.

"As to Christian duty, the war revealed division in the Christian camp which goes deep. The main

issue turns on the place of resentment in the Christian character and on the significance of punishment in the divine discipline of mankind. Lack of agreement on the issue has left the Churches with no united Christian judgment on the Peace, and on the terms in which the Peace was made.

Neither on international nor yet on social problems at home, have the Churches a firm grasp on their principles.

"So far as the future is concerned, the lecturer held that the Society of Friends bears an indispensable corporate witness to some elements of Christian life and truth which the Church at large needs. . . .

"A protest merely AGAINST war is of doubtful validity. Progress depends on the goodness we evoke and not on the goodness we compel. Merely to rally the forces of order against Bolshevism is folly. There is no answer to Bolshevism save in policy which believes whole-heartedly in co-operation all round, and cares positively and profoundly for the welfare of the suffering masses of Europe.

"In so far as this is realised, however, this is a sign of growth. The Catholic Church of the future needs all and more than all that existing churches can contribute to it. A reunited church must do justice to the inheritance of each contributing church, but it will owe even more to a common prophetic insight into the truth and the duties required of Christians by the present crisis."

To Parents. Your Children in Danger.

The above is the title of a handbill issued by a German Peace Society in Munchen. We in England seriously need the same warning.

The manifesto warns parents against the play of the spirit of revenge, it suggests that to be solicitous about the education of children will be of no avail; they are never to reap the fruits of it, and there is no point in saving money for children if their lives are not to be secure.

"You wish to educate them in humanity and kindness. How can you do that when the idea of murdering by machines poisons their fancy?"

It is clear that Germany is fully alive to the enormous importance of cultivating a new spirit in the young people, and we have received from Marburg a strongly-worded appeal from Ernst Krotoschin on behalf of fellowship between the young people of all lands in the cause of peace and goodwill.

The writer urges that it is not enough for one to isolate itself in its thinking and that the idea of civilisation, morality, humanity and religion involves humanity as a whole.

He believes that youth, having passed through the bitter pathway of war, may be led onwards to brotherhood and union.

He urges that practical steps should be taken in education in pacifism, and does not seem so terrified that many here are of advocating the destruction of war toys, war picture books, chauvinistic writings, and hate-inducing pictures. He wants them cleared

out from house, nursery, kindergarten and school. In their place he desires that there should be intensive education in the fundamentals of understanding of foreign peoples and foreign culture, and that school books should be re-written in a pacifist spirit. He pleads that truth in the High School should prevail, that the international as against the national spirit should rule, and that the letting loose of the Chauvinistic spirit is unworthy of High School method.

Therefore he cries "Up and bravely onward to action in this work. It involves a daring, a hazardous enterprise of radical conversion and renewing of the innermost spring of life."

The writer hopes that his message may fall on good ground and meet the eyes of some in other lands interested in this vital matter.

I am writing to him giving particulars of the "Explorer" Guild, and Wilfred Wellock will doubtless on his return put us in touch with the various movements amongst the youth of the continent.

Meanwhile, I would again urge that Crusaders should feel a far stronger passion for bringing English children out of the danger zone of militarism and imperialism.

I hear that at Manchester an "Explorer" Guild is going strong and that already they have secured a German child as a member!

We have now five Guilds, but we ought to have 500!

THEODORA WILSON WILSON.

Simpkins, Junr.

Walking along the banks of a canal I remember seeing a man pick up a shivering cur, which he had been vainly urging to take the plunge, and fling it head over heels into the water. Whenever I see Simpkins, junr., I think of that cur and wish that the kindly hand of Providence would throw him out into the midst of life where he would be compelled to fight for his soul among the sordid realities he despises.

Not that I have any ill-will towards Simpkins. Not a bit. There are the makings of a man in him. His simple generous youth touches me. But I have to confess that his fastidiousness at times gets on my nerves.

To explain what I mean I must tell you something about him. Fortunately, as most people would think, he has been fairly free from those embarrassing circumstances which hamper the growth of one's own mind. He has used this freedom to develop his individuality. With a patience which I admire, he has tested the various ideas that come to him through books by his own sense of right and wrong, truth and falsehood. I can sometimes see into his mind as though it were enclosed in a glass case, and what I see is a busy mill for the winnowing out of the congenial from the uncongenial in the realm of ideas and principles of conduct.

His moral fastidiousness goes to amazing lengths. He must be a modern reincarnation of some ancient Essene. There are so many things he won't do and so many excellent reasons for not doing them. Quite honestly, I feel, in his presence, like a gross and unscrupulous man of the world, though I do not believe my friends would say that that was a correct description of me.

The last time I saw him, which was some while ago, he was greatly concerned at his complicity in the capitalist system, and his mind was busy devising schemes for freeing himself. I will not trouble you with all the ideas he mooted or with the rapid succession of plans for effecting his escape. He was quite excited about the matter. It was the biggest stunt he had ever taken up, and it gave him more pleasurable mental occupation than anything else in which he had interested himself.

I hope this is not uncharitable, but I always think of Simpkins' changing interests as so many stunts. He seems to manufacture problems for the sake of solving them. He goes about looking for wrongs to right, customs to criticise, errors in public opinion to correct, just as some Knight of the age of Chivalry went looking for adventures. These things do not come to him in the ordinary course of life; he has to go hunting for them.

Simpkins spends his time, not in living, but in learning how to live. He is like a man practising swimming on the river-bank.

Yes, I confess that I have wished that someone or something would take him by the scruff of the neck (metaphorically, of course) and throw him into

the mid-stream currents of the world, where he would have to fight for life, where he would have no time for perfecting schemes of living but would be obliged to endure the jostling of the common crowd and the buffeting of circumstances. It would do him so much good to mingle with uncouth men who called him "mate," to sit with them in their favourite "pub.," to read their newspapers with the sporting news distinguished by black thumb-marks. Surely it is what he needs.

By a strange coincidence, as I write this, news has come to me that a terrible blow has fallen on Simpkins—or ought I, in view of what I have written, to say "terrible"? His father, who idolised him and provided him with the exceptional educational advantages he enjoyed, has died suddenly, leaving him to care for his younger brothers and sisters; his mother died some years ago. It is a heavy responsibility, and it will entail a complete loss of his leisure, and very hard thinking of a practical kind. I wonder how he will bear himself. I believe it will be the making of him.

I re-open this after some months to say that Simpkins, junr., has just called on me. My faith in him was not misplaced. His fastidiousness has vanished. He has a hearty laugh with a good man; ring in it. There was no sign in his conversation of academic skirmishes with abstract problems. He was in the water—up to his neck, and already developing a wisdom born of his actual day by day struggle with the stern circumstances which are the lot of ordinary folk. His idealism is still there. But it is sunburnt and weather-beaten. It walks on the common earth. It has been battered into a fine shape than ever he could have devised by the buffeting of Fate—or, shall we say, by the hand of God.

The person who cannot sit still is obviously as far from the Kingdom as the person who cannot do anything else; he has lost control of himself, and is, in the most literal sense of the phrase, "out of his mind." And this state of perfect freedom to do what one wants when one wants to do it, even to eat (within certain individual limits) what one wants to eat not only for the sake of health but of good fellowship, is not a mere ideal, a possibility, but a fact. The Lord Buddha ought not to have been poisoned by the fish that he ate rather than offered the hospitality of a poor fisherman—the fact shows an imperfectly trained organism. If the ideal Jesus (and it seems impossible to find a better one) we must remember that there is no record of Him saying to any of His hosts: "I don't like fish"; or "I can't eat fat"; or, "Wine fuddles My brain." Anything that cuts off a man from friendly intercourse with his fellows is, at once, un-Christian and unhealthy.—"New Age."

Christian Commonwealth Fellowship.



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscriptions for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, pendants, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Postage 1½d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

Just Friendship.

A few weeks ago there appeared in a London paper this advertisement: "Single woman, 38, positively alone in life, seeks acquaintance of educated woman similarly circumstanced; broad-minded (no ties), for occasional meeting in all spare time, ultimately seeking and sharing small house. Advertiser chummy and affectionate." A member of the C.C.F., 2895, possessing the watchful eye of Fellowship, lighted on this, and straightway sent the advertiser particulars of our Fellowship, with the result that she is now 5397 and one of us, appealing to us for the friendship she needs. She has not a relation in the world she says, and is sad in consequence. We know that she will not appeal in vain.

What we have to Offer.

Why are we so sure of this? Because the C.C.F. stands for Friendship with individuals, open-hearted, adventurous Friendship. The gospel which the spirit of war and competition has been steadily fighting for generations began with Friendship. And if the world is to be saved from savagery this spirit of Friendship, which is much more than mere sentiment, must live and triumph. It is when we discover kindred spirits, and our personalities have begun to inter-penetrates, that we begin to live. So that, although members do not join the C.C.F. simply in order to find friends, one great mission of our Fellowship is to bring together those whose hearts are aching for friendship and those who can give it in abundance. "I received a letter from the member of whom you wrote," says 4017 (Bryn-mawr); "it interested me very much, and I should so like to help her. I shall be glad to do all I can. I feel so strongly that one of the great possibilities for good work of our Fellowship Chain is that of helping lonely, sorrowing souls like the one you have given me to help, and the longer I live the more I am convinced that there are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of men and women like this, and that our Fellowship is just the thing for them."

Loneliness.

When you have to pull up your roots and go to live and work in a strange town or city, you crave for the outward manifestations of the spirit of Friendship. (The spirit is there, generally, but people are so shy of giving it rein!) 5325 (Carlisle) writes: "I especially wish for a chum in Carlisle; I am not a native. Possibly some young lady com-

ing here for the first time would find it helpful to meet another Fellow also lonely. I am Scotch, and love outdoor life."

There is another such case in Ipswich: 4607 has left his home in Birmingham to work in this town, and would welcome friendship. Fellowship applied means hard work—with great reward; self-giving—and finding oneself meanwhile. It may mean spending some hours each week helping that lad who is trying to pass his exam. under difficulties, or inviting him to share your garden and your fire-side. It may mean writing a regular letter to that lonely soul in Canada or Australia who is far away from any sort of inspiration such as you enjoy, or to that other Fellow who is trying to understand your point of view on Socialism, or war, or education. It means a great deal more, but it certainly implies Friendship in simple matters.

Our Vocation.

There are a few choice souls who seem to have made Fellowship their vocation in life. Here is one (2447, Limerick) who writes:—"I am going to start an indexed Fellowship Manual, with names, addresses and notes about the various members as I come in touch with them. Isn't it a good idea—all my own too!" We would commend it to all, for friendship is only kept in repair by the care of "other people's small necessities." (And we would commend 2447 to you in these troubled days for Ireland). If you are not clever, and if you sometimes doubt the purpose of your existence, try Friendship as a vocation. "If we can't be suns," says 1863 (Pontardulais), "we can be humble planets. We have to uncover our candle-lights of love and understanding, and help in our dark corners of the world." The following are among those who need you.

Opportunities for Friendship.

5349 (Kilburn), an ex-soldier, would like to write on Christianity to anyone, whatever his creed or nationality.

5377 (Hampstead), artist and writer, whose greatest desire is to "live Truth, as I see it," will be very glad to link with any whom she can help. Through suffering and gradual enlightenment she has found her way to a place of spiritual rest.

5373 (London, S.W.), a nurse in an institution, once a Church Army sister, would be glad to link with young people.

3707 (London, S.W.) would like to hear from members in Canada; she is a lover of Ralph Connor's books, animals and temperance, and is keenly interested in friendship between England and America.

1439 (Fairhaven, Australia) desires links with those in England interested in Spiritualism.

4003 (London, N.W.) is breaking up her home and going abroad with her husband, whose health is giving way; she feels terribly over-burdened and cannot think of anything outside her own affairs. Please send her a Fellowship thought.

Will 5339 (Leeds) link with 5002 (Bombay), interested in English education, child welfare, English poetry and literature, sociology and civics.

Will 5271 (Frome) kindly write to 5343 (Baden, Switzerland), who has lived in China and is much interested in the East.

4569 (New Cross), working in London, would be very glad to link with a Fellow in Australia, especially a Nature lover; while waiting for this to come to the notice of Australian Fellows, will she write to 5139 (Blue Mountains, N.S.W.), and to 5333 (Horsham), specially interested in flowers.

SIDELIGHTS.

Pentecost and Politics.

Sunday's "Observer" contains a striking article by the editor entitled "Pentecost and Politics." The point of view is expressed in the following paragraph:—

"It would do even politicians no harm to remember that Whitsuntide was Pentecost, and that the gift of Tongues was meant as a corrective of Babel. Yet at this moment of the twentieth century the discord of minds and passions and action is such that Babel is wider and more confounded than ever before, while most who cry out about the evil consequences are blind to the cause. The idea of Christendom implied the theory of a coherent civilisation. There is as yet no political substitute for it, and we have to create one, unless mankind is to plunge back through renewed war into the whole logic of anarchy. The same kind of men who would not have a rational and reconstructive settlement with our late enemies after their total defeat, or with Russia after the revolution, are largely engaged in sowing division and hatred between the Allies themselves. Accordingly, high prices are to a very considerable extent the index of a bad spiritual condition. It is an absolute economic truth and no far-fetched fantasy that nations are paying through their pockets for the diseases of their souls, and especially for the ingoism and chauvinism, egotism and vanity, suspicion and rapacity which afflict them like psychic small-pox. The nations recently liberated are as bad as the old Powers ever were, or for the most part worse."

Nor does Mr. Garvin confine himself to generalisations. He comes down heavily on the Polish enterprise. This is what he says:—

"What, then, is the course to pursue? We still can and must support Poland proper on its genuine national basis. We must withdraw all countenance and support from schemes for a huge Polish empire resting on ascendancy over non-Polish races. The Government of Warsaw has disregarded Mr. Lloyd George's plain and serious warnings. Therefore we ought to negotiate direct with the Soviet Government just as we would with any other kind of Russian Government, and secure the settlement in that quarter which is the real key to the settlement of all the rest."

Time Proves.

The "Nation" prints the following interesting parallel—

THEN.

NOW.

"In the deepest sense there is no victory for any participant in this war."—"The Nation," December 15th, 1917.

"In a very real sense there have been no victors in this war."—"The Morning Post," May 17th, 1920.

I may add that this very sentence was quoted against "The Nation" as a justification of the Government's action in suppressing its sale abroad.

The Ubiquitous Northcliffe.

The "News Letter of the Friends of Irish Freedom" for May 8th, says:—

"Americans of Irish blood are confronted with no greater difficulty than that of combating the far reaching effects of the presentation of English and Irish news from the English point of view. It is important to watch the development of the Northcliffe news syndicate schemes as worked out in America. Syndicating by newspapers and news agencies of important news articles has become an established method. The "Public Ledger" of Philadelphia syndicates in many cities of this country special articles from the London "Times," a Northcliffe paper. Northcliffe sells to the "Public Ledger" and the "Public Ledger" sells to its strings of newspaper purchasers and

the people of America are fed with news mainly helpful to the plans of England. Ireland of course is the chief sufferer from this pro-English propaganda. Northcliffe is beyond question a brainy man. In addition to the million or more readers of an article as originally published in the London "Times," the article reaches many millions in America. America is the victim of the short sighted policy of some editors and publishers who fail to realise that they are being exploited by Northcliffe propaganda."

The Christian Frame of Mind.

Rev H. W. Maycock, Rector of Bexhill, has made himself notorious by remarking, apropos of the arrival in this country of five hundred children from the famine areas of Austria.

"I feel that the presence of children from a late enemy country would make it more difficult to bring people back to the charitable and Christian frame of mind which one desires should mark the arrival of peace." But there are lots of people who imagine that any action likely to provoke opposition is unchristian. "The Christian frame of mind" that is safeguarded against provocation on the principle of letting sleeping dogs lie is not worth having.

Bristol City Council's Woman Member.

Congratulations to Miss M. C. Tothill, a prominent member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, who has been returned unopposed to the Bristol City Council! She is the first woman member of that body, and was a nominee of the I.L.P.

OUR AT HOME.

The last "Crusader" AT HOME for the season will be held at the Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, on Wednesday, June 2nd, at 5-30 p.m. We are glad on these occasions to see any readers of the "Crusader" who are in London. Will those intending to come notify us at the Office in order that we may know for how many to provide.

A PROPHECY.

"And surely it is not a vain dream that man shall come to find his joys only in acts of enlightenment and of mercy and not in cruel pleasures, as he doth now, in gluttony, lust, pride, boasting and envious self-exaltation. I believe that through Christ we shall accomplish this great work and all men will say 'the stone which the builders rejected is become the chief stone of the corner.' And of the mockers themselves we may ask, 'If this faith of ours be a dream, then how long is it to wait ere ye shall have finished your edifice, and have ordered everything justly by the intellect alone without Christ? . . . In truth they have a greater faculty for dreaming than we have. They think to order all wisely; but having rejected Christ they will end by drenching the world with blood. For blood crieth against blood, and they that take the sword shall perish by the sword.'"

DOSTOEVSKY.

The Crusader

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Twopence.



The Outlook.

A PROPOS of the Hunter Committee's report, Mr. Montague has formulated the Government's policy in cases where military action required in support of the civil authority. That policy may be broadly stated as the use of the minimum of force necessary. General Dyer, in Mr. Montague's opinion, exceeded this minimum, and a good deal of angry talk has been engendered in Liberal organs because in their opinion, also, the supply of military force exceeded the demand. This is on a par with the howl of execration that went up from this country because Germany, in making war, ignored the "rules of the game," and adopted every means available for winning the war. If you are going to use force it is useless to talk about a minimum or to imagine that military measures can be confined within certain artificial limits. Quotations on another page show that our military and naval authorities are contemplating the scientific development, in preparation for the next war, of the very means for using which Germany was anathematised. Between the employment of military force in any measure and the brutalities of Amritsar there is no halting place.

WILL Krassin's visit to London result in the opening of trade relations with Russia? Napoleon called us a nation of shop-keepers. The pity of it is that we are such short-sighted shop-keepers and seem to realise so little the need of keeping open every channel of commercial exchange. It is curious and significant to find the much maligned trader figuring as the herald of peace. Commerce has much to answer for in provoking wars in the past. It would be a fitting atonement if it now became the motive-power of friendly relations with the Russian Republic.

THERE seems some doubt as to whether the proposal to tax war-profits will pass in the form suggested by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The proposal was the redeeming feature of an unadventurous Budget, and won for Mr. Chamberlain loud praise in quarters not given to eulogise the Government. And now even that feature of the Coalition's financial programme is threatened. If the threat is heeded, it not only means that the profiteers will escape taxation; it means that the burden will be placed on other shoulders, for the money must be found somewhere. And further taxation means increased opposition to the present Government. Think of the frenzied appeals of the Capitalists to Labour for increased production, and then contrast it, from the standpoint of patriotism, with this refusal to contribute, out of the enormous profits due to war conditions, to the Imperial Exchequer!

IN a message of good-will to the 8th congress of the International Woman-Suffrage Alliance meeting at Geneva the Executive Committee of the British Labour Party expresses the hope that the time will not be long before adult suffrage is an accomplished fact in all countries. The message points out that British Labour has always believed that it is to the interests of the community that women should enjoy equal political and civil rights with men, and it has constantly endeavoured to secure full suffrage for all men and women of twenty-one years of age; proof of this is to be found in the Labour Party Bill now under discussion in Parliament, which confers the suffrage on women on the same terms as men.



Preparing the Way.

Before the sun appears above the horizon the way has been already prepared for him. The flags of Dawn have been hung in the sky. A pathway of gold has been laid for

his approaching feet. The birds have been awakened and have started their choral song of welcome. Before ever the Monarch shows himself the world has been roused to a mood of anticipation.

But these preparations are the effects of his own approach. It is he who sends forth the light which wakens the birds. It is he who lays the pathway of sunshine his feet shall tread. He needs no one to break down the barriers of darkness before he can enter into his kingdom; he is his own pioneer. The partial revelation of his glory is due to the fact that the full revelation is on its way.

People talk as though it was the Spring that led up to and made possible the Summer. The exact opposite is the truth. It is the Summer that creates the Spring and sends forth its harbingers to deck the wayside with appropriate tributes of welcome. The fiery heart of August lights the pale glory of the primrose. It is the effort of Summer to come into the world that causes the mild effulgence of the Spring.

The same is true of the Revolution. The World-that-is-to-be is manifesting itself to-day in all sorts of "preparatory" movements. For it is the later stages of history which account for the earlier. The Springtime of the present is due to the struggling of some glorious Summer whose sun is yet beneath the horizon. But for the existence of the Great Event of the Future the little events of to-day would not be. Jesus was before John the Baptist, and if Jesus, who, in the pages of history, comes after John, had not been, John would not have been either. Coming events send out their heralding light before them.

But our reformists do not, as a rule, define their relation to the revolution after this fashion. They have no knowledge of the Thing for which they are preparing the way, and they do not consciously direct their activities so as to make ready for it. Those who won political freedom had, for the most part, no conception of the fact that they were making an approach to industrial democracy. Still less were they aware that it was the coming proletarian revolution in its nascent stages which gave their movement vitality.

Yet it is common knowledge that, as a matter of fact, the vitality of reformist bodies is imparted to

them by those who represent the revolution wing. Abstract from the Labour Party and Co-operative Movement the impetus given Socialists and they would collapse. Such life-value as these advocates of half-measures have due to the fact that they are directed by those who know what the Future holds for mankind, and penetrating the darkness of the Present with light of that Future.

It is only the revolutionist who has the right to adapt himself to and utilise the institutions of the present.

The reformer has no such right. No one can successfully manipulate the world of to-day unless he is superior to it. The Future is the only ground from which you can lever up the world of the Present. Most of our reformers are only reactionists in the making. But the true reformer is one who has accepted and identified himself with the revolution, and then learned to adapt himself to an imperfect world. Though, for himself, he would scrap the parliamentary machine he is willing to use it, and his knowledge of what lies ahead enables him to direct the course of politics wisely. He derives all his skill and power in political matters from something bigger and deeper than the political State.

So, too, with regard to the anti-militarist movement. The real force here comes from people who are much more than anti-militarist. It comes from people who are anti-capitalist. It is the forerunner of the economic and industrial revolution who alone can put up a successful fight with militarism. Peace societies derive their strength from those who have gone far beyond the demand for abolition of war.

The revolutionist can become a reformer without fear of compromise. Let me illustrate this with reference to religious institutions. The man with an enlightened mind can worship in the Temple of Rimmon because he knows that it is doomed. He does not attend the feasts in Jerusalem because he is aware that they are but the shadow of a Greater Feat whereof he himself shall be the bread and wine. It is only the man who is not quite sure of himself who is afraid of identifying himself with the Church of to-day. Intolerance and separation are signs of this lack of self-confidence. Some of us have gone through three distinct phases in our attitude towards the Church. There was a time when, as reformers, we struggled within the ecclesiastical frontiers to improve the Church. That was like trying to hoist oneself up by one's belt. We gave that up. We became Christian revolutionaries. Now we have no fear of the cramping reactionary effects of the Church. We do not utilise her dogmas, her sacraments, her various ministries as aids in bringing about the downfall of all that is unchristian in her life. We can afford to pay the Temple tax because we are sons and servants. We can listen without impatience to the ministers because we are disciples of the Divine Preacher; we can worship before her altars because we worship One who is greater than the Temple.

The Growth of the Guild Idea.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

It is becoming increasingly difficult for the critics of the Labour movement to use their old argument: "Labour does not know what it wants; when it makes up its mind we'll see what we can do to meet it." I am referring now to the more or less sympathetic critic, and not to the critic who is determined not to see what Labour wants and to do his best to prevent Labour itself from seeing what it wants. I have frequently seen this argument used in such papers as "The Nation" and the "Manchester Guardian" during the past twelve months, and in so far as it related to Labour's attitude towards events which were deliberately complicated by statesmen and pressmen the argument held good. The Labour movement has not even yet made up its mind about its attitude towards Ireland and Russia, nor does it yet see clearly on the matter of the prevention of future wars.

But there is one fundamental matter upon which the "workers by hand or brain" are more agreed to-day than they have ever been, and that is on the vital question of real control of industry. The majority of Trade Unionists have this idea of control of industry firmly fixed in their minds and it is no exaggeration to say that it is the most living force in the Labour movement to-day. And nothing short of the real thing will satisfy the workers; they do not want co-partnership, nor can they be bribed with any scheme of profit-sharing which leaves the industry still under the control of the "boss," however benevolent he may be.

The outward and visible sign of this intense desire for economic freedom is the extraordinary growth of the Guild idea. At the moment this growth is most noticeable among the building operatives, but that is simply owing to the fact that public attention is concentrated on the housing scandal and the operatives are being forced to meet unfair charges of slackness by putting forward bold schemes of their own calculated to solve the problem of economical and rapid construction of real "homes for heroes." Hence the Building Guilds which are springing up all over the country. The Manchester and District Guild leads the way, and now "The Guild of Builders (London), Limited" is going through the first stages of formation. Undoubtedly other Guilds will be formed in the large industrial centres, and a National Building Guild seems likely in the near future.

The difference between the Guild idea and the various schemes of co-partnership and profit-sharing is that where the latter seek to save the Capitalist system at all costs, the former is out to abolish the whole system of profit-making and place service to the community in its stead. And if the other great Trade Unions follow the lead of the builders the bloodless revolution will be on before we have finished discussing the pros and cons of "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and the other questions that addle our brains!

Everything depends on the kind of leadership the new movement evolves. Badly led, it will be out-maneuvred by the capitalists and be crushed out of existence for another generation; with bold, clear-headed leadership it will carry all before it. The way of the Manchester Building Guild has been made difficult by all kinds of petty hindrances, and the scheme is by no means so far advanced as it might have been. It remains to be seen how the London Guild will learn by the experience of Manchester.

The most hopeful thing about the Guild movement among the builders is that it is launching out on thoroughly practical lines and with its goal of control of industry well in view. In an excellent little pamphlet on Guild Socialism recently issued by the Fabian Society (Fabian Tract No. 192: 2d.), Mr. G. D. H. Cole thus outlines the difference between an ordinary Trade Union and a Guild:—

"Now one of the ways in which a Guild, as we conceive it, would differ from a Trade Union, is in that it would include the whole of the workers, by hand or brain, experts, brain workers, and manual workers of every kind—all the workers who are essential to the carrying on of that industry with efficiency as a public service. . . . we are always trying to create the organisation that would be capable, not merely of overthrowing capitalism—which is a comparatively easy job—but by replacing capitalism—which is a very much harder job."

This, so far as I can ascertain, is exactly the plan of the London Building Guild. It has invited building workers of every trade, including experts, technicians, etc., to enter the Guild with the object of transforming the building industry into an organised public service for providing the people with houses without the interference of the profiteer or the capitalist. In return for good, honest service in the Guild the workmen are to secure economic freedom.

"The labour of Guildmen (says the prospectus) will no longer be regarded as a commodity like bricks or timber, to be purchased or not, as required. As soon as it can be managed, the Guildman will be on the strength for life. He will draw Guild pay in sickness or accident, in bad weather or in good, at work or in reserve. The minimum Guild pay will always be the full standard rate as fixed for the industry as a whole, but there is no doubt that the Guild will be able to increase the purchasing power of its members' pay by the scientific organisation of production."

In this clause the Guild, if successful, will secure what the Labour movement has repeatedly asked Liberal and Tory statesmen for in vain—the right to work or maintenance.

All surplus earnings are to be used for improving the service and "for the elimination of hired capital." The Ministry of Health has already objected to the "no profit" clause in the Manchester Guild scheme. This is a straw which indicates the nature of the opposition, and the next few months will reveal its strength.

The Crusader

Friday, June 4th, 1920.

Editorial Communications
To the Editor,
Business Communications
To the Secretary,
23, BRIDE LANE, FLEET ST.,
LONDON, E.C.4.
Rate of Subscription:
10/10 per year,
2/10 per quarter.

To Contributors.

The "Crusader" is out to reap the best thought and literary ability of those who share its point of view or are at least in general sympathy with its aims. At a time like this, no one who has any message to deliver can be relieved of the responsibility of sharing his treasures of truth with as large a number as possible. To all such the "Crusader" gladly opens its columns.

It is not enough, of course, to feel strongly or to think deeply on the questions discussed in our columns. There must be the ability to state them concisely, to get to the point quickly, and, having got there, to stop. We are appealing to those who have got something to say, to say it. That's all.

A Literary Model.

A Great Literary Critic advised His hearers to have salt in their speech. Salt is an antiseptic against sentimentality and dullness. It gives tang and bite to our words. The pithy sayings of the Critic Himself are an excellent example of salted speech. It is articles fashioned on that model we need. We want every page of the "Crusader" to be alive.

We Want News.

We appeal to Secretaries of organisations to keep us informed of the doings of their Societies, so that we may be in touch with every aspect of the forward movement. Shyness, in propaganda bodies, is a sin. Let us know what you are doing. We should have more articles like the one contributed to this issue by Mrs. Despard, and more reports like that supplied by the Church Socialist League.

Note.

We should like a larger number of our readers to feel responsible not only for taking the paper but also for making it. Not all can help in this way, and some who respond to this appeal may find their contributions returned to them. In this latter case we trust to their good temper, and trust they will not be discouraged from trying again.

Circulation.

The only finally satisfactory way to secure a large circulation for our paper is to make it worth a large circulation. That is a co-operative business. It is one in which many of our readers can help, if only by calling our attention to matters reported elsewhere or to articles appearing in contemporaries deserving consideration. Let us unite to produce a paper worthy of the great Cause we represent! The increased circulation will follow as a matter of course.

Are You One of the 3000?

I have been looking through quite a big batch of letters received during the last few months from appreciative Crusaders. While reading them, my sub-conscious mind was pondering a statement which the Editor made in last week's "Crusader." "If you feel the urgency of the need of such a paper you will not be content to take it and read it. You will pass on its message, like a flaming torch, from one to another, until there gathers about us a growing body of people who believe with us that the only hope for the world is in a revival, in every sphere of life, of real Christianity."

We have ample evidence that Crusaders do feel the urgency of such a need. But how can we get into touch with the thousands of people who are just waiting to be dug out. In the churches there are many loyal souls who are feeling isolated. Outside the church there are many people—possibly not quite so loyal or courageous—who would be delighted to discover the "Crusader." How can we link up with these people? This is not a matter which can be decided at headquarters. It rests with Crusaders to carry the flaming torch.

Whilst greatly appreciating the efforts of those who are endeavouring to extend our scope, we cannot be blind to the fact that there must be at least 3,000 of our subscribers who have never secured one new Crusader. Our circulation is increasing steadily, but if these 3,000 would do their bit it would make a vast difference. Are YOU, by any chance, one of the 3,000? When you have read this week's copy, hang on to the thought that you have a task to perform—find one new subscriber. For the benefit of those who gain "hours of insight" from their perusal of the "Crusader," I quote the following from Matthew Arnold—especially the last two lines:—

"We cannot kindle when we will
The fire that in the heart resides;
The spirit bloweth and is still,
In mystery our soul abides.
But tasks in hours of insight will'd
Can be through hours of gloom fulfill'd.

* * * * *

Not till the hours of light return,
All we have built do we discern."

THE PLOUGHMAN

THOUSAND SIXPENCES FUND.

I am willing to pay a voluntary levy of sixpence per week for *six, *twelve months and will remit the amount *quarterly, *half-yearly, *yearly.

Signed

Address

.....

I will also volunteer to collect sixpence weekly from
..... other friends who desire to
swell the THOUSAND SIXPENCES FUND.

* Please cross out words which do not meet your case.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

The first thing that meets my eye is a long and outspoken leading article in the "Methodist Recorder" protesting against the recent war-like declarations of Marshal Foch in France and Field-Marshal Wilson in Great Britain. Such an article is very heartening. I quote: "Has the world not had enough? Are these gentlemen right? Do they speak the thing as it is, and as it must be? Can the Christian Churches consent and submit once more?" Then the writer goes on to state his conviction that the people as a whole have made up their minds against a recurrence of war, and he ends by calling upon the Churches to make a firm stand on the question. The following is his concluding paragraph:—

"We have spoken plainly. We have nothing but honour for the gallant soldiers from whose warning words we took up our own moral. The words matter something; what matters more is the temper that is behind them; and what matters more than either words or temper of soldiers and men who have made war from their youth up—is a certain indifference, a poverty of ideals, a most lamentable neglect of all that really matters for the future well-being, whether of Great Britain or Europe. Let there be no mistake on this one issue—if there must be new wars, then the people will not go. We talk about the vicious circle in wages—prices pushed up, by yet further increases in wages—but there is a still more vicious circle. All Europe seems to be in it. That is why America stands off. The Churches cannot stand off. They will not, for honour of their Lord or for love of His lost world. The vicious circle must be broken. This land or ours has a call, and it must accept that call. If that is contemptible nonsense Britain has never lived, and Christ has never died."

* * *

An Editorial Note in the "Methodist Times" is, I am glad to see, in the same vein of candour and resolution. After quoting passages from Sir Henry Wilson's recent speech, the paragraph continues:

"The usual attempts have been made to explain away the obvious meaning of the speech. We hope there will be no misunderstanding about it. Plainly, it is an assertion of the militarist policy which has produced the hell which to-day we call Europe. And it is a challenge which must be met if life is to be made at all worth living. Evidences abound of a stimulus to the war spirit which did not exist seven years ago. To some of them the Christian community appears to be blind. If its eyes are open, how can it suffer, without protest, the sight of schoolboys in khaki? This journal was never accused, during the late war, of anything in the nature of pacifism. Any criticism was of an entirely opposite character. But we say now, without reservation, that we shall support any Government or party, or economic system, or country, which stands for the doctrine, **'There must be no more war!'** We do not see how the Christian Church can take up any attitude other than this."

* * *

If every Christian journal were now to take up his attitude, and week after week hammer away at the militarists who are preparing fresh wars, it would be a heavy weight cast into the scales which are now trembling towards the wrong side. It is late in the day to wake up, but it is better to wake up than never. However, let those who now speak thus for Peace be well assured that they base their

action on principles which cannot change with changing circumstances, or once more they will find themselves carried away in the flood. For example, like the "Challenge," which is already openly supporting war again!

* * *

Read what it says:—

"The Near East is in too dangerous a condition to let one comment freely. . . . The Bolsheviks have invaded Persia, and the troop movements in Western Asia show that a junction of all the anti-Allied forces is in process of operation. The blow to British prestige is very great. We practically made Persia a Protectorate—an arrangement very rightly severely criticised here—and now we are apparently quite unable to protect. There seems no reason why Persia should not go Red completely, and that means at the least another and more difficult Mesopotamian campaign. Armenia, our favourite child, is gone before being properly created, and the settlement of Western Asia is definitely removed from our hands until military victory has again made it possible. We see no other way but two—either war, or a surrender of all Central Asia to an anarchy whose waves must ever attempt to break down the holding walls of our scattered garrisons."

* * *

Let all Christian readers, who love peace, weigh well the significance of those terrible, menacing words written editorially in one of the very best of our religious papers, a paper which in another paragraph in the same "Notes of the Week" says: "It would be well this Whitsun that we should make an effort to be led into the loving and hopeful outlook which alone makes virtue visible." And let the reader ponder also the reasons why we are in Mesopotamia at all. Let him smell the oil exuding through all the brave words about "British prestige" and the "settlement of Western Asia." And then let him read the following summing up of the matter: "Every gun and every rifle sent now to Poland saves a gun and a rifle sent latterly to Asia, and when we send to Asia we shall have to send British troops to work the gun and fire the rifle. Let the dockers and the railwaymen reflect on that before they decide that Lenin is to be more sacrosanct than the Pope." In other words, the dockers and railwaymen are to send other people to do and suffer the filthy thing, lest they themselves shall be "sent"! A very Christian notion, indeed!

"The Sun of Truth illumines the way to The Most Great Peace."

BAHAI MEETINGS.

DR. ESSLEMONT, SATURDAY, JUNE 5th, 7 p.m.
Battersea Library, Lavender Hill, S.W.
(Near Clapham Junction.)

Meetings every Wednesday until July, 8 p.m., Lindsay Hall (small hall, side entrance), The Mall, Notting Hill Gate, W.

DOMINATION OR BROTHERHOOD.—A series of Lunch Hour Addresses on this subject, will be given by Rev. Walter Walsh, D.D., at Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, E.C., from 1.20 to 1.50 p.m. on Mondays, May 31, to July 5 inclusive.

Hard Words.

There is an idea in the minds of some people that the use of strong terms of denunciation is inconsistent with the spirit of love. Every now and again someone writes to the Editor of the "Crusader" to complain of our uncharitable references to this or that person or institution. It is not unnatural that such people should find difficulties in the twenty-third chapter of Matthew but it is not always that they are frank enough to face the issue. Rev. Abert E. Baker, M.A., has, however, discussed the problem very fully in a little book entitled "Christ and the Pharisees," (C. W. Daniel, Ltd.). "If it is true," asks Mr. Baker, "that Jesus had entire faith in the omnipotence of love, and in its methods, how are we to understand or explain the denunciation of the Pharisees in this chapter?" "Can we imagine" he asks elsewhere, "St. Francis of Assisi calling his enemies 'Whited sepulchres, sons of hell, or offspring of vipers'?"

He finds a solution of the difficulty by examining the passages in question from a critical point of view. As a result of this examination he comes to the conclusion that the condemnatory tone is to be traced to the authors of the gospels and their translators rather than to the original utterance.

A different but legitimate translation, says Mr. Baker, would often give another impression than that conveyed by the English text as it stands. For instance, the phrase "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees!" sounds more appealing when translated "Alas for you, Scribes and Pharisees!"

But even when these changes are made there remain sentences that scorch and sting, and which no manipulation can rob of their denunciatory power. If any difficulty remain concerning such passages, it would be well to consider the psychology of the Pharisee. He was at one and the same time disdainful of the common people and covetous of their applause. Self-satisfaction had hardened his whole nature and produced a shell of impervious conceit. Before ever his heart could be reached that shell must be broken. He must be humbled by public exposure. The spirit of caste must be shocked into some kind of self-examination. Tender words of forgiveness are lost on those who have no consciousness of the need of forgiveness. The self-esteem of the righteous—whether they be orthodox members of the Church, pacifist or socialist—makes them inaccessible to the gospel in its positive aspects. That is reserved, as Jesus explicitly said, for the "lost sheep" whose sense of need makes them receptive. All that can be done for the Pharisees is to break down the caste-barrier which separates them from ordinary imperfect folk. Only then, when they have found their identity with the crowd, are they in a position to accept what is offered on equal terms to all men.

It is a mistake to imagine that Love uses the same methods with all. Psychological discrimination will select the weapon suitable for each case.

To have addressed the Prodigal Son in the same language that was adopted towards these pedants would have been the grossest cruelty and a supreme mistake in tactics.

Smug Respectability thanking Heaven that it is not as "this Bolshevik," legal-minded disputants arguing on points of ecclesiastical procedure or moral casuistry while the world is in flames, "leaders of religion" sunning themselves in the rays of public favour and refusing to risk their reputations by giving an adventurous lead, if they are to be saved, must be fearlessly assailed with the truth concerning themselves.

Charity is not to be confused with the absence of that temper which grows fierce at the sight of insolent might. Love may sometimes achieve its aim best by throwing the light of its white-hot anger on some pretentious lie or stately crime.

Righteous indignation has its dangers, not the least of which is that it may be indulged in as an emotional luxury. It may, itself, become a pharisaic attack on pharisaism, a canting tirade against cant. But for the righteous indignation that is expressed in the twenty-third chapter of Matthew there is room. The world is a more wholesome place, and the air ever since has been purer, because that tornado of divine passion broke over us. Our humiliation has been our salvation—as it was intended to be.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

OUR LATE ENEMIES.—May we hear from anyone who could offer employment to a German of 59 years of age, whom the authorities will not allow to return to his wife and family unless he can show that he is going to some definite work. His wife has not been able to see him for five years and, if one of our friends could find an opening for him in this country, it would mean an end to this misery of separation. Prior to the war the man had a provision shop in Walthamstow, for ten years, and he is fit enough to do quite strenuous work, working, at present, as a farm labourer in Germany.

OPEN-AIR MISSION.—The following meetings are arranged:—Friday, June 4th, at 5.45, Marble Arch, C. Paul Gliddon, Winfred Wood. At 7.45, Walthamstow, Hoe Street, Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. At 8, Kilburn, The Grangeway, C. Paul Gliddon, Ivy Sheldon, Basil Tritton. Sunday, June 6th, at 11.30, Leytonstone, outside the Green Man, C. Paul Gliddon. At 3.30, Hampstead Heath, Rev. Claude Coltman, and Rev. Iona Williams. Monday, June 7th, at 7 p.m., Forest Gate, outside G.E.R. Station, Alfred Cordell, W. H. Hancock. At 8, Leytonstone, outside G.E.R. Station, C. Paul Gliddon, E. Oakes. Tuesday, June 8th, at 5.45, Marble Arch, Horace Fuller, C. Paul Gliddon, Basil Tritton. Wednesday, June 9th, at 7.45, Catford, outside Station, Horace Fuller, J. Newton Harris. Thursday, June 10th, at 5.45, Marble Arch, Alfred Cordell, Rev. F. Fincham, C. Paul Gliddon. At 7.45, Kentish Town, corner of Leighton Road and Kentish Town Road, J. B. Lief, Basil Tritton. Friday, June 11th, at 5.45, Marble Arch, H. E. Brown, W. H. Hancock, E. Oakes. At 7.45, Walthamstow, Hoe Street, Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. At 8, Kilburn, The Grangeway, C. Paul Gliddon, J. Newton Harris, Ivy Sheldon.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

An Ancient Sect: an Experiment in Communism.

"These men are despisers of riches, and so very communicative as raises our admiration. Nor there anyone to be found among them who hath more than another; for it is a law among them, that whosoever come to them must let what they have be in common to the whole order;—inasmuch, that among them all there is no appearance of poverty or excess of riches, but everyone's possessions are commingled with every other's possessions; and there is as it were, one patrimony among all the brethren. . . . Nor do they either buy or sell anything to one another; but every one of them receives what he hath of him that wanteth it, and gives from him again in lieu of it what may be convenient for himself; and although there be no money made, they are fully allowed to take what they want of whomsoever they please."

In these words Josephus describes the Essenes—a sect contemporary with Jesus. There is no connection between these communists and the Christian movement. And although the description quoted makes it clear that there were strong resemblances between the followers of Jesus and those of whose customs Josephus gives this account, it is evident when you read further in his narrative that there were still stronger differences.

The rules governing the Essenes were largely of negative character. The body was despised among them. Marriage was deprecated. Their diet and manner of clothing themselves were simple in the extreme. Luxuries in any form appear to have been ruled out of the community.

Turning from the pages which describe these institutions of the first century to the Gospels, in what different atmosphere do we find ourselves! In the latter is warm human life in all its myriadness. The Essenes were governed by the ideal of asceticism, the Christians by that of love. The one refused contact with the physical. The other boldly claimed the Incarnation. The former withdrew from the world. The latter carried their Gospel into the world.

The Essenes have died out. They are forgotten people, and they left no spiritual progeny. The unpopulated desert sands of nineteen centuries have no remains. The Christian Church, defiled though it has been, in the course of its long history, every sin known to man, has planted itself in every clime, and still puts forth sprouts of fresh life. Though its early adherence to communistic ideals was soon abandoned, it carries those ideals alive in its doctrines and sacraments. As in the flowerless plant in winter the glory of summer lies in its roots.

It is better to be a bare but living plant than to possess the fading beauty of the cut flower. The Essenes were able to manifest for a brief day a glimpse of communism, but they were without root. The Christian Church has the root but its flowers are few and bedraggled.

Out of that root will come a communism that will not fade but will change the character of the world's civilization. In the fact of the Incarnation, in the rite of Communion slumber forces that will shatter our competitive society.

The Communism that will emerge from this Source will be based on Love. It will be positive and varied. Instead of shrinking from the world it will challenge the world. Instead of fearing the body it will accept the body and all its needs. It will, in all things, seek more abundant life.

Though that early society of Essenes has faded out, we are not without its modern representatives—separatist, puritanical, legalist. The fate of those whom old Josephus describes for us may be a warning. We need not experiment in that direction again.

The future of Communism lies with the Society founded by Jesus Christ.

The Coming of the Children.

"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of one of these little ones, ye have done it unto Me."

The first 500 have arrived. Foster parents are busy putting little beds ready and preparing a loving welcome for these little ones. The eagerly anticipated journey is at last over, and one little girl remarked as she threw herself on the grass, "At last, I am in England—I have longed to be here because I have been told that English people are so kind." May none of them be disappointed. In the camp they are as happy as sandboys, lodged in huts, each one containing a hut mother: here they will remain for two weeks before going to the homes that have been found for them. Many "Crusader" readers are members or friends of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and will be interested to know that over 60 homes in private families for one year have been provided, and others of varying periods. Owing to the language and isolation difficulty, the Central Famine Areas' Committee is advising its helpers to set up hostels wherever possible. It is the desire of the Fellowship to provide for another 50 or more of these children in this way. To do so we need:— (1) A large house at a low rental or free of rent, (2) Gifts or loans of furniture, (3) Dry stores, (4) Clothes, toys, books (German if possible), (5) Promises of support. £30 will feed a child for one year. Cheques and postal orders to be made payable to Jessie Harris, Hon. Treasurer, Children's Hospitality Committee, 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. We should like to take this opportunity of expressing our warm thanks to Mr. Marmoy and friends for their kind support of one of these children.

L.S.

The C

PRACTICAL COMMU

"It seems to me that the British peoples have a very special duty laid upon them. Now that we are all recovering very rapidly from the strain of the last five years, and we are enjoying the well-being and happiness which is still denied to nearly all the nations of the old world, it is hard to remember, but it is a fact, that millions of people in Europe are still in the grip of famine, misery, and despair."—"Daily News," 7th May, 1920.

The insularity of the ordinary Britisher was never so apparent as to-day. The London Season is commencing and, in the Metropolis of the Empire, the signs of lavish spending are apparent on every hand, yet in countries but a few days' railway journey from us whole populations are passing through all the horrors of famine and plague. Our Press as a whole takes no care to inform us truthfully of this state of affairs, and at least a section of our Government is carefully plotting to accentuate the contrast. But neither Press nor Government are wholly responsible. If the people were determined, in the interests of their fellows of all lands, to know the truth, politicians and newspapers would be obliged to give way.

The League of Peoples.

But where these public bodies look on listlessly or superciliously it is still possible for individuals and associations of various kinds to act. Already many have done so. School children have taxed themselves in order to send food to children in Austria and elsewhere. Trade Unions in France, Holland, Denmark and Italy are affording aid, and many thousands of pounds have been contributed from private sources in this country.

While Governments talk about a League of Nations, and political orators descant on the miracles such a League will perform—when it gets going—the practical-minded have translated their sympathy into action and taken the initiative in giving expression to their sense of human brotherhood. Here is the actual League of Peoples. We have been talking long enough. Here is something that we can do. Every hand stretched out in assistance binds the world closer together and brings nearer the day when all human society shall be economically organised on a basis of "all for each and each for all."

We shall be told, of course, that such philanthropic efforts do not go deep enough and that until the people of all countries are put into possession of the means of production, and the exploiting, war-making class is extinguished, such kindly actions are but superficial palliatives. It is true

that the real International cannot be built except upon a reconstructed social and industrial basis. But it is also true that for the building of such an International there must be generated a spirit of sacrificial service as between one nation and another and everything that helps to create such a spirit is contributing essential aid towards the ultimate object.

The Russian Revolution owes much to the communistic institutions that grew up under the shadow of Czardom. Said Tolstoy, speaking of the change which he foresaw:

"The Russian people, when abolishing government need not invent any new forms of combined life which to replace the former. Such forms of combined life exist amongst the Russian people, have always been natural to them, and have satisfied their social demands. These forms are a communal organisation with the equality of all the members of the Mir, a co-operative system, industrial undertakings, and a common possession of land."

The same may be said of the International of the future. It will be built up on such efforts as we have made, under the shadow of the squabbling financiers and politicians of the world, to manifest the communal spirit. The League of Nations is dead. Let it be said that the League of Peoples is growing upon its ruins!

The Christian International.

There is one section of the community to whom action of this kind should specially appeal. There is much talk to-day of Christian Re-union. The discussion (and the movement has not got beyond the stage of discussion) is concerned mostly with questions of a theological and ecclesiastical character. These have their place and importance, but structureless and sentimental philanthropy will not bring and hold together the scattered fragments of Christendom. But while churches are debating their rival claims, some of the people of the churches are dying of starvation and others are experiencing comparative prosperity. That is a form of schism which cannot be tolerated. If Christendom would achieve a real unity, the present occasion must be used for expressing its spiritual oneness in terms of economic solidarity. Even if the citizens of the more fortunate countries should ignore the needs of their fellows in other lands, at least let those who profess membership of the International Church of Jesus Christ show that they do indeed belong to one body. Let them partake of the same table in a unity that is economic as well as ceremonial.

When famine overtook the Christians in Palestine, Paul, with the mind of a Christian statesman at the heart of a Christian philanthropist, collected from the little communities of slaves and artisans in Asia Minor and Greece for the Jewish brethren of the Faith. It was a signal gesture of unity.

Table.

SIVE AND INTENSIVE.

Christ between Jew and Gentile, and was probably far more effective in cementing the churches of East and West than all his polemical writings.

A similar occasion awaits us to-day. Have we amongst us men with the vision and practical wisdom of Paul, who realise that spiritual kinship is more than national distinctions, and who have the large-heartedness to forgive what they may regard as the complicity of German, Austrian, and Russian Christians in the crimes of their respective governments?

The Common Table.

These are enterprises of an extensive character. But there is an intensive as well as an extensive Communism. There can never be the same depth and warmth of feeling between peoples who have never seen each other as between those in close contact. It is in small circles of people, realising their oneness with each other in all things, that will be created the most powerful agency for achieving the world-wide brotherhood of peoples. Methods will differ, but the time has come when, in some way or other, we must make practical protest against a society based on distinctions of "mine" and "thine," and on the principle that it is every man's right to increase the "mine" at the expense of the "thine." Some such effort has been made already. In "the Brethren of the Common Table" we have one of the simplest forms of this communal spirit. A Statement of this Order setting forth the aims and methods of the "Brethren" seems worth quoting in full. It runs thus:—

THE BRETHERN OF THE COMMON TABLE

are men and women who want to share their food and other things with people in need, and if they are themselves in need, they are willing to accept help of the same kind from those who give it gladly.

They know that such help is given and received every day among the poor, the despised, and the outcast. They know also that Jesus Christ lived among men as a working man and a tramp, that He shared all He had with others, and went about doing good to people's bodies as well as to their souls.

He fed multitudes; He helped to provide for the guests at a wedding breakfast; He broke the bread for His companions at their common meals. He looked upon all men and women as children of His own Father, and wished them to ask the Father each day for the daily bread that they were to share together.

Thus He showed His love and His Father's love for men and women. No wonder that the common people heard Him gladly. No wonder that the rich and proud were so afraid of Him that they felt they must kill Him.

They succeeded, and yet they failed; for His death was the crowning manifestation of love.

The Brethren of the Common Table believe that, in order to do their part in making the world a better place to live in, they must try, with God's help, to share their goods and give themselves as freely as Christ gave and shared.

They will meet in Chapter from time to time, and tell each other what they have and what they need. Some of them will be doing work of ordinary kinds, and some will be going about speaking of the common table and the life of fellowship to anyone who will listen.

They will not say who shall, or who shall not be allowed to join them. They hope to be always ready to share whatever they have—be it much or little—with anyone who feels a need. They leave everyone free to find out for himself what fellowship and what things he wants, and when a want is made known, they must do their best to satisfy it.

Here is at least an attempt to follow in the steps of that early Christian community which had "all things in common," and to anticipate and prepare for that socialisation of wealth which is the logical sequence of the communal production which Capitalism has brought about.

The whole situation, international, and ecclesiastical, challenges, in the strongest possible way, not only the basic character of our civilisation, but, also the way in which each one of us is living, and compels us to ask whether, when we make the excuse that it is impossible, under the present system, to do anything towards the constructive work of establishing on Earth the Kingdom of God, we are merely shielding ourselves.

PETER THE HERMIT.

TRADITION AND RELIGION.

The extent to which tradition, blindly followed as such, had replaced the active principles of Christianity in the Church of to-day was emphasised by Bishop Gore in the course of a lecture delivered to the British Unitarian Association at Essex Hall yesterday.

Bishop Gore said there was a widespread revolt against the present Christian Church, and Labour's claim against the Church was overwhelming and unanswerable. "We need," went on the Bishop, "to reconstitute our principles. I am not talking economically or politically, but we want a fundamental reconsideration of the principles of Christianity. We have made the work of God non-effective by our tradition. We have acquiesced in the widespread ignoring of the real meaning of justice, while the theory of the rights of property enabled us to ignore the welfare of the community and to care for property more than persons. Tradition is as hard to break down among us clergy as among the laity."

There was, he continued, a great body of Christians of all sorts of denominations who were prepared for a great change, and who had already inaugurated this, and they must try together to reconstitute the moral witness of the Church.—"Herald."

Nektarosia.

By REGINALD SORENSEN.

The Devil, having spent a hard day at the Stock Exchange, was sauntering in his shirt-sleeves round the suburbs. It was a pleasant evening, albeit he felt a trifle bored, for what with the Polish War and the Irish business and one thing and another, he had been extremely busy for some while and had begun to feel rather overstrained in consequence.

Curling his tail more firmly round his wrist, he stood undecidedly outside All Saints' Church, almost forgetting to nod pleasantly at the entering vicar or at many an old acquaintance passing by.

A bellow and a moan broke his musing.

He sought the cause and found at opposite street corners two small groups of people. The one group was of seven young ladies, one very old lady sitting on a camp stool, an elderly man in a greenish frock coat and a frayed straw hat, and a younger fellow who was producing further moans from behind a portable organ labelled "Open-air Mission. Seek ye the Lord." The other group was of similar size but with a larger proportion of men. One smoked a cigarette, and as he strolled round the group mumbled something about " . . . 'ope of the world . . . ekernomic system . . . show-up," over a journal he held up for sale. A small stand bore a speaker who created the bellow. He was bare-headed and his hair fell lankily over his forehead, whilst the flexible chasm of his mouth emitted vituperative declarations.

The Devil sneered at both of them and then cocked his ears. Within his brain thoughts curdled devilishly and his tail wriggled excitedly, as it always did when a new stunt was brooding.

* * *

Ernest Barker was a steady draper's assistant of evangelical hobbies. No one had ever known him swindle a customer of a packet of pins, or ask for a rise. Possibly he had done both in secret, but as Messrs. Spradley and Higgs thought well of him, there is not much evidence in that, of secret diplomacy. He had been secretary of the O.A.M. for fourteen years, and although the parent church had declined woefully, he had such a strong vein of loyalty that he still remained secretary of the weakly group that replaced the fervent crowd of former years. He was not satisfied with things. Brother Hopkins' testimonies, for instance, had long since affected his nerves, and Sister Hopkins' small repertoire of open-air solos he felt were becoming decidedly musty. In addition to other worries, there was Albert Tonks always "going" for him. Tonks would ridicule Christianity to his face, and then in the open-air as well. Of course, Tonks was decent enough in his way, and his desire to rid the world of poverty was laudable even if it was impossible, and, moreover, it could not be denied that Tonks' criticism of old Spradley had a certain amount of truth in it, for all that Spradley contributed to the Ebenezer bazaar. But then, Tonks was an atheist

—A DENIER OF GOD! Many and many a time Tonks had scoffed at "this sentimental nonsense about saving your soul," and had asserted with vehement cleverness that material things counted first and foremost in this world, and that a social revolution was the only thing to live for.

Albert Tonks was a packer—and bitter of tongue. He despised Barker and cursed him on occasion for the good of his soul—so he said. His leisure hours and a small number of his working ones he spent on propaganda and reading. Spradley suspected his agitating tendencies, and kept a watchful eye both on him and his Union.

And so each week Tonks and Barker would lead their respective bands—to convert and to revolutionise respectively.

* * *

Now Barker, by dint of much thriftiness, had saved a small sum of money, and each month as he passed the little brown savings bank book over the counter with extra deposit, he prayed the more earnestly for the day to dawn when he could leave Spradley and Higgs' to venture in a small way in business on his own account. Tonks, on the other hand, could not save.

It was this circumstance that interested the Devil.

"Ah!" said he, "I must be an obscure long lost uncle from Australia who, wishing to distribute part of his well-earned fortune while he yet liveth, searches out needy friends and relations. A jolly bad idea." (Devils do not have "good" ideas.)

He swished his tail so vigorously that the funny bit at the end hit Sister Hopkins and gave her rheumatism.

"Further," pursued his diabolical majesty, "I must then introduce them to a good line of business—a really paying game. Let's see—yes, splendid idea—a new drink—temperance, of course, but with a flavour, a tang that teetotalers shall worship. It must have so-called medicinal properties of course—a cleansing, invigorating, inspiring, refreshing patent with which the Good Templars can absolutely out rival the pubs at their own game—but without the unfortunate consequences. Bad, bad, damnably bad! Its name—hm—ah—got it—Nectar—no Nektarosia pat: 3472091132. Splendid!" And he snorted with such sulphurous excitement that Constable mx234 thought the gas-main was leaking.

* * *

Thus it came to pass. Barker, feeling a sudden impetus towards freedom, and having earnestly prayed over the matter, was amazed to find his prayer wonderfully and speedily effective. He received a most kindly note from a South American missionary who had heard of his good work, and who was known to the natives as Di something, and who wished to lay a proposition before him. He was deeply grateful. Tonks, on the other hand, came

to the shed one morning utterly bereft of his customary sourness, but with an air of bubbling bewilderment that inspired extremely caustic remarks from his fellow packers. In addition to a new S.L.P. pamphlet sent by Comrade Jackson and a P.C. announcing a jolly dance at the Morris Hall, he had received a strange epistle from a long lost relative offering to start him in business. The relative must have been very long lost for he could not remember the name of D. Odger anywhere in his family tree.

The interview with their respective benefactors duly took place. The Devil received them at different hours in a London office with such sleekness, side-whiskers, and earnest words as befitted the occasion. He had no doubt at all but that both would fling away or discreetly pare down their respective creeds and soon be glibly disposing of Nektariosia to a swiftly-growing credulous clientèle—until the police reached them—or, better still, they were able to retire to prosperous repose, local magistracy and honoured and influential old age.

* * *

Barker and Tonks sat in the same A.B.C. together. Barker had been gazing vacantly over a tea-cup at the coffee urn, when he heard a fierce voice bring him to earth with "Well, my old Bible Puncher, it's in Hosea, three ten," and, looking down, saw Tonks, with an equally fierce look in his eyes, ordering three eggs.

They told their stories. "The damned rogue," said Tonks.

"Why did you refuse?" asked Barker.

"Because I couldn't lend myself to poisoning people's bodies."

"I refused," replied Barker, "because it would be poisoning the soul."

The clock said "Same thing—same thing—same thing."

And the Devil, who had come in for something cool, heard the clock and hastily took a taxi to Westminster.

We regret that for some unknown reason Mr. Wellock's usual article has not arrived in time for publication in this week's issue.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Reyden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

HOLIDAYS AT OLD HALL, BARMING.—Adult School Guest House.—Apply, Warden.

FURNISHED APARTMENTS, within easy walking distance of City.—Mrs. Sander, 12a, Myddleton Square, E.C. 1.

Church Socialist League.

Speaking at the Annual Conference of the Church Socialist League held at Darlington, May 25th-26th, Rev. Father B. Bull, C.R., in the course of his presidential address, said:—

"Capitalism could only end in universal war. Progress was an illusion. There was a delirious multiplication of commodities side by side with the decay of body and soul, of health and character. The root principle of Capitalism was evil. Individuals were not to blame, except in the case of those who tolerate an evil system when its nature is fully revealed to them. Love was the final law of the universe, and righteousness would triumph over blind force. Labour needed our witness. We were not in existence to flatter Labour. We ought to be equally indifferent whether we win its applause or contempt. Our witness was for Christ. There were certain forces at work which are deliberately seeking to demoralise the Labour movement, which no longer appeal to Righteousness and Justice, but to hatred and violence. It was merely the old, stale gospel of Nietzsche's Superman. The League might be of use in strengthening the better elements of the Labour Party in refusing to be dictated to by the apostles of hatred.

The church needed our witness. A gospel of a private salvation had been substituted for the gospel of the Kingdom and Fellowship. Prayer and the Sacraments divorced from work become unreal and magical formulae. In the hours of labour character is formed."

In the public conference on "Proletarian Dictatorship and Spiritual Values," Mr. M. B. Reckitt referred to the rigid centralisation in Russia. He declared that industry under the Bolsheviks was based on modern Capitalistic theory and practice, and that according to the evidence available (e.g., Lenin), Proletarian Dictatorship did not mean democratic control in the workshops. Who were the Proletariat? The expropriated, but the present advocates of dictatorship meant by it those who accepted such advocates; the predestined saved with a historic mission. The rest were regarded with contempt. Dictatorship substituted power for will, but power should wait upon will. The effects of preaching Proletarian Dictatorship were that it multiplied friction, encouraged lethargy rather than initiative, and fostered the spirit of revenge.

The Rev. C. Stuart Smith deprecated the fact that no speaker had been appointed to support Proletarian Dictatorship. We were face to face with certain definite evils, the degradation of human personality, liberty and justice, and they were stalking a system which violated all spiritual values. That was why they were impatient in these times of spiritual bankruptcy. The present Government represented money but nothing else. The burden of evolving a new society would fall upon the working-class, for which purpose it was necessary that it should become class-conscious, i.e., conscious not only of brotherhood with every worker here, but with every worker the world over.

Wanted: a New Portrait of Jesus.

The interpretation of the word Gospel has undergone considerable change in our age. Our fathers would scarcely have understood what was meant by The Social Gospel. For them it was a message of salvation for the individual. It promised him happiness in some Hereafter. For us it has come to mean the advent of a new Social Order in this world. The word has recovered its original significance. In the preaching of Jesus Himself and His disciples it was the Gospel of the Kingdom of God. This, for us, is no hazy, far-off ideal, but a definite order, a system that can be set forth with scientific precision. That Christianity involves such a new ordering of Society we are now clear.

What is the place of Jesus Himself in this new rendering of the Gospel? Frankness compels us to say that for many who talk about the Kingdom of God, He has shrunk to the dimensions of a prophet—the prophet who first proclaimed the New Order and initiated the Christian Society.

But the announcement of a new Social System, if it be nothing more, misses a vital element in the Christian message. To touch the deepest springs of personal life there must be the appeal of Personality. The Social Gospel must fail if it has not this. The need of it can be seen in the instinctive emphasis, in spite of theories to the contrary, which often finds expression in the Socialist movement on the personality of certain leaders—a Karl Marx, a Keir Hardie, a George Lansbury, a Lenin. Logically, the portraits of these men have no place on the walls of those for whom all hero-worship is heresy. But human nature is stronger than the orthodoxy of Scientific Socialism.

The Christian declaration of the Kingdom of God cannot be separated from the person of Jesus. In Him the new Social Order is personified. He actually is the Kingdom. More important than a "reinterpretation of Christianity" is the need of a new portrait of Jesus. The old portrait is faded. And even if the fading lines could be revived, it would not convey the truth we need. A new portrait would be the best kind of "reinterpretation of Christianity." It would answer the question, "What is our Message?" For that Message is nothing else but the person and story of Jesus.

But does not this bring us back to the devotional manual, the sentimental pietism of the past, the individualistic hero-worship that has so signally failed?

By no means. The Jesus we want to paint is one who expresses in his individual personality the truths of the new World Order. The Jesus this generation needs to see is the Jesus who gives INDIVIDUAL EXPRESSION TO THE SOCIAL IDEALS OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD. That is the point at which the old piety and the new meet. The old piety centred round an individual who had no social significance. The new piety shows itself in devotion to certain social ideals and pins its faith to the advent of a new social order. Each lacks something that the other possesses, and

they cannot be separated. But in the Jesus of the Gospels, as we can now see Him, these two forms of devotion can meet. In worshipping Him we are worshipping and dedicating ourselves to the world-order for which He stands. Our private devotion becomes an act of enlistment in His Movement. On the other hand, enthusiasm for the ideals of the Kingdom of God takes on the character of personal devotion to the King of that Kingdom. The intensive and extensive, the individual and social aspects of the religious life meet.

The painting of such a portrait will bring together two great forces—traditional Christianity and the Social Movement. To the latter it would afford a very necessary focussing point and service of spiritual energy, to the former it would give a no less necessary relevancy to the world in which we live.

But who will give us this reconceived picture? No single heart or mind probably is capable of performing the task. It is something that calls for the labour of us all.

I should like to see groups of people meeting for the purpose of realising, by study and the exercise of imagination, the person of Jesus as the individual and classic expression of those ideals which are now inspiring the enthusiasm of the Socialist Movement. A group of people saturating themselves in the gospels and keeping in close touch with the economic and industrial aspirations of the workers, would find, flashing upon their inner sight, the Figure, the presentation of which once turned the world upside down.

The preaching of the Church in its earliest days consisted in nothing else but the telling of the Story of the Master by those who had known Him.

It may be that the world is to be saved a second time by the same method.

At any rate there can be no doubt that the reinterpreted Christianity which is to be our "Message" must be first and foremost a reconception of Jesus Himself.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Will friends help to INCREASE OUR CIRCULATION by forwarding to 23, Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E.C., this form filled in with names and addresses of those likely to be sympathetic, if possible, with stamps to cover expense, to whom we may send a specimen copy of THE CRUSADER.

Name

Address

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Hands Across the Sea.

By MRS. DESPARD.

And not only across the physical sea, beautiful but dangerous, which seems to some of us the symbol of separation; but across that other sea—felt but not seen—that wicked, restless, poison-laden sea, made up of ignorance and hatred, where bitter waves are separating the peoples.

The children are going to bridge the deadly gulf that divides us; and a fair beginning was made last Wednesday when the great ship that had been chartered to bring over five hundred Viennese little ones moved slowly into harbour. We were not a large company on the Folkestone pier; but what might have been lacking in numbers was made up for in enthusiasm. Ringing cheers, led by a little company of young girls from the Theosophical School at Letchworth, greeted our small guests, and they shouted back and sang our national anthem, which is actually a German tune. Tears sprang to my eyes when, as the ship drew nearer, I heard, in English, from many children's voices, "God Save our King."

The day was beautiful, the sea as smooth as a lake on midsummer. The children, we heard, had been given a good breakfast on board, so it was decided that the fruit and cakes, provided by kind Folkestone friends, should be given to the little ones on landing.

Other passengers and freight had to be landed and various formalities to be gone through before the children could land; but, by the courtesy of the officers, I was allowed on board, and soon I was shaking hands with Mrs. Ensor, secretary of our committee, who had gone to Rotterdam to meet the children there, congratulating her on having carried her difficult task to so successful an issue, and moving about amongst the children.

They are of all ages, from little creatures four or five years old but looking no more than two, so weakly that they had to be carried, to young girls, thin and pale, with gentle, refined faces. I may mention that while I saw some of a rougher type, it was the refinement of many of the faces that impressed me. All but two or three homesick ones were quite cheerful, full of excitement and curiosity about everything. Some speak English well. At first sight there did not seem much amiss with them; but closer observation and enquiry revealed the fact that most of them are under-sized, and as the little flush of excitement faded, I marked the lack of colour and, in some of the worst cases, an anxious, haggard appearance, much like that of those who have gone through a long illness.

There was great joy when the order was given to go on shore. They came running along, carrying their haversacks on their backs, and taking joyfully the banana, apple and cake that were given to each child by happy young helpers, rejoicing in their task.

Other helpers were ready to place them in the corridor carriages of the train that was to take them to Sandwich; and there, as I had an engagement in town in the evening, I was obliged to leave them.

I was in Stonar Camp on Tuesday night, and I know what careful and loving preparation had been made by the staff, most of them voluntary, that had come together. Some of them speak German well. Two speak Hungarian, so the wants of our little ones will be understood and supplied. The camp is surrounded with green meadows and great spreading trees. There will be space enough for the children, and they are to be as much as possible in the open air.

Organised games, a little teaching, abundant and regular meals and, for those who will take it, a sleep in the middle of the day on rugs under the trees, form part of the programme during their stay in the camp. At the end of the three weeks' quarantine, we hope they will be distributed all over the country, recovering health and gaining strength and beauty in happy homes.

I hear from those on our committee who are arranging this department that touching letters—many of them from working people—have been received offering hospitality for as long a time as may be found necessary. "I can't sleep at nights thinking of them," wrote one, the mother of six, who was eager to welcome and mother a seventh.

When the camp has been cleared we hope to be able to bring over another 500—probably from Budapest, where the suffering amongst children is terrible. And if these experiments succeed, we will take more—up to 2,000.

It is but a drop in an ocean of misery; but each dear young life has its own special value, and if we send these little ones back restored in health and happy, we shall be doing something to bring about the spirit of reconciliation which alone will lift the world out of its present darkness.

CONTRAST.

A few days ago 500 children from Austria came to Richborough. No one gave them a cheer. OUR GREAT CHURCH, WHICH HAS THOUSANDS OF GOOD MEN AND WOMEN AS MEMBERS, DID NOT THINK OF SENDING DOWN ANY REPRESENTATIVES. No representative of the Socialist, Trade Union, or Brotherhood movements was present either. The only religious organisation that was in evidence was the Theosophical Society, whose one Article of Faith is brotherhood.—George Lansbury, in "Herald."

A C.O., married, having started on the land, owing to being debarred from returning to his former work at the G.P.O., desires to sell a small library of books dealing with advanced subjects. Typewritten lists sent on application to:—S. Carlyle Potter, Tuckton House (Annex), Tuckton, near Bournemouth.

Bookland. Social Theory.

Mr. G. D. H. Cole is doing as much as any writer among us to help our generation to think clearly on social questions. Such as he and Bertrand Russell are absolutely necessary if we are to be preserved from the hypnotic influence of phrases. Mr. Cole is not content to use such words as "The State," "Community," "Society," without stopping himself and asking precisely what he means by them. He is the sworn enemy of slovenly thinking, and whether you agree with him or not you are bound to benefit by a perusal of his careful analysis.

This is particularly true of his recent book, "Social Theory" (Methuen and Co., Ltd., 5s.), but it would be a mistake to suppose that it is therefore dull reading. Although the writer is dealing in abstract terms, one is made aware all the while that he has his eye on the concrete examples which illustrate his definitions and that before the end he will tell us to what practical conclusion his reasoning has led him. This expectation is not disappointed. Towards the end of the book we are given some broad hints as to the kind of society Mr. Cole would like to see emerge out of the present chaos.

I cannot say that I find myself in full agreement with all that he says. His criticism of Marxian materialism, for instance, though it may apply to certain Neo-Marxians is not accurate as regards the more authoritative leaders of that school of thought. I do not think any reasonable Marxian would disagree with what Mr. Cole says on page 154:—

Materialism.

"When once we have got the economic sphere of social action reasonably organised on functional lines, we shall be free to forget about it most of the time, and to interest ourselves in other matters. The economic sphere will not, of course, be any less essential than before; but it will need less attention. Always associations and institutions, as well as people, need most attention when they are least 'themselves.' Our preoccupation with economics occurs only because the economic system is diseased."

But it is not fair to argue from this that "the economic factor will no longer be the dominant factor in Society." That sounds like saying that our physical condition affects our moods only when we are ill. Surely the body, whose perfect health enables us to forget it, is nevertheless exerting its influence upon our mental and emotional life.

The Churches.

I should also be inclined to quarrel with Mr. Cole for the form in which he states the relationship between the Churches and political and economic forms of association. To say that these latter are concerned with the material things while the Church is concerned with spiritual things—though this is to put in a crude form what I take to be the meaning of Mr. Cole's much more delicately stated position—is not in line with the best and most radical thinking in the Church to-day. For the Church claims to cover the whole field of life. It occupies a small corner to-day only because its authority is challenged by the present world-order and because that authority is limited by the exponents of Christianity themselves.

The chapter on this subject is the shortest in the book, and though the author evidently felt it necessary to deal with the theme, he is not at home in it.

But with the general tendency of the book there can be, from the "Crusader" standpoint, no serious difference. Let me quote a passage from its conclusion:—

"Important social changes are usually inaugurated the parts and not in the whole of Society, and often nearer to its circumference than to its centre. It is usually difficult, and often impossible to foresee in the early stages of such a process as I have described, the nature or extent of the social change that is really beginning. The best social prophet and the best constructive statesman are those who have most the power of divining among the many new movements and associations which are constantly arising, and among the old ones which are constantly undergoing modification to suit new needs those particular organisations which are most likely to effect large changes in the whole structure of Society. Keep your eye on the new movements and organisations and always estimate them in accordance less with what they actually are than with what they seem capable of becoming."

Those are encouraging and suggestive words. They indicate that Mr. Cole has something of the prophet in his own composition.

DIRECT LABOUR AT CAMBERWELL.

The Labour Borough Council of Camberwell has adopted a direct labour policy for their housing scheme, which is being run in conjunction with the Office of Works. The latter will provide all materials and be responsible for the administration while the Trades Council will provide the labour. The scheme includes three sites—a garden village on the Casino estate, near Dulwich village, covering 12½ acres, and two smaller sites. The schemes were adopted by the Council from the Ministry of Health and it is the first occasion on which a Government scheme has been handed over for direct labour. It has every prospect of success for the local branches of the building trade unions are giving it the hearty support. They have appointed a committee composed of two representatives from each trade and it has been agreed with the Office of Works that the Committee should nominate the general foremen. All labour is supplied through the local and district secretaries of the trade unions. The Camberwell Council hope to prove that the advantages of direct labour are economy, speed, excellence of workmanship, and minimum of labour trouble.

AMERICAN SOCIALISTS AND MOSCOW.

By 90 votes to 40 the National Convention of the American Socialist Party adopted a resolution affirming its allegiance to the Second International with certain reservations, including the right of each national section to determine its own policy. The resolution, which proposed affiliation to the Moscow International, was supported by Mr. Morris Hillquit, who declared that American Socialists sympathised with Soviet Russia, but did not accept all its special dogmas.

Christian Commonwealth Fellowship.



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscriptions for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, pendants, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Postage 1½d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

Holidays and Holy Days.

Readers of the old "C.C." will remember the open-air articles that often inspired them to fresh adventures with Nature. The writer, who is C.C.F. 3469 (Beith, Ayrshire), in sending his annual subscription and his good wishes for the future, sends with it a breath from the moors where his old "bus" is located:—"Now is the time," he says, "for camping, caravanning, and the outdoor life." Just what you would have expected from one who has lived the simple life since 1907, and who declares, "while camping I discovered the real joy of living." You are thinking of holiday plans now, and your real self, which 3469 protests only has a chance to live during holiday time, echoes his words: "Give me the happy, free life, close to Nature, where the little burn gets lost among the bluebells and bracken; where the green earth is patched with rosy heather, and the south wind brings whispering leaves and the scent of pine-woods." Add to these things the joy of real Fellowship, and you have a perfect holiday. The C.C.F. has ever been the advocate of "simple" pleasures, and of the fuller exploration of the beauties of Nature. Last year, several holiday groups formed themselves, and a hundred per cent. was thus added to the value of the days of freedom for every Fellow concerned. Again, some Fellows are arranging to spend holidays with their "links"; we hope others will follow their example. If we can help in any way at Headquarters we will gladly do so. (Please send stamps for postages!) A suggestion made by a Kendal reader in the early days of the C.C.F. (1912) is worth repeating now. "I might give someone a pleasant week up here in the Lake District," he wrote, "in exchange for a week in Derbyshire, or some other part of the country. I think such a holiday as this, with the family of some kindred spirit, would be a great advance on the holidays some workmen are supposed to 'enjoy.'" Does this idea of exchange of holidays appeal to you? If so, write to us—and lay your offers and your needs side by side.

Flowers of Fellowship.

To some of us, alas, holidays are remote, or we are not free to spend these precious days as we would choose, or we have to be content with a few hours at a time, when we can refresh our tired selves. For such folks, Fellowship is growing her choicest flowers, and she is prepared to make every day a holy day; this has been the experience of 3917

(Stony Stratford), whose life has been hard and perplexing of late. "My friends in the C.C.F. help me to keep hold of the spirit of things," she says, "of the hope that is always near, and yet not quite realised. The thoughts of my friends help me to renounce without bitterness, to help and to accept without pride. I can speak no higher praise of the Fellowship than this. It is wonderful the way things turn out when one lets oneself go with the spirit. Often a sudden and spontaneous action leads almost to miracles, the miracles of the things we desired but had not hoped for. I have found this in our Fellowship, and in the fellowship and service of every day. I am a Fellow of six years' standing. Rest assured that I do not forget."

Here is an echo from 2189 (Banbury) (who gave up her own plans for the sake of others):—"I think when we feel a strong urge to do a certain thing—though it may involve a seeming loss of money—we find we really gain some things that money can never buy. I wish the Fellowship every success in its new home. Words could never tell what it has meant to me in the friendships I have formed—some for all time." And another from 2775 (Barry): "The kind hearts and loving thoughts of the Fellows are wonderful."

Gardening.

To grow Fellowship flowers some Fellowship gardening is necessary; more can be done by corporate thought than we yet have any idea of. Will Fellows do a little "gardening" on behalf of 3364 (Longfield), a member who is at the moment in need of help—that the ground may be cleansed and prepared for a new crop of usefulness and beauty. Also for 2549 (Doorn) who is sorely perplexed about the future, and who has to make important decisions affecting several people. A good deal of spade work is necessary in other parts of our garden, too. Will you take special note of our Treasurer's message below?

What the Fellowship Wants.

Will the members of the Fellowship please remember that our stamp, stationery, literature and circularising fund is urgently in need of help at the present moment. Postage has gone up to 2d., and paper, well, you know how much that costs! Send us a donation to this fund—now.

THE TREASURER.

Opportunities for Friendship.

5391 (Briton Ferry, Glam.), interested in general religious questions, reforms of a social nature, and in commercial subjects, will be glad to link with young men and women; he is 19.

5407 (Battersea Park), who had never met "Crusader" Christianity until she had a copy of the paper handed to her at a meeting, is much interested in this religion, and in social reform and the future of women in industry; she wishes to link with young people, particularly those with little babies or children.

Will 5313 (Wallasey) please link with 5327 (Sharnbrook), who is specially interested in boys and boy-labour.

Will 5331 (York) write to 5323 (Exmouth), interested in dramatic art.

5393 (Margate), a nursing sister, will be glad to link with middle-aged men and women; she is interested in poetry, pictures, the cause of humanity, the League of Nations, the Labour Movement and Co-operation.

5361 (Dartford) offers a restful week-end to a tired worker.

5023 (Manchester) wishes to take his holiday in Derbyshire—with Fellows, if possible.

SIDELIGHTS.

Devil Worshipers.

In a lecture on the future of the tank, Colonel Fuller, lately Chief Staff Officer of the Tank Corps in France, said, according to the "Nation":—

"Another great revolution in warfare faces us both on land and sea—gas warfare. Do not let us minimize its possibilities. Five hundred years ago both soldier and civilian scoffed at gunpowder and declared it to be a devilish invention, because it happened to be a new one. Everything new has in its time been attributed to his Satanic Majesty, who, indeed, must be the greatest of inventors. In this capacity I frankly admit myself to be a devil worshiper, and I cannot help feeling that I am at this moment among friends and not amongst theologians."

According to the same source, Major-General Swinton, discussing Colonel Fuller's lecture, said:—

"I imagine from the progress that has been made in the past that in the future we will not have recourse to gas alone, but we will employ every force of nature that we can; and there is a tendency at present for progress in the development of the different forms of rays which can be turned to lethal purposes. We have X-rays, we have light rays, we have heat rays. Mr. H. G. Wells, in his 'War of the Worlds,' alludes to the heat rays of the Martians, and we may not be so very far from the development of some kind of lethal ray which will shrivel up or paralyze or poison human beings if they are unprotected. . . . The final form of human warfare, as I regard it, is germ-warfare. I think it will come to that, and so far as I see there is no reason why it should not, if we mean to fight. In that case, perhaps the tanks would not be such a great panacea, because short of previous inoculation it would not be possible to stop the progress of diseases simply by putting men into steel or any other type of enclosed vessels."

The Capitalist Right Wing.

Under the above heading the Glasgow "Forward" reports the Assembly of certain Scotch divines in Edinburgh. Rev. John MacNeillage, it would seem from this report, asked the Assembly to enjoin ministers to

"establish their people in the present truth by recalling to their minds the forgotten rights of masters and Capitalists and the forgotten duties of servants and workmen. Labour, he said, was "a tyrannical and persecuting power," an "octopus," and "Augean stable of bad morals," and could not be anything else with Karl Marx as father—"an unconverted Jew, and a bad character at that."

It is only fair to add that when the speaker proceeded to deliver a diatribe on the responsibility of Labour for the Glasgow riots and the looting of shops the Clerk intervened, and the Moderator entered a protest against the "indefinite accusations and indiscriminate condemnation" which had been made. And "own brother" to John, Mr. Archibald MacNeillage, Glasgow, opposed the addendum which he described as having been moved "with so much eloquence and so little wisdom."

The Ethics of Capitalism.

There is a milk famine in Budapest, and the children especially are suffering from the shortage. Reuter's correspondent reported to the "Daily News," (18.5.20) that—

"Three rich traders and a Secretary of State put up about four million crowns and bought all the visible supply of condensed milk in the country. Then they exerted their political influence and had all milk and milk products declared to be 'articles of luxury,' which could not be imported without special consent—a difficult

thing to obtain. They then advanced the price of condensed milk very considerably, making an exorbitant profit on their heartless investment. And all this at a time when infants are dying in hundreds, and children growing up weakly from lack of milk."

Suburbia Protests.

The Estates governors of Alleyne College, Dulwich, have taken legal action against the lessees of a large house which had been converted into flats:—

"The counsel for the plaintiffs," says the 'Call,' "stated, in opening, that the dwelling was situated in a 'highly desirable' neighbourhood. 'Its residents,' he explained, 'were all very genteel and there were substantial members of the community living there and, what would have been thought a good deal more of in the old days, titled people—not merely O.B.E.'s but people of substantial title. The rents ran from £100 to £600, the gentleman paying the latter rent having something in the nature of a park round his house.' Evidence was then given to the effect that the house 'was now occupied by working-class tenants.' His Lordship, in summing up, took the view that this constituted 'an injury and annoyance to tenants in the immediate neighbourhood,' and the lease was declared at an end."

When Bolsheviks install the workers in the mansions of the rich all the world hears about it, but it is safe to say that no headlines will announce that the authorities of Alleyne College Estate, in a time of house 'famine, forbade the granting of accommodation to houseless people.

Curates' Union.

South Wales curates, who recently decided to form a protection association, have put in a claim for a minimum of £400 per annum for married clergymen, and £300 for unmarried clergymen.

Rediscovery of America.

America is no longer an inspiring spectacle.—"Observer."

Religion and Labour.

The dinner hour addresses at St. Martins-in-the-Fields, London, W.C., during June, are as follows:—June 4, Christianity and Revolution, Dr. H. T. Hodgkin. June 11, The Religion of a Working Man, Mr. William Strang. June 18, The Aspirations of Labour and Christian Ideals, Mr. E. Williams. June 25, Planning the New Industrial Order, Mr. Malcolm Sparkes. These dinner hour addresses should prove attractive and helpful.

Defeated but not Annihilated.

The class of exploiters, of great landed proprietors, and of capitalists, has not disappeared, and it cannot disappear straightaway upon the coming of the proletarian dictatorship. The exploiters are defeated but not annihilated. There remains to them an international base, the international capitalism of which they are a branch.—Lenin.

Norway and the Bolsheviks.

By 285 votes to 32 the National Congress of the Norwegian Socialist Party adopted a resolution advocating the creation of a revolutionary régime based on the Soviet system and a transfer of all power to the manual and intellectual workers. Another resolution adopted by the Congress called upon the workers in the Notodden and Rjukan factories to stop the production of ammonium nitrates, which are being used in the manufacture of munitions for the war against Soviet Russia.

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The Outlook.

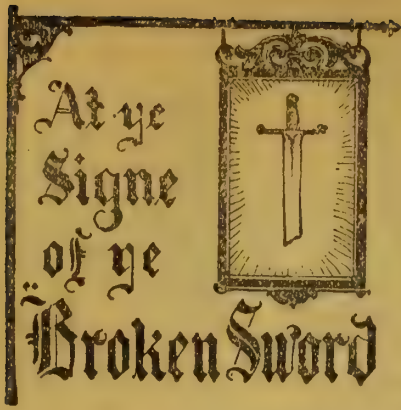
REFERENCE is made elsewhere in our columns to the amazing decision arrived at by the N.U.R. with reference to the transport of munitions. It only remains to point out here that the plea that Trade Unions should confine themselves to Industrial matters and not meddle with Politics, would have more force if the political arm of the Labour Movement had shown more initiative and skill in Parliament. With the failure of the Parliamentary Labour Party becoming more evident with each succeeding session, it is inevitable that more responsibility should fall to the Industrial organisations. What this decision will mean it is difficult to foresee, but that it will strengthen the Left Wing of the Movement, and strain to breaking-point the connection between the Labour Party and the I.L.P., seems evident.

THE attempt to draw a line between political and industrial matters is vain. The war against Russia and the campaign of Tyranny now going on in Ireland affect the workers in a very vital manner. Their interests are international, and any attempt on the part of the Government to interfere with the workers abroad is a blow at those at home. The sooner Labour realises this the better.

THE surrender of the Government to the piteous appeals of the profiteers, in the matter of the tax on war-profits, only comes as a surprise to those whom the broken promises and illusive hopes of the past have taught no lesson. But it is all to the good that the overwhelming influence of Big Business should be thus advertised. And still they talk of class government. But that, of course, is in Russia. The dictatorship of Big Business is quite different.

FACTS have proved too much for the militarist idealism of the Churchillian group in the Cabinet. The romantic temperament of the English War Minister has received a cold douche at the hands of that cool-headed Celt, Mr. Lloyd George. Krassin has been received in his capacity as representative of the Russian Government. Our need of trade with Russia outweighs all considerations regarding "the bloody hand of murder," and Mr. Churchill must accept the fate which a cruel world so often hands out to idealists. His dream of a world transformed into a vast battlefield fades in the glaring light of economic necessity.

THE present dispute at Lever Brothers' works carries a moral for all Trade Unionists who are tempted to take part in profit-sharing schemes. The clerical staff of Levers are on strike for higher wage scales and the recognition of their Union, the Warehouse and General Workers, to negotiate for all Levers' clerks. But, as the "Westminster Gazette" cheerfully points out to the strikers, right or wrong, if they do not reach a settlement, they will lose benefit under the co-partnership scheme. We seem to remember, a little while ago, that the carpenters and joiners fought a great battle with Levers over this very co-partnership scheme, and it appears as though their attitude had been triumphantly vindicated. The mischief of all such schemes is that, call them what you will, they are really designed to prevent strikes; and a man wishing to strike, for however good a reason, has to choose between deserting his fellows and losing his bonus which he has earned. This destruction of the solidarity of Labour is the reason why Labour opposes, and always has opposed, co-partnership and profit-sharing.



The New Apostolate.

We are frequently told that conversion is a necessary condition of better social conditions. Those conditions are represented as the outcome of a new spirit. The

preachers who speak in this way are anxious to maintain the evangelical emphasis on personal regeneration, and assure us that all will be well if we will but experience this inner change, and allow that change to work out its own consequences in social life.

But this entirely misses a note very prominent in the New Testament. Priority is given there to the imminence of social and national upheaval. Attention is directed outward from the individual to the darkening sky threatening his whole generation. "Repent," he is told, "not in order that the Kingdom of God may come, but because it is coming." The starting point of the appeal is from the signs of the times. Change is threatening the whole structure of society, therefore the individual must adapt himself. The attention of the hearer is called away from himself to something objective and of social importance. The need of a new personal attitude is but the consequence of these historical conditions.

This method of appeal is on strictly scientific lines. Progress, we learn, has been due to constant adaptation and re-adaptation to changes in the external world. The story of evolution is but the recital of the various means adopted to meet altered climatic, economic, or industrial conditions. The individuals who were wise enough to change their manner of life in response to the new order of things survived. Those who persisted in ignoring these warnings found the new order a destructive force.

Individual conversion, let me repeat, is the outcome of our response to the signs of social revolution. That is the teaching both of Jesus and of Science.

The Evangelical appeal of the past was objective in one respect. It drew its most terrifying warnings from the inevitability of death. The saying, "Prepare to meet your God," was interpreted, quite erroneously, in this way. But the result of this appeal was not satisfactory from the ethical point of view. It did nothing to cut at the root of the individualistic conception of life.

The appeal of modern evangelism is no less terrifying and more ethical. It predicts the inevitable death of our present civilisation and the destruction of all the institutions and personal ambitions bound up with it. But it is of a character to instil in the hearer a more wholesome spirit. It reveals to him

the kind of change expected of him, and shows in its very statement of the coming catastrophic event, the type of individual who will survive.

Let me make it clear that the preacher of to-day has as definite and unanswerable an argument as ever had the preachers of the evangelical revival. Is he using it? Is he making his hearers feel that, quite literally, the world is changing about them and that this change is the call of God to alter their whole manner of life? Has his message this objective character?

But if the preacher is too exclusively "spiritual" and subjective, the Socialist speaker too frequently fails to appreciate the religious and moral significance of the changes he prognosticates. He speaks of them as though they were either mechanically produced by the inevitable processes of economic development, or else he assumes that they are being brought about by human agency—class organisation and propaganda. His reading of history is superficial, inasmuch as it does not get behind these to the Divine Purpose. His appeal lacks the force it would derive from the belief that the menace hanging over Capitalism and all its works is the judgment of a personal God. He cannot, from the point of view he occupies, appeal to the social conscience. Logically, he is limited to the argument from expediency.

The world is waiting for a new apostolate which shall combine the objective and concrete character of the Socialist message with the power and ethical appeal of the Christian interpretation of the signs of the times. When that apostolate arrives, the world will be shaken as never before. And I prophesy that before long its voice will be heard. For, already, there are men and women in whom the conjunction of these two forces has taken place and who are straining at the leash of circumstances and waiting for the releasing word of authority, "Go and make disciples of all the nations!"

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The Deceit of Self-Government.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

One of the least known of Tolstoy's works is "The End of the Age," which was written in 1906, and dealt with "the approaching revolution preceded by the crisis in Russia." The whole of that book is full of most remarkable prophecies of coming events in Russia—prophecies which have since been fulfilled in every detail. I suggest to the publishers Messrs. W. Heinemann), or to Tolstoy's literary executors, that a cheap reprint of this extraordinary book would be well worth while. How extraordinary the book is may be seen by the following passage, written over fourteen years before the Russian Revolution:—

Owing to their agricultural life, to the absence of the deceit of self-government, to the greatness of their number, and above all, to the Christian attitude towards violence, pre-erred by the Russian people, this people, after a cruel, unnecessary, and unfortunate war (the Russo-Japanese War) into which they had been drawn by their Government, and after the neglect of their demands that the land taken from them should be returned, have understood sooner than others the principal causes of the calamities of Christendom of our time, and therefore the great revolution impending over all mankind, which can alone save it from its unnecessary sufferings, must begin precisely amongst this nation."

In an earlier passage, the great Russian seer thus foretold the coming of the Soviet system:—

"Therefore the Russian people, when abolishing government, need not invent any new forms of combined life with which to replace the former. Such forms of combined life exist amongst the Russian people, have always been natural to them, and have satisfied their social demands. These forms are a communal organisation with the equality of all the members of the Mir (village council), a co-operative system in industrial undertakings, and a common possession of the land."

But I resist the temptation to quote further from his book, and would ask my readers to note Tolstoy's second reason why the Russian Revolution—which he regarded as the forerunner of "the great revolution impending over all mankind, which can alone save it from its unnecessary sufferings"—was inevitable. "The deceit of self-government." I know of no other phrase which so accurately sums up the condition of most of the European countries—particularly our own—to-day. As Tolstoy pointed out, the Russian people were never under any illusion about the kind of government that ruled their lives: it was a government of sheer coercion, naked and unashamed. Dumas were dismissed at the whim of the monarch, all anti-government agitation was ruthlessly suppressed, hanging and transportation to Siberia were the commonplaces of Russian pre-revolution days. There was never the slightest attempt made to persuade the people of Russia that they were responsible for the government of their country.

Great Britain, on the other hand, is "the freest and most democratically governed country in the world." That must be so because our rulers are forever dinning it into the ears of our people. Mr. Lloyd George has just told it to the railwaymen, and he has duly impressed them—so much so that the

executive committee of the National Union of Railwaymen has called off the embargo on munitions of war for Ireland and Poland. And nobody seems to have seen the joke—except, of course, Mr. Lloyd George himself.

The position was very simple. A large number of members of the N.U.R. in Ireland, without waiting to consult their executive committee, had flatly refused to handle munitions, because in their simplicity they believed that by handling these munitions they were deliberately aiding the British Government in its war against their fellow-countrymen. They contended, did these simple folk, that this was the only way in which they could effectively protest against this shameful war. They were being called upon to do a thing against which their souls rebelled, and so they became conscientious objectors and refused to do this thing.

Here was a state of affairs that baffled the wise men. It was clearly an outrage on the sacred body of Law and Order. Even Mr. Thomas was startled. He could understand men downing tools for an extra shilling a day, but here was something new under the sun. Men who had everything to lose and nothing to gain by their action were refusing to act as traitors to their fellows. Now, when Mr. Thomas is in doubt he always goes to Mr. Lloyd George for guidance. And so he made his way to Downing Street and explained matters to the Premier. These men, he said, did not refuse to unload the boats because they were in sympathy with murder and outrage, but because "in their consciences they believed it was war on their own people."

Mr. Lloyd George was, as usual, equal to the occasion. "That," he said, "is abdication of Government. It is no use talking about Government if we accept that; it is absolutely impossible." That impressed Mr. Thomas. But there was an even more convincing argument to come. Said the Premier:

"The vast majority of the people who chose this Parliament are working men, and if the working men of this country want a Government of a different sort they have not to wait very long. The whole life of Parliament is only five years, and they can choose it."

Mr. Thomas went straight back to Unity House and sent a wire to the Irish members of the N.U.R. to continue to take part in the war upon their own people. This is Democracy, with a capital "D." This is the "deceit of self-government" which Tolstoy so scathingly exposed. And this is the reason why the British Parliamentary system is the laughing-stock of the ever-growing Left wing of the world-wide Socialist movement. But it is something more. It is yet another instance of what Tolstoy called "the slavery under which men are now living while imagining that they are free"; and it is becoming increasingly clear that nothing short of the "abdication" of this kind of Government will free humanity.

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"At least a generation."

In a pamphlet published by the Socialist Labour Press (50, Renfrew Street, Glasgow), entitled "The Development of Socialism from Science to Practice," Karl Radek writes: "The social revolution is a lengthy process which begins with the obliteration of the governing class and concludes with the transformation of Capitalist Society into a community of workers. This process in every country will take at least a generation." In view of the fact that those who advocate other methods than that of the dictatorship of the proletariat are charged with postponing to an indefinite future the advent of the New Order, this is an interesting though by no means unique confession. It must be realised that the advocates of compulsion herein acknowledge that the result of the dictatorship is at first superficial. It secures an outward compliance, but the antagonistic elements are only suppressed; they are not, to use Lenin's words, annihilated.

Over against this, we may put what the "Nation" calls "the Revolution from within"—a revolution which is already operating, building up the New Commonwealth firmly within the present crumbling society on principles opposed to that society. This, too, may be a lengthy process, though it depends on us how long it will take.

Which of these two methods are we to choose?

Which Method?

Each lacks something that the other can contribute.

Those who contend for a beginning, however humble, under present conditions are too apt to forget the ultimate goal. They become opportunists. Because they see in Building Guilds, Co-operative Societies, Communistic Fellowships and similar organisations something better than the society of the past, they forget how imperfectly these attempts realise the ideal, how far they are involved in compromise with the existing order. On the other hand, the defenders of a Violent Revolution too frequently assume that with the expropriation of the present possessing class, their task will be completed. The prospect of physical victory deludes them into thinking that the moral victory of Communism will also have been achieved.

Neither Opportunism nor Compulsion.

For our part, we desire to abate no jot of our demand for a completely Communistic Society based on service and freedom, but we also believe that this can best be secured by pushing forward those attempts, the number of which is so rapidly growing, to give expression, without assistance either from armed force or political agencies, to the Spirit of Fellowship.

Ideas that Came.

Philosophy in a Nutshell.

At our "At Home" quite a number of promising ways of increasing our circulation were suggested. Perhaps the flow of ideas came because Mr. Beddow made us realise so vividly that everything is the result of an idea. For the benefit of those who were not at the "At Home," I wish Mr. Beddow would write an article giving Crusaders the benefit of his philosophy in a nutshell, to which we listened.

The Ideas.

It was suggested that a special fund should be started to cover the cost of printing additional copies which could be circulated with a view to introducing the paper to new subscribers. One gentleman kindly promised to contribute £1 towards such a fund. Does this appeal to you?

It was suggested also that a half-crown fund should be started for this purpose. Or friends may send 2/6, together with the names and addresses of friends to whom specimen copies could be sent free three or four weeks.

Is this Private Property?

I felt quite grateful to the lady who disliked the suggestion that we should all pass on our copies to someone else. The "Crusader" is a paper which is read and re-read, but cannot always be immediately assimilated. Often one has to grow up to ideas expressed, and when the light dawns it is to be able to refer back to the original. Besides, many people regard cuttings and extracts as their treasure up for years and years, as their priceless treasures.

If your copy comes to you by post and you do not feel entitled to keep it, why not order another copy from your local newsagent and make a present of passing on the second copy. Most people would hesitate to remit a double subscription could manage to spend twopence a week in this way.

Thousand Sixpences Fund.

We acknowledge with thanks 5/- towards the Thousand Sixpences Fund from Miss Gray, of Oxford, who states that she is grateful for our "distinct contribution to this important age."

Our thanks also to Mrs. Hawes, of Guildford, in remitting a donation of 10/-, says: "The relief of the 'Crusader' is so free from stuffiness, and its width of view and fairness are most refreshing. Thanks also to Mr. W. Smith, of Brierfield, for a donation of £1."

First Donation to the 2/6 Fund.

I find that Mr. Atkins has anticipated a suggestion which was made at the "At Home," and sending a donation of 7/6, has also enclosed 2/- to pay for a "Crusader" to be sent to four people free three weeks. We hope that friends will keep keeping on now that the fund is actually started.

THE PLOUGHMAN

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

Someone has sent me a pamphlet which contains a remarkable address delivered to a united gathering of brotherhoods. Mr. W. H. Hudson, M.A., was the speaker, and his hearers were given a searching analysis of the attitude of Brotherhoods during the war. That this address should have been received afterwards printed is a welcome sign of better things. Let the Brotherhood movement respond to Hudson's challenge; pull itself together, and take a bold and uncompromising stand on its own avowed principle of Brotherhood all round, and it will do a very great service indeed for this country. The present is an opportunity that should not be missed by the Brotherhoods.

Mr. Krassin is making the flesh of some of our best editors creep. Any representative of the present Russian Government would do that, of course. Such a man is bound to have his head chock full of wily plans for the overthrow of Christianity. It is a frightful thought that he is now actually in conversation with innocent and unsuspecting persons in our own country. What possible chance can we have once we begin to talk to such a man? It is when he comes with proposals of Peace. But the thing is manifestly a trap skilfully baited with a well-toasted piece of cheese, called Profitable Peace, the delicious odour of which fills the house. Many noses are seen to be twitching with pleasure-anticipation, and the poor, guileless mice are about to be caught. In fact, the Prime Minister himself—in spite of all he has said—is now actually sniffing at the cheese! I quote the "Church Times" on this subject:

"To the Prime Minister belongs the distinction of parading with the paid agents of those he termed 'assassins,' in the hope, apparently, of making a business of it. Small wonder that France makes no attempt to disguise her disgust. Parliament, if it has any independence left in it, must show that Englishmen are not behind their men in their determination to do nothing to bolster up a system whose very name has become a symbol of fraud and cruelty."

Thank that Mr. Krassin and his supporters will be tempted to point out to us that we did not show the squeamishness about bolstering up outrage and cruelty when, some years ago, we decided to make an ally of Tsardom. But then Tsardom has proved the present business and commercial system to have been so profitable, and, perhaps, that it necessarily makes a lot of difference to many people in their moral judgments of events. And as to the character of Sovietism, has not the testimony of such writers as Mr. Ransome, Mr. Malone, and Mr. Goode left any mark at all on our minds and consciences? The following from the "Challenge" would seem to show that it has not yet left the faintest impression even in the office of a paper usually fair-minded. I quote:

"We are of opinion that it is useless to discuss peace so long as the present rulers are in power in Moscow. Peace to them is merely an opportunity for gathering strength for a fresh onset, and to conclude a treaty with them is simply to recognise as legitimate rulers a gang of international adventurers and strike a vital blow at any chance of saving Russia as a democratic republic. . . . Peace that merely gives a new lease of life to a tyranny that has bled Russia white is no peace, and is treachery to the future prosperity of Europe. The peace question is the real question, for the fact remains that Russia by the incompetence and wickedness of her rulers has nothing wherewith to trade except stolen gold."

I do not wonder that the correspondence columns of the "Challenge" are beginning to show the profound disagreement of some of its readers with the editor's attitude regarding the whole Russian problem, including the Polish war, which that paper, as I remarked last week, is whole-heartedly supporting.

I spoke a moment ago of the modern business and commercial system. I notice that Mr. Basil Mathews, in the "Methodist Times," gives his readers a telling picture of that system in action just now in the United States. We have all read of the recent laws in America prohibiting the sale of drink. The drink business has found its reply. Here it is:

"American breweries are being shipped to China. The William Gebhard Brewery, of Morris, Illinois, has been bought for a million pounds by a Chinese syndicate. Its machinery is already packed for transmission to Shanghai, where it will be landed in three months time, and by January 1, 1921, we may look to see China beginning to yield enormous profits to this precious syndicate. Seven other breweries, put out of business in America, are to be shipped across the Pacific to debauch China."

Mr. Mathews, in commenting on this clever move, suggests that we must realise that it is more than a national question that presents itself here, and he declares his belief that the only way of successfully grappling with such issues is to tackle them internationally.

I wind up my page with an amusing Rummage Sale story. But do not ask me whether it is true or not. All I can say is that it appeared in the Religious Press. The Sale was in full blast, and a large crowd of men and women were pressing round the various tables eagerly picking out the wonderful bargains. The Vicar, a tall, dignified man, coming into the room to look round and encourage his helpers, put his hat down on a table. Presently he left the room. An acute customer noticed the hat lying there, and wanted to know the price. The ready and obliging young lady, who presided at the stall, replied, "Three pence." The three pence was paid, without any question. And when the Vicar wanted his hat it was nowhere to be found. Poor man, he had to go home bareheaded, a sacrifice to the Church funds! But a very grumbling one, I fear.

The Religious Drama.

Is the Church serious when it talks about the drama?

Recently I have attended two conferences of people who, from the view-point of religion, have considered the possibilities of dramatic work. One was a meeting in the hall of the Society of Arts, convened by liberal spirits of the Established Church, the other was a gathering of that least conformist of the churches, the Adult School Union. The conferences were marked by certain similarities, especially likenesses of the types present, and consequently of their outlooks. There was, for instance, the theatre artists who regarded the drama as an end in itself, or subordinate only to the greater issue of life, and who saw in the Church a fresh field of enterprise for their work; there was the group whom one might call the Suspicionists, fearful for the invasion of their territory by so dangerous an element as the artists represented; also the body who, viewing things from the Church standpoint, saw in the drama a means of attracting the indifferent or retaining the interest of the more worldly-minded members of the fold; the *Festina lente* advocates formed another type, seeing a working compromise in the giving of little performances and charging us to throw away ambition. These people all dimly realised that somewhere there was a common multiple of interests, and they looked back yearningly to the time when Church and stage, service and performance were a single unit and a potent in the life of the people. But the world has grown complex since then, and the activity we call art is in practice other than that we call religion. Perhaps that is why both are failing completely to fulfil their functions and have become conventions.

Where, then, is the meeting-place for those of us who yet believe in the possibilities of mutual helpfulness between these two forces?

The clue comes from analysis of the respective forms of opportunism which saw the stage as a stepping-stone to popularity for the Church, or the Church as a field of conquest for the stage. It comes also from a contribution made by Canon Durell, who has been doing such splendidly practical work on lines of religious drama at his church in Rotherhithe. Following a discussion as to whether theatricality were desirable in a church performance, and whether the professional element were a necessary leaven to the amateur, Canon Durell cited his experience that the young people playing in his own productions achieved a height of artistry because to them it was an act of worship and spiritual expression. It is on that height that the artist and the churchman can meet; on lower planes their paths diverge.

The opportunists of either camp are thinking in terms of the means rather than the end, in terms of the organisation, not in those of the human spirit. Both in art and in the Church the instrument has become worshipped for its own sake, and the high

calling of the artist and the priest has been forgotten in the enthusiasm for the institutions through which they respectively operate.

By keeping constantly in mind the sublime factor of the need for expression of the deepest things of the human spirit, the practical elements will be found to achieve a new unity of material helpfulness. Priest and theatre artist have need of the same material means for the practical usage of their services. The buildings, the audience attuned and ready to accept their ministrations, to take part when need arise; the common symbols of human emotions, the services of those prepared to work unstintedly in the expression of the fundamental things—these elements are the basis alike of the service of the altar and of the stage.

Thus it is that the existing Church buildings and halls, the nucleus audience offered by the Church congregations, the skilled artists with their experience, the traditions and spiritual insight of the Church might be brought into dynamic contact. Such a coming together would inevitably constitute an enormous new force for the expression of the spiritual emotions and the great group emotions so closely allied to them. For with the development of such work, the instinct of group expression would overflow from its limits of worship and church service into the expression of the important things of all phases of life. It is for this that the people are hungry. They look to the Church for it and find only too often an institution which, failing to understand their needs, has sunk into a mere convention; they look to political institutions and find a mere negative attempt to avoid complete chaos; they look to the artists and find a profession giving the highest bidder what he wants.

When the artists desire to consecrate their vision and technical skill, when the churches wish to serve rather than to govern the spiritual needs of the people, the return to religious drama will happen naturally and inevitably.

What has been done so far is the merest beginning. A production here and there; an enlightened cleric struggling against generations of false tradition; a group of artists breaking away from professionalism and offering their services to the community; a few people celebrating the Church festivals with symbol and pageantry—these things are not enough.

Real religion is a universal thing; it is the link between the human ego and the universe. The expression of it must be a common meeting-place for mystic and materialist.

The success of its presentation depends upon the discovery of the religious emotions and symbols of the man in the street, and that discovery can only be made when artist and churchman alike go into the street to find what he is thinking.

HORACE SHIPP.

That City upon a Hill.

The Christian demand is always an absolute one. The whole life—the use of body, of brain, of money, of opportunity—must, without reservation, be given to the service of the Supreme Goodness. And this demand is emphasised to us by the special call of these days that follow the Great War. We dare not give half-service to-day. There must be no hesitation or doubt in the answer we give, no unwillingness to take risks, no shirking of thought and of labour.

It is glorious to see the spirit of Christ at work in all departments of life, to watch His followers serving in personal ministry, in care of children, in political or industrial organisation, in art, in written and spoken words of help and deeds of healing over the whole face of the globe. But might they not, together, give a more absolute, complete, and effective form of service to help the world to-day. All these forms of work, whether on the small and personal side, or in connection with the biggest organisations, are good and necessary, and are helping to change the face of the world. But they are often "spare-time" activities, and the best hours of a man's day are given to taking part in a system of life that he rejects as un-Christian. If he would escape into more absolute service, we find him often becoming a preacher or a propagandist—and both of these are abnormal and dangerous occupations for the bulk of men. If only the daily occupations of all could be creative songs of praise! And as with daily work, so with the money capital that any may possess. That, too, should not be giving a divided allegiance to serving Mammon, the God of Dividend, with attempts to serve God also—provided enough of us will sign "shareholders' declarations"!

Those who feel thus, especially the younger among us, are attracted by schemes for small companies, who shall settle on the land, with simple industries, and live as brothers together. There is room for such enterprises, but they do not fully meet the needs of the case. Such small groups cannot offer a sufficient variety of life to their members, nor can they really show the way to the far more complex larger societies of men, nor separate themselves greatly from dependence on the world outside their own circle.

But in a large enterprise there is surely more hope, even though it cannot be carried so far towards a full communism. Already the technique of brotherhood in daily life is largely developed, on different sides, in different places. The early "Utopian" Socialists knew little of the complexity and difficulty involved in the provision of the actual modes of association and machinery of collective life. But since their time there has been a great harvest of knowledge and experience gained in the work of Co-operative Societies, Trade Unions (apparently at length to become constructive as well as defensive bodies), women's societies, political bodies, municipal councils and voluntary organisations for every sort of purpose. Democracy is still young, and is

still confused with the idea of majority-rule, but has travelled far and learned much since the days of Robert Owen.

But still, in our national life and in our great cities, all the democratic forces and modes of action are disunited and rendered ineffective because of the need to come to terms with existing vested interests, and to pay blackmail for every social gain.

Could not a body of sober enthusiasts steal a march on the exploiters, and by the method of a new start in a new place found and organise a modern country-town entirely on the Christian principle of service? Is not the time over-ripe for such a bold experiment in England? Could we not thereby avoid the necessity of fighting and buying-out the landlord, house-owner, and industrial harpy, who now have such a hold on our great centres of population and production? Could we not unite in one place, with a free field to start with, all the best of the tried methods of building up a real organic, brotherly common life? Could we not give such a town a real start in freedom, leaving its own inhabitants to fashion its future growth? Could we not exalt education and the happiness of children to its rightful place therein? Is not some experiment in integral social reconstruction necessary, as a local measure, before it can be so fully applied to national and international affairs? Is not here a chance for richness of life and for adventure into greater simplicity and sincerity for those who wish to give themselves and their resources completely to the service of man? Are not all great social movements begun by the advance action of those who are ready to move before the majority can clearly see the way?

This is my cheering news, that such a movement is already in being. The "New Town" Council has worked out a proposal to found a co-operative garden city, which shall be an expression of such motives and such ideas. A "Pioneer Trust" has been formed to commence the enterprise, and a substantial sum of money already raised to purchase the land required. The plans are described in a book entitled "New Town: a Proposal in Agricultural, Industrial, Educational, Civic, and Social Reconstruction," published at 2/- by Dent's. This book and any further information can be obtained from the office of the New Town Council at 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.

There are already many keen and capable men and women supporting the New Town movement; but its full success will depend on whether there are a sufficient number ready to give freely and fully all they have and are in order to lay the firm foundations of this city to be set upon a hill.

POSTERS.—In response to an enquiry from a friend we again state that the cost of a Crusader poster at a London Tube Station is £3 per annum. Similar advertisements at country stations cost somewhat less. It is needless to say that contributions to this form of propaganda will be very welcome.

Will the Russian Rev

By REV

No prophet who values his reputation will venture to arise amid to-day's welter of confusion and try to forecast the future. That inner connection of cause and effect which, in history as in every other science, is the only ground for prediction, seems almost lost. Whenever history repeats itself, the repetition is not due to any blind inevitable fate, but to the fact that in two situations the primary causes at work are the same. Perhaps we are living too near the Russian Revolution and its echoes in our own and other countries, to appreciate all the factors that produced and are sustaining it, but it is rather surprising, nevertheless, that we have not used our knowledge of the French Revolution to guide us in a more enlightened estimate of what is happening in Russia. One wonders why the distinguished historians who so skilfully proved to us that the clear and certain causes of the Great War lay in the last malign forty years of Germany's history, have not solemnly warned us of the tremendous possibilities of the last three years of Russia's convulsions. A Government which includes a first-class historian within its ranks should surely not have been so much at a loss in determining its attitude towards the aspirations and achievements of Russia. Striking resemblances, neither accidental nor superficial, but profound and casual, may even now be traced between the French and Russian revolutions. Such resemblances are history's only danger-signals. It is not history that is blind but men who are blind to history's warnings. Almost within a century and a quarter we have experienced the disastrous consequences of the kind of policy we are now pursuing against Russia, yet we continue none the less unperturbed.

Idealism of French Revolution.

The French Revolution, like the Russian Revolution, was not merely the political triumph of one party in the country over all the others, it was the complete subversion of the old and bad order of society, the exaltation of the lowly, and the passing of full political and economic power into the hands of the people. The characteristic feature of the early days of the French Revolution was its extraordinary achievements in social and economic reconstruction. The last thing at which the Revolution seemed to aim was a military conquest of Europe. The social theories of Rousseau, with his return to the free and happy state of nature and his benign rights of man, inspired and guided the people's enthusiastic idealism. Liberty, equality and fraternity gave them their watchword and their goal. The intolerable tyrannies of feudalism were swept away; class distinctions were abolished and a new constitution based on the principle of absolute social equality was established. A sound system of national education was prepared, while minor reforms such as the metric system revealed a mind open to drastic innovations. Complete though these victories were in the social and economic spheres, the Revolution at first was strongly and even buoyantly pacific in tone, hope and purpose. The millennium itself seemed at hand. The new constitution condemned, renounced and forbade all aggressive war. Even in these days of short-lived memories, one cannot forget that in the closing stages of the Great War it was Russia that led the way with its denunciation of war and its proclamation of no annexations and no indemnities.

Reaction Takes Alarm.

Too many propertied interests, however, had been injured by the Revolution for France to be let alone to pursue its new life. Mentally emancipated by the doctrines of Rousseau, half-intoxicated with the strong wine of liberty after the miserable dregs it had drunk for so long from the bitter cup of feudal tyranny, and feeling within its veins the vigorous pulse of a new and unlimited vitality, France found itself threatened, harassed, intrigued against and eventually attacked by the startled monarchs of Europe. Certain German princes, the modern capitalists or taxers of industry, had large feudal interests in Alsace and when all feudal dues and claims were abolished by the French reformers, the

German princes lost heavily. Compensation in money was offered them but they refused the offer, hoping and working for the overthrow of the new régime and the restoration of their own exactions in Alsace. French nobles, also, who had fled the country, gathered together on the frontiers, like Kolitchak, Denikin and Yudenitch, appealing to foreign courts for financial and military assistance in crushing the new order in France. The king of Sweden proposed a league of kings to defend the principle of monarchy. Finally, the Prussian and Austrian sovereigns held a conference of solemn hypocrisy at which they professed their desire for the restoration of "order" in France and pledged themselves to do all in their power to help the royalist party—the surest way to increase the "disorder." Prussia and Austria alike, however, were secretly too much eaten up with mutual jealousy, fear and greed, to be capable of combined action. The plundering of wretched Poland was more to their taste than the defence of the unfortunate French king. These plots and threats turned the mind of France to the thought and preparation for war. Its humanitarian idealism was soured into a fiercely bellicose patriotism. There was an extremist war-party in France which positively desired war, in order, so to say, to make the world safe for revolution. Their hands were immensely strengthened by the popular anger caused by the continual threats to overthrow the revolutionary government in Paris. England, true to the invariable hostility of its governing classes to democracy, had learned nothing from the disastrous consequence of its shameful attempt to destroy the freedom of the American colonies and had recently formed an alliance with Prussia in order to check the democratic party in the Dutch Netherlands. Although the Dutch democrats, like the American colonists, had had the support of France, the combination of England and Prussia was too strong for them and they succumbed before a Prussian invasion of Holland. After the outbreak of the Revolution, the great-minded English Prime Minister, Pitt, would have preferred peace with France, in spite of the atrocity-mongering of Burke, for Pitt saw that there were elements of rightness in the Revolution and he also perceived, with unerring British instinct, that war with France would be bad for trade. But statesmanship alone was not enough and England eventually came into the war.

The Republic Driven to Militarism.

When hostilities began, the war was still inspired on the French side by lofty and fervent idealism; it was a crusade for social and economic liberty. "Wherever French armies shall come," the Convention declared, "all taxes, tithes and privileges of rank are to be abolished." Dumouriez, the French Foreign Secretary and the Trotzky of the French Revolution, aimed at surrounding France with a ring of peaceful democratic republics. Revolutionary France fought at first to win security for itself and freedom for its neighbours. Volunteers flocked to the French armies, but the latter were so disorganised, leaderless and ill-prepared, that the Prussians with their reinforcements of French nobles actually won possession of Longwy and Verdun. The French peasants in the west, moreover, began to threaten civil war. But the surprising defeat of the Prussians in the Argonne and the crushing victory over the Austrians at Mons saved the Revolution and showed that revolutionary France could produce in an emergency a general of genius. But the dogs of war had now been let slip; the fear that the revolution would be crushed had led to ferocious excesses in Paris, although, as it noted, the guillotine was early used, when food prices began to soar, as a quick way of dealing with profiteers. The social enthusiasm of the new republic was diverted into the channels of war. The fierce energy of a newly-awakened and emancipated nation was harnessed to the chariot of war and it only remained for the master-charioteer, Napoleon Buonaparte, to leap into the seat.

The Modern Parallel.

Russia to-day wants peace. Its Revolution was one of the direct consequences of war and its earliest proclamations

follow the French?

ere against war. The victories Russia seeks are social, economic and industrial. The Revolution in Russia, as in France, has generated an amazing enthusiasm and energy, which have made possible an almost utopian scheme of industrial reconstruction. Russia wants and needs peace to develop its new economic life. It seeks peace with its neighbours and relief from the intrigues and threats of foreign governments. But war is thrust upon it. Like France of 1792, it has earned the bitter enmity of foreign capitalists who find that in the new economic order the hope of their gains is gone. Upon its frontiers also, forces of its own emigrant nobles are gathered, appealing for foreign intervention and dependent upon foreign military aid for the overthrow of the new and hated régime. Repeated conferences between governments whose own countries are seething with unrest, have passed pious resolutions regretting the "disorder" in Russia, and have promptly taken steps to increase it. The dread that revolutionary Russia may show the world a shining example of a successful co-operative commonwealth is ever present to the uncrowned heads of Europe.

Russia itself shows an almost inexplicable capacity to resist armed attack. Surely a special Providence watches over the raw armies of revolutionary republics! The spirit that spoke in the French Convention, when an English fleet was in possession of the great French arsenal of Toulon, "better that 25 million beings should perish than the republic one and indivisible," speaks in Russia to-day. Only there are more than 25 million Russians. The economic disorganization of Russia, at the moment, must not be taken to indicate moral exhaustion or lack of authoritative control. The fact that Russia has imposed industrial conscription upon itself, for the sake of its army and its food, points to a national unity and a moral power that cannot be paralleled to-day in any other European country. Russia wants peace, but the blindness, folly, greed and small-mindedness of Europe's Big People are slowly forcing its energy and enthusiasm into military channels. Once let the passion of war be harnessed to the chariot of war, and who can say where its wheels will come to rest?

The Russian Revolution is still in its early stages. Trotzky is not Napoleon: he is only Dumouriez. There is no fatal and inevitable necessity for it to repeat the terrible course of the French Revolution. Sinister signs that it is heading that way can unfortunately clearly be seen. Early in the French Revolution, Marat declared, "we must establish the despotism of liberty to crush the despotism of kings." Napoleon was the unforeseen embodiment of that ill-omened paradox. Russian spokesmen already are urging "the dictatorship of the proletariat" as the only weapon to end universally the dictatorship of capital. The phrase itself is ugly and suspicious enough; the reality might become monstrous. The dictatorship of the proletariat may prove as vital to the economic and industrial liberation of Europe as was Napoleon's bloody and tyrannical "despotism of liberty" to the political freedom of France itself and Europe.

Is it too Late?

Is it too late for the rest of Europe to change its attitude to Russia, or is the first co-operative commonwealth to be ordered to turn all its energies, its resources, its brains, and its genius to the business of war? The two things which minds accustomed to dominate cannot understand are the passion for liberty which may possess a people held down by military or economic pressure, and the amazing energy which newly-freed people may swiftly acquire. The fatal weakness of the "practical politician" is his incapacity to appreciate the power of ideas to sustain and evoke enthusiasm—the Achilles' heel of many a tyrant. There are millions of people in Austria, Germany, Italy and France who would leap with joy at a triumphant invasion of their countries by revolutionary Russia. They might be terribly disappointed afterwards. At present there seems to be no European mind able to rise to the challenge of liberated Russia. There is

not even a Pitt strong enough to withstand the fears and the interests that clamour for war, and to give the Revolution a chance. Not that such a Pitt again to-day would be equal to Europe's task, for the situation now as then is beyond statesmancraft. It is a spiritual issue for which only the mind of Christ is sufficient.

The Alternative.

Lord Curzon has quite accurately pointed out that the Great War is not yet over. Sir Henry Wilson reminds us that there are over twenty wars going on somewhere or other. To-day we may just be enjoying a temporary lull between the bigger combatants in a twenty years' war. We simply do not know—we are just drifting on anywhere. Now as ever the world's only hope of salvation lies in the drastic revolution of the Kingdom of God. It is useless to make war on the Russian Revolution and it is impossible, as we are, to be at peace with it. The revolution of the Kingdom must get ahead of the Russian Revolution, and destroy the latter's fascinating ascendancy in the hopes of men by showing that in comparison with the joys and the power of the Christian revolution, the ideal of a dictatorship of the proletariat is second-rate and behind the times. In every country of Europe, Christ must lead the revolution or the revolutionaries will lead the world into a wild chaos of abortive violence. The zeal of Christian renunciation must outstrip the fervour of revolutionary socialism in the race for the lordship of men's idealism. We are often told that the time is not yet ripe for the revolutionary teaching of Jesus to be put into practice. No nation is yet ready, we are told, for a Christian revolution. But in both the French and the Russian Revolutions we have striking examples of whole nations consciously and deliberately setting themselves to translate into immediate action and policy the doctrines of a master-mind. The minds of the French reformers were steeped in the theories of Rousseau and all they did was based deliberately upon his doctrines. The Russian Revolution is the practical application of the ideas and teaching of Karl Marx. Robespierre was the blind and almost fanatical believer in Rousseau as Lenin is in Marx. Why cannot men be persuaded of the practicability of the teaching of Christ? Is Jesus less of a humanitarian than Rousseau or less in earnest than Karl Marx? We might begin by persuading our governments and fellow-countrymen to renounce all capitalistic claims on the wealth and industry of Russia. The sense of immeasurable relief such action would bring, might encourage us to do the same for our own countries. But unless Europe's righteousness exceed that of revolutionary proletariats, the convulsions, the agonies and the slaughter of the Napoleonic era are about to be repeated tenfold.

WANTED.—Lady to go to the Free State of Danzig to teach English to German children. Live with family; comfortable home; salary to be arranged.—Particulars from E.C., "The Crusader," 23 Bride Lane, Fleet Street, London.

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Pacifists and the Revolution.

By WILFRED WEILLOCK.

I daresay that many readers of my recent articles will have the impression that I am the victim of a "scare." And it is possible that I am, and that things will "settle down" and a way of salvation from the existing social order be found which will be fundamental and yet peaceful. But I do not think that anyone could see and hear what I have seen and heard during the last few weeks and believe in such an eventuality. During this period, the manifold impressions that have been made upon my mind since the armistice, but particularly since the publication of the Peace Treaty, have undergone a process of crystallisation that is surprising even to myself. It were as if my mind, in sheer obedience to its own laws, had drawn out the logic of events. For months I have been working in the belief that it were possible to create a public opinion with sufficient spiritual dynamic to effect a social revolution without the shedding of blood. I no longer believe in that possibility.

The plain fact is that forces are at work from one end of the earth to the other which are dividing mankind into two huge camps. Reason stands between these camps helpless and forlorn. Materialism, passion, disbelief in human nature are fast bringing a situation wherein the sword will be the only means of communication. Politics are even now little more than a means of increasing Party power, and thus of preparation for an approaching conflict. Nowhere do I find any belief in the "other side." Consequently, politics are impossible, and parliamentarism is but a mask to hide more sinister intentions and preparations. Neither Right nor Left, although very often they are not conscious of the fact, and would probably repudiate it, believe in parliamentarism. Only yesterday a prominent member of the Right said to me, shaking his first: "The only hope of Germany is a strong Government." What he had in mind, although he would not have admitted it, was a dictatorship of the Right. But in every land the tendency of the time is to think politics in terms of force, and, finally, of physical force.

My contention, moreover, is supported by the outlook and policy of the Left-wing Socialists almost throughout Germany. Not only the Independents, but the Communists also are so convinced that a revolution approaches, and that it will be brought by the Right, that they have given up all thought of engineering a revolution themselves, and are thus concentrating on education and preparation for control. The revolution is taken for granted; the Soviet Republic is an almost visible reality: both are household terms.

And I think their judgment is right. They understand the capitalists better than the capitalists understand them, or even themselves, because, on the whole, their attitude is higher, more spiritual. Indeed, the present situation of the world is the product of capitalist greed and materialism. And when

a materialist cause is opposed to a spiritual one, those who support it are bound, sooner or later, unless someone comes and opens their eyes, to run their heads against the wall.

Now the question we pacifists have to face is, what are we going to do when the capitalists take this final step? Are we going to help the revolution, or are we going to stand aside and merely criticise and condemn? At least, let us be honest and face the situation.

And it is no answer to say we must seek to prevent such an issue. Certainly we must try to do that, but what we must realise is that unless the eyes of the capitalists are opened, and that soon, the demand of the workers to live as men should live, to sweep away the barriers which stand in the way of true social and spiritual development, will be too powerful to be silenced, and will carry all before it.

A prophet might save us, or, failing a prophet, the organisation of a great spiritual campaign. Lacking both, the crisis will come. Shall we stand aside?

I for one shall not be able to stand aside. I am a pacifist on spiritual and psychological grounds. I believe that Christian pacifism is the highest principle of human conduct, and must in all circumstances be more effective than conduct on the physical plane. I believe that under all circumstances I can do more through my mind than through my body. Thus I am an absolutist pacifist. But what we have to recognise is that the great majority of mankind have never thought out this question, and probably have never had it presented to them. And it is not clear, at first sight, that a people imbued with the pacifist idea would be able to shock, paralyse and reduce to impotence the entire capitalist forces by a single act of will. For this reason the people will, when the crisis comes, take the sword as being their only means of salvation from the menace of capitalism, whose final instrument of defence must ever be the sword.

So far as I can see, our work should be the continuation of what we are doing or ought to be doing at present, viz., to try and reveal to the capitalists the spiritual issues involved in the revolution, and also to make those issues more conscious to the workers. Moreover, we must endeavour to teach the necessity for tolerance and sympathy, to show that the sword is an evil, notwithstanding the argument that it may be necessary in order to destroy a greater evil, and that it creates new enemies which will have to be overcome afterwards.

Indeed, I am convinced that when the revolution comes, its success will largely depend upon the number of men and women there are who have the pacifist mind and who give themselves entirely to the upholding of the great spiritual aims and motives that are behind it.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

LEWISHAM BRANCH.—The annual meeting will be held on Saturday, June 12th, at 6 p.m., at 16 Garlies Road, Forest Hill, taking the form of a garden party and social. Beatrice Hoysted, who is having a few days rest in this country before resuming her work in Vienna, will speak. The secretary of the Union will also be present.

OPEN AIR MISSION.—We should be very grateful for volunteers who, while unable to speak, would be ready to help in bringing the stand to meetings or taking it away. To have to do this after a long and exhausting meeting, which may be followed by another, involves a very great strain. This is especially so in the case of the Marble Arch meetings. May we hear from men who would undertake to be there on Tuesdays, Thursdays, or Fridays by 7 p.m. and to carry the stand back to Thomas Street. The following meetings are arranged:—Friday, 11th, at 5.45, Marble Arch, H. E. Brown, C. Paul Gliddon, E. Oakes; at 7.45, Walthamstow, Hoe Street, Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen; at 8 p.m., Kilburn, The Grange-way, C. Paul Gliddon, J. Newton Harris, Ivy Sheldon. Sunday, 13th, at 11.45, Leytonstone, outside The Green Man, C. Paul Gliddon; at 3.30, Hampstead, outside Jack Straw's Castle, J. Newton Harris, Winifred Wood; at 8.15, Tottenham, outside Friends' Meeting House, Alfred Cordell, Basil Tritton. Monday, 14th, at 7 p.m., Forest Gate, outside G.E.R. Station, W. H. Hancock, J. Newton Harris; at 8 p.m., Leytonstone, outside G.E.R. Station, Alfred Cordell, C. Paul Gliddon. Tuesday, 15th, at 5.45, Marble Arch, C. Paul Gliddon, Winifred Wood. Wednesday, 16th, at 7.45, Stepney, corner of Commercial Road and Sutton Street, C. Paul Gliddon; at 8, Catford, outside railway station, Alfred Cordell, Horace Fuller. Thursday, 17th, at 5.45, Marble Arch, W. H. Hancock, E. Alcock Rush; at 8, Kentish Town, corner of Leighton Road and Kentish Town Road, J. B. Lief, E. Oakes, Winifred Wood. Friday, 18th, at 5.45, Marble Arch, H. E. Brown, C. Paul Gliddon, Basil Tritton; at 7.45, Walthamstow, corner of Hoe Street and High Street, Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen; at 8, Kilburn, The Grange-way, H. W. Green, J. Newton Harris, Ivy Sheldon.

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John Ball.

Just by chance a day or two ago I picked up and read C. H. Norman's excellent pamphlet, published by the Independent Labour Party, entitled "The Revolutionary Spirit in Modern Literature." Norman points out the difference between Shakespeare's day and ours, in the relation of Literature to the Social Conscience. Shakespeare's light-hearted treatment of Jack Cade would be impossible at the present time. Turning over such matters in my mind, I wondered that no one had thought of dramatising the Wat Tyler rebellion. There is Florence Converse's delightful story, "Long Will," and William Morris' poem, "John Ball," but I knew of no attempt to set forth in dramatic form one of the greatest moments in the history of English Labour. And then, by a curious coincidence, there was put into my hands Halcott Glover's powerful play, "Wat Tyler," published for half-a-crown by the Bloomsbury Press, 4, Bloomsbury Place, London, W.C.1.

I welcome this play for several reasons, but chiefly because it will afford an opportunity for those in the Socialist and Labour movement who see the propaganda value of art to exercise their gifts. This autumn and winter should see many public performances of Halcott Glover's work by such bodies.

The author has made one mistake. He should have called his play "John Ball." There is no doubt that it is the "mad priest" who is the central figure. And when at the last, in despair at the drunkenness and levity that has weakened the leaders of the rebellion, he disappears, the real action of the play comes to an end.

From his first appearance, Ball is seen to be the true leader of the movement. When a messenger announces to Tyler that the lord through whose domain they are marching is anxious to identify himself with the people, "provided that he being a skilled man in wars and in policy you shall admit him to our councils and give him that share in direction which belongs to his rank," Wat Tyler is overjoyed. Jack Straw, however, is dubious of the new recruit. "Jack, you grieve me," says Tyler. "The faithfulness of a man lies in his soul, not in his coat. I have wanted only this: that our demand should find support among all classes. . . . Ball, you are of my mind. Speak!" And Ball replies: "Valiant leader; honest, trusting man, my mind is not with you."

The difference between the priest and the artisan becomes increasingly clear. Tyler is glad to avail himself of the enthusiasm John Ball is able to inspire, but he suspects his religious idealism. "I made this rising for a simple end," he says, "there is no end to what you would set going." There you have, set side by side with the finest discrimination, two types to be found in the Labour movement of to-day—the "practical" Trade Unionist, who asks no more than a larger wage and shorter hours, and the revolutionary idealist, to whose programme there is no end.

Wat Tyler's success was his undoing. Lacking the stern discipline that comes from a genuinely revolutionary and religious purpose, the mob he has gathered about him gives way to all manner of licentiousness. We see and pity their childish glee in the turn things have taken. Mr. Glover's play sets before our eyes, in graphic manner, the forces, always present in a popular movement, of disintegration. Whether intentionally or no, the dramatist has made us feel with tragic force the futility of such leadership as that of the Wat Tylers of Labour.

"My voice," says this "leader," "is no more than a chance trumpet picked up on the roadside. Would you be a lord, a fool in scarlet, taking on yourself to think for others; to rule them, be responsible for them? A people's man, I, out and out. I take my colour from the crowd—no better, no wiser, no worse than they. They believe in a King, and I, too, as I've found him in fairy tales; but in my heart there is but one King, and his name is Hodge."

Straw: In my heart, in the hearts of the people I know, there is a great need: it is for a leader. I saw him in you; I saw him in John Ball.

Tyler: Man, Wat Tyler and John Ball destroy each other, to the end of time. Only Hodge remains.

When the reader has put down this play there will still echo in his mind the cry of the disillusioned priest-democrat, itself an echo of the poignant tragedy of idealists in all ages who have sought to give direction to popular discontent:—

"Lost—lost—lost! Abomination and desolation! The People who came singing. . . could ye not watch with me one hour? Oh, if I with my single life might atone for all the evil done this day, for the unutterable evil of this coming night—I, for ever among the damned! Let me not live! . . . The cool, lapping water calls to me. Give me a sign that this sacrifice might be acceptable, that by my death the hand of vengeance might be stayed! Thou, in other days hast spoken to me; one word now, in my uttermost need!"

There comes a sound of drunken voices, renewed shrieks from the city. Ball hears, and utters a horrible cry:—

Devils—devils! Not a word, but the word of demons. Deceived, deceived!—in my miserable pride, I, who thought myself the messenger of heaven—duped, damned, an instrument of hell! Oh, oh, my heart, my soul! I have known great darkness; I have cried in pain; but my extremest grief was joy, delight, to this! My God, thou hast forsaken me!

Though, throughout the play, one is kept in touch with the modern situation, the writing is happily free from the usual clichés of Socialistic rhetoric. Restraint, deep feeling, and not a little insight, are apparent. But most of all the drama is to be valued for the forceful way in which is pressed home the need for the type of leadership in the Social Movement which such as John Ball could give. I know of no finer artistic setting of the theme that popular discontent needs, and must have, for its triumph, the inspiration of Christian leadership.

The Bloomsbury Press is to be heartily congratulated on the appearance and contents of this, its first publication.

From the East to the West.

A great crime has been done in the name of law in the Punjab. Such terrible eruptions of evil leave their legacy of the wreckage of ideals behind them. What happened in Jallianwala Bagh was itself a monstrous progeny of a monstrous wave which for four years had been defiling God's world with fire and poison, physical and moral. The immenseness of the sin through which humanity had waded across its blood-red length of agony has bred callousness in the minds of those who have power in their hands with no check of sympathy within or fear of resistance without.

This disruption of the basis of civilisation will continue to produce a series of moral earthquakes, and men will have to be ready for still further sufferings. That the balance will take a long time to be restored is clearly seen by the suicidal ferocity of vengeance ominously tinged red the atmosphere of peace deliberations.

But we have no place in these orgies of triumphant powers rending the world into bits according to their own purposes. What most concerns us is to know that the moral degradation not only pursues the people inflicting indignities upon the helpless, but also their victims. The dastardliness of cruel injustice, confident of its impunity is ugly and mean, but the fear and impotent anger which they are apt to breed upon the minds of the weak are no less abject.

Brothers, when physical force in its arrogant faith in itself tries to crush the spirit of man, then comes the time for him to assert that his soul is indomitable. We shall refuse to be afraid and to own moral defeat by cherishing in our hearts foul dreams of retaliation. The time has come for the victims to be the victors in the field of righteousness.

When brother spills the blood of his brother and exults in his sin, giving it a high sounding name, when he tries to keep the blood stains fresh on the soil as a memorial of his anger, then God in shame conceals it under his green grass and the sweet purity of his flowers.

We who have witnessed the wholesale slaughter of the innocent in our neighbourhood—let us accept God's own office and cover the bloodstains of iniquity with our prayer:

Rudra, yad té dakshinam mukham tena mam pahnityan.

With thy graciousness, O Terrible, for ever save us.

For the true grace comes from the Terrible who can save our soul from fear of suffering and death in the very midst of terror, and from vindictiveness in defiance of injury. Let us take our lesson from his hand, even when the smart of the pain and insult is still fresh,—the lesson that all meanness, cruelty, and untruth are for the obscurity of oblivion, and only the noble and true are for eternity.

Let those who wish, try to burden the minds of the future with stones carrying the black memory of wrongs and their anger, but let us bequeath to the generations to come memorials of that only which we can revere—let us be grateful to our forefathers who have left us the image of our Buddha who conquered self, preached forgiveness, and spread his love far and wide in time and space.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

(Reprinted from "Foreign Affairs" by the kind permission of the Editor.)

An Open Letter to Dr. Horton.

DEAR DR. HORTON,

I was present at your monthly lecture at Lyndhurst Road last Sunday evening. It is greatly to your credit and that of your church that such a subject as "Revolution" should be openly billed in the respectable district of Hampstead. Revolution was a horribly uncomfortable thing to introduce into such surroundings. How would they take it? At the end of the lecture I was aghast. Not at the way the congregation had taken it, but at the way you had taken it. Candidly, one is led to the conclusion that you ought not to be allowed to raise ghosts in Hampstead unless you can lay them. At the risk of seeming brutal, let me speak straightly. The conclusion of your lecture was unworthy of you. You suggested that after all we could still sleep safely because many of the leaders of the Labour Party were Christian men. You had evidently brooded on the subject till you had become unnerved. This aspect of your lecture had impressed Mr. Harold Spender, who pointed out to you in the discussion afterwards that one way to encourage revolution

was to live in mortal fear of it.

Underlying the whole of your lecture was the assumption that a revolution must necessarily be a bloody revolution, and in your anxiety to avoid it you would still go on propping up our present rotten social system. God forbid that I should travesty what you said; but it did seem to me that when you stated that our only hope was in Christ, the suggestion was that He should rather save us from the consequences than the causes of revolution.

If you would avoid a bloody revolution, preach the real revolution. The cure for revolution is more revolution. Don't be afraid of a revolution, preach it! Welcome it!! The perfect love of our fellow-man will cast out the fear of revolution; it will bring a revolution that shall make not only this England of ours, but of the whole wide world, a place for brothers to dwell in.

Yours sincerely,

J. D. HOLMES.

In the Open.

The call of the open air is heard throughout our land. The street and public places are thronged. Indoor meetings are deserted. Even the cinemas and music halls have for the moment lost some of their attraction. Men and women with a living message to proclaim have now their opportunity. Aimless wandering soon loses its charm and an enthusiastic propagandist is warmly welcomed. There are two classes of speakers who never fail to attract a crowd—those who have something pleasing to say and those who are good-humouredly provocative. Some of our readers have not been slow to take up the challenge and set up their platforms at street corners and in the parks. It is interesting to wander from stand to stand, listen to the message, and watch its reception.

One of the most typical of these meetings is to be found near the newspaper kiosk in Hyde Park, on Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, between the hours of 6 to 8 p.m. There may be found a slight wooden structure, distinguished from the rest by having a copy of the "Crusader" pinned in front of the rail. On this rostrum is an enthusiastic man or woman uttering strange sayings which are eagerly listened to by an ever growing crowd. After the speaker has delivered his soul, questions are invited and without a pause point after point is taken up and keenly debated between the speaker and one or more of his hearers. The practical implication of Revolutionary Christianity is the theme but its illustrations cover the entire world of politics, economics, and social life. Not until the leader is entirely exhausted does the fire of questions show signs of slackening.

Then follows a steady movement towards the gate where our "Crusader" seller is perforce stationed as no printed matter is allowed to be sold or distributed in the Park itself. He and his little wheel chair are getting quite a familiar sight now and he does a brisk trade amongst those whose interest or curiosity lead them to desire further information on the points that have been raised inside the gates. Some would-be buyers have even been known to follow our friend into a neighbouring tea shop in their desire to obtain a copy of our brave little paper.

But Hyde Park is not the only place where this kind of propaganda is carried on. A glance at the weekly list will show that usually two meetings are held on each evening and the area could be much widened were more helpers available. The help needed is of three kinds.

If a meeting is to be really successful, some reliable person must undertake to be at the agreed spot with something in the nature of a platform and with a bundle of "Crusaders" for sale. Nothing is more discouraging to a speaker than to turn up for a meeting and discover that no one else is sufficiently interested to put in an appearance. This is not by any means an unknown experience but it is getting rarer and will probably cease altogether when the object of our propaganda is more widely understood and appreciated.

The next need is for a number of people whose main business is to form the nucleus of a crowd. Thus the speaker is spared that sickening feeling of isolation which often comes over him like a flood if he has to mount a lonely platform and draw his own crowd. If in addition these friends will surround him with an atmosphere of prayer and sympathy, the success of the meeting is practically assured. Further help can sometimes be given by a judicious and well-thought-out question in places where the audience has not yet found its bearings and got on familiar terms with the platform. This may seem to the uninitiated a very unimportant piece of work but the speaker views it in an entirely different light.

Finally we must have more speakers if we are to take full advantage of this great opportunity. Open-air speaking is by no means easy work but it is well worth attempting. When bidden to speak our most enthusiastic and successful propagandists usually wake up with a feeling that something dreadful is hanging over them and their first conscious thought is an involuntary prayer for rain. But once on the platform with the opening remarks safely uttered all reluctance disappears in the sense of the greatness of the theme and the opportunity. The element of danger is also beginning to be dimly felt. The police listen to us doubtfully and wonder whether we are talking politics or Christianity. The former may become dangerous unless carefully watched. The latter is regarded at present as quite innocuous and not to be feared. How long this will continue to be the case depends on us. So long as we confine ourselves to talk we shall be unmolested. As soon as our talk begins to materialise in action other things will happen. This is as it should be. Whilst the world is indifferent to us we shall accomplish little. When we once succeed in making clear the implications of our faith persecution will follow as a matter of course. It is to this sort of propaganda we invite you.

N.H.

An Apostle of Socialism.

The British Socialist movement has suffered a severe loss by the death of J. Bruce Glasier, who, after a long and exhausting illness—he had been confined to his room for nearly 18 months—passed peacefully and gently away on Friday last.

A colleague writes:—Bruce Glasier was born in 1859, and his early days were spent on a farm in the Scottish Highlands. He came later to Glasgow, and as a young man entered whole-heartedly into the Irish Land League and Henry George campaigns. Direct work for a Socialist organisation almost immediately followed, and he joined the Democratic Federation in 1883. Shortly after he came into contact with William Morris and the Socialist League, the spirit of which was far more in harmony with his temperament.

Association with Keir Hardie followed, and almost from the inception of the I.L.P. he became actively associated with it, together with his devoted wife, Katherine St. John Conway, to whom he was married in 1893. He was elected to the National Council of the I.L.P. in 1897, became its first chairman in succession to Keir Hardie in 1900, has been editor

of its official organ, the "Labour Leader," and its quarterly "Socialist Review," a Parliamentary candidate, polling 3,976 votes for Bordesley in 1906, a local councillor and guardian, and all the time a most active propagandist of the principles he held dear. He was an inspirer and idealist, before all else—an International Socialist. It is no disparagement to the work of others to say that he was largely responsible for the strong anti-militarist attitude taken up by the I.L.P. Personally, he held that it was wrong for Socialists to participate in war, whatever the ostensible grounds, but he also recognised that this view had not come to be generally held by Socialists, and, as sometimes he would point out, Socialism was not the only self-appraised power for peace and civilisation which failed to prevent the war.

Socialism to Bruce Glasier meant Freedom, joy of life, the displacement of individual gain by co-operation for the collective good—not only the Socialisation of wealth, but of our lives, our hearts, —ourselves, and "Lo! its light is in the world and its triumph is heralded in every wind."

Christian Commonwealth Fellowship.



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscriptions for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more.

than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, pendants, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Postage 2d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

How to Make a Fellowship World.

We in the C.C.F. are in the thick of a fight, a conflict of ideas. "Amor Vincit Omnia" is being challenged on every side, every day. And often we expend our energies upon feeble little acts of warfare, and wear our spirits thin while accomplishing very little. At times we are utterly weary, and wonder whether, after all, Love is the strongest force in the world. The work of the C.C.F. is truly in the world of ideas; we have to carefully plant and tend the living thought of Fellowship in the hearts of others. But its work is also on a higher plane—the spiritual. It is there that the real victory is won; and from this vantage-ground we see everything in a new light. Therefore it is that there exists within the Fellowship a group of people who have pledged themselves to this unceasing claiming of the Kingdom where it may be claimed, to a "courageous stepping out into the big free spaces where God is."

The League of Prayer.

In 1916, this little group began to gather. They called themselves the League of Prayer. But "prayer" was understood in its very widest and deepest sense. As 2515 (Finchley) puts it: "The form or manner of prayer may with one be simple supplication or petition; with another, strong affirmation, the prayer of confident, expectant faith; with yet another, silent realisation of the Omnipresence of Good." Whatever it may mean to the individual, we are certain that in corporate concentration upon a subject or a person, we are putting ourselves in the line of Divine power, and co-operating with it. We learn many things: among them, that love never faileth and that there is no limit to its power. The League of Prayer works quietly, and little is said about it. But it is necessary that its aims and methods should sometimes be set forth, for it is the very backbone of the C.C.F. For, as 2796 (Mansfield) reminds us: "Once let spiritual laws be understood, material things must answer and obey." Our purpose, then, in thus banding ourselves together is to seek with greater diligence that treasure of divine life that God has hidden in the heart of man, that "what is deepest within us may escape into our words and acts"; that we may attain to composure and serenity of spirit, in success and non-success, joy and sorrow, and to confident communion at all times with the seen and unseen good, so that we may render more faithful and

worthy service; for we believe that all the great problems of our time wait for their solution by God-inspired men and women. To this end we set apart a portion of each day for quiet thought and prayer, following a very simple method.

"Let thy soul tread softly in thee,
Like a saint in Heaven, unshod;
For to be alone in silence
Is to be at home with God."

Fellows who would like further particulars of our method, and of the books that have been found most helpful, are asked to send a stamped addressed envelope to the Organiser, League of Prayer. Suggestions also will be gladly welcomed, and inspirations and experiences that have come to those who are following this Way of Prayer—if these can be shared.

Fellowship Gardening.

The above has dealt chiefly with ourselves and our work. But you can glimpse the power of our Fellowship if its thoughts were hovering around one member whose needs were great, or one special piece of work. When from time to time those who specially need us are mentioned in this page will you take it as a call to you, to include them in your daily "gardening," as 3585 (Bexley Heath) so aptly expresses it?

Fellowship Wanted.

5051 (Fulham), who joined us last July, when just demobilised, still needs that warm hand-grip that is characteristic of the C.C.F. He is willing to be enthusiastic and to work for Fellowship if someone will explain ways and means. Fond of books and walking, and interested in social matters, etc., he finds his church not wide enough for him, and London a lonely place.

5405 (Manchester), a secretary, specially interested in education and the study of languages, and in religion of the Student Christian Movement and Fellowship type, would like to meet Fellows in Manchester; she would also correspond in French or German.

Will 5331 (York) write to 4385 (Chorley), a ship's steward needing Fellowship?

Answers to Correspondents.

463 (Wolsingham):—Words fail us in trying to thank you for your last letter with its helpfulness; our heartiest co-operation is yours.

Helpers.

Headquarters is very grateful indeed to those Fellows who have come forward to give and to offer clerical work: 239 (Beaconsfield) and her Chums, 1597 and 2495 (Brighton), 5109 (Canterbury), 5349 (Kilburn), and 677 and 3099 (N. London).

Annual Subscriptions and New Members.

We acknowledge, with thanks, the following annual subscriptions:—J.S., G.B., E.T. (all of Newcastle, 1s. 6d. each); E.R. (Dalston, 2s. 6d.); M.B., M.M. (Fossway, 2s. 6d. each); D.S. (Beith, 2s.); A. McK. D. (Moffat, 2s.); H. Ll.-J. (Stockton Heath, 5s.); M.A.T. (E. Boldon, 2s. 6d.); R.D. (Doncaster, 1s. 6d.); P.K. (Marlborough, 2s.); E.A.W. (Marlborough, 2s.); P.Y. (Sheffield, 1s. 6d.); R.H. (Fremantle, W. Australia, 6s. 10d.); L.P. (Liverpool, 2s.); W.H. (Stockton-on-Tees, 2s. 6d.); T.H. (Saltburn, 7s. 3d.); I.J. (Holloway, 2s. 6d.); L.M.S. (Burton, 1s. 6d.); M.L. (Small Heath, 1s.); F.G.H. (Small Heath, 1s.).

We welcome the following new members:—D.B.M. (Manchester, 5405, 1s. 6d.); F.P. (Briton Ferry, 5391, 1s. 6d.).

SIDELIGHTS.

Bruce Glasier.

From what proved to be his death-bed Bruce Glasier a few weeks ago sent out this message to his comrades in the Socialist movement:—"I seem to be on a watch tower and to be looking down at all humanity. And it is wonderfully good, wonderfully beautiful. All the meanness and ugliness and selfishness are passing things. We have only to appeal to the best for the best to respond. Every loving thought and deed helps to bring the new Society we want. All efforts to get it without love will fail."

Profit Sharing.

To what extent, says "The Call," "profit-sharing" has commended itself to the workers as an alternative to the expropriation of capital, and what proportion of the plunder actually does filter back to the plundered by the operation of these schemes may be gathered from a brief examination of a report lately issued by the Ministry of Labour dealing with the progress of the "Movement" since its inception over 56 years ago.

The outstanding facts revealed in the report are as follows:

Out of 380 schemes started since 1865, only 182 were still in existence on October 31 last, the number of employees involved being 243,000.

Of the abandoned schemes the cause of their breakdown in 13 cases was unknown; in six failure was due to death of employer, sale of business, change of management, etc.; in 49 to want of financial success; and in 91 to dissatisfaction on the part of employers and employees or similar causes.

While in every year some firms have been unable to pay any bonus at all the average in other cases taken over a long period may be reckoned at 5 to 5 per cent.—the equivalent of two or three weeks wages (say £10).

So that what it all amounts to, at the outside, is that a quarter million workpeople (out of a population of nearly 50 millions) have for some years been receiving £10 per annum over and above their nominal wages—a very cheap insurance against revolution, if it could be relied upon to have the desired effect.

The Decay of the House of Commons.

In a striking article entitled "A Revolution from within" the "Nation" shows how power is slipping from Parliament. After speaking of "direct action" methods the writer goes on to say:—

A newer feature still is the loss of constructive initiative from the Government to other bodies. In this development there are very hopeful signs. Ten years ago it looked as if the tendency for the Central Government to absorb all real power and authority was growing rapidly and inevitably. To-day it has been arrested. A Government with such control over Parliament as no previous Government has enjoyed has proved itself utterly destitute of creative ideas. If we look at Ireland, we see that the Government has merely taken somebody else's scheme and asked Sir Edward Carson to make such modifications as he dares. In education its policy has been too timid and pedestrian to excite the slightest enthusiasm. Or take the mining problem. The Miners' Federation produce a scheme a good part of which commends itself to the acute and dispassionate judgment of Mr. Justice Sankey. What scheme has the Government? But the capital illustration of all is housing. Has any Government ever collapsed so ingloriously before an urgent task?

If all that had happened had been that the Government had shown itself incapable of reconstruction, there would be no reason for rejoicing in the humiliating spectacle. But the failure of the Government has been followed by a welcome revival of initiative outside the official world. Houses were urgently needed, and the Government were quite unable to supply them. In this emergency local authorities have had

to look to themselves and to the trade unions. In a number of places houses are being supplied by direct building, in one town where trade unionism was practically unknown ten years ago a middle-class Borough Council are working harmoniously with the trade unions, having been converted to this arrangement by the sheer impossibility of obtaining houses by any other method. But, of course, the most important development is the creation of Guilds, first in Manchester and now in London, which bid fair to revolutionise the building industry, and to convert it into a form of organised public service on democratic lines.

Bertrand Russell on The Dictatorship.

Bertrand Russell, in the course of an article in "English Review" for June, writes thus:—

Every strong conception of human life tends to pass through three phases. In the first, it is amiable, humanitarian, persuasive, seeking to convince by argument rather than by force. In the second phase, having acquired a certain strength, and roused an opposition of a certain fierceness, it ceases to be amiable and becomes militant, justifying its militancy by the belief, inherited from the amiable phase, that its victory will bring the millennium. In the third phase, having acquired power, it becomes oppressive and cruel. Christianity exhibited the first of these phases in the time of Constantine; in the Crusades it exhibited the second; in the Inquisition it exhibited the third. Capitalism has passed through similar phases. In Adam Smith, Coleridge and Bright we see its amiable phase. In its overthrow of feudal institutions it exhibited its militant phase. In its exploitation of inferior races, and the anti-Socialist reign of terror, we see its third, tyrannical phase. The same thing has happened as regards Nationalism, though here the course of development is different in different nations, according to their strength. Mazzini exhibited its amiable phase, Bismarck its militant phase, and modern Imperialism its tyrannical phase.

Socialism has passed, with the accession of Lenin, from its amiable to the militant stage. In so passing, it has lost much of its attractiveness for certain types of mind. There are those who feel acutely the evils of the existing world and desire ardently the existence of a world free from these evils, who yet shrink from the stern conflict which is involved in getting rid of them.

"COD AND BREAD."

The Gild Shop, 31, Palmerston Road, Walthamstow, 3.17, has published the first of a series of "Gild Pamphlets." It is by Reginald Sorensen and carries the above title. The price is twopenny. Its scope may be gathered from some of its headings—"Economics and the Soul," "The Revolution and the Spirit," "The Blindness of Christians," "The Catholic Church," "The Red Flag and Jesus Christ." It is written in a racy and popular style and will make good propaganda material.

DOMINATION OR BROTHERHOOD.—Lunch hour lectures on this subject will be given by Rev. W. Walsh, D.D., at Devonshire House, 136 Bishopsgate, E.C., 1.20 to 1.50 p.m. on Mondays. June 14th. "The Universal Basis of Morals."

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters of a Century," 6.30, Miss Maude Royden, Master of the Music, Martin Shaw.

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The Outlook.

AS an indication of the political instability of Europe, take these events of the last week. In Italy the Cabinet has been defeated on the first day of its meeting with the Chamber. The Austrian Coalition has collapsed, and Dr. Renner has resigned. The German Election results are of an indecisive character and point to a further political crisis in the near future. The Polish Cabinet has resigned. In Greece they are talking of establishing a Republic. Add to these the growing embitterment of French feeling towards this country, the unsolved problems of the Near East, the unrest among the Indian and Egyptian peoples, and the practical declaration of war against Ireland, and it does not look as though we might expect to "settle down" for some time to come.

THE delegates of the Labour Party, who were sent to Hungary at the invitation of Horthy's Government, have issued a report confirming the existence of a White Terror. As the "Nation" observes, their conclusions are in flat contradiction with the official British reports. The document informs us that there are no less than 12,000 persons still imprisoned or interned without trial. In one

place 350 prisoners were kept in a building intended for fifty. All the newer trade unions are suppressed and the older ones greatly restricted, while the right to strike has been abolished. There are the most elaborate systems of censorship and espionage upon opinion. Of the murders, kidnappings, tortures, and violations of persons suspected of Socialist tendencies, the report gives ample and gruesome details. It is interesting to note that this report has produced an immediate effect in Hungary. A "Daily Herald" correspondent writes that at a Secret Session of the Hungarian National Assembly, Count Apponyi said:—

"We cannot revive the dead, but perhaps we can recover the sympathy which Hungary has forfeited abroad. We must aspire to do so, for the Labour Party will rule England soon, and only the British workers can effect a revision of the Peace Treaty.

"Let us call a spade a spade. Hungarian officers are perpetrating endless grim outrages. Civilian and military bands continue to commit blood-curdling murders."

* * *

THE gift of £1,205,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation to University College and University College Hospital Medical School, is one of those dramatic and arresting acts by which occasionally the Capitalist startles the world. As a slight return to the world whose labour had produced this wealth, it is to be hoped that the example will be followed by other millionaires. The international character of the donation gives it a special value at the present time.

* * *

THE Attorney for the American distillers has acknowledged the final defeat of the Wets. "National Prohibition is clamped upon the United States by the final judgment of the Supreme Court delivered in Washington on June 7th," says the "Nation." Whatever may be the real motive of this piece of legislation, it is an amazing attempt at changing the habits of a vast population, and shows to what length a people will go when they are convinced of the need of a change. When shall we have a similar movement with regard to the social conditions which encourage drunkenness? That America is not yet prepared for this further step is shown by the choice of the Big Business' candidate as the standard-bearer of the Republican Party.



The Backward Glance.

There is something not quite fair in the comparisons so frequently made between the Christianity of the first and that of the twentieth century. Surely the

world has not retrograded in the manner these contrasts would suggest. The effort of all the centuries cannot have been for nought.

And yet when the Church, depicted in the Acts of the Apostles, is put alongside the Church of to-day, it is difficult to draw any other conclusion.

But we must not overlook one important fact. Life at the present time is a thousand times more complicated than it was in the age in which Christianity was born. The economic and commercial system that we must either Christianise or destroy is a highly developed affair, reaching out to the ends of the earth, employing in its defence the armies and navies of Empires such as the Ancient World never saw, and creating needs which Rome never knew. The life of the humblest individual to-day is ministered to by innumerable agencies of which our ancestors were entirely ignorant. To master the machinery of this complex organisation requires a dynamic more powerful than anything yet known. As the admiral of a modern fleet must be acquainted with sciences the very names of which Nelson had never heard, and as an express train requires to move it a power unnecessary for the stage coach, so the task of the Christianity of to-day is more difficult than that which was set the Church of the Apostles. As the world develops, as human thought becomes more subtle, as human nature becomes more varied, Religion has a heavier mass to penetrate, a more formidable antagonist to encounter.

It is on the complexity of life that so much of our Christianity breaks down. As we read our New Testament it seems simple enough. Then when we begin to apply it, difficulties at once reveal themselves. Shall we sell all our goods and give to the poor? How has the new status of women affected the question of marriage? Shall we oppose a Government which professes to be Christian—is the old antithesis of God and Cæsar as clear now as once it was?

The ethical simplicities of the past lose themselves in the complexities of the present.

Bearing this in mind, it will be seen that we have no such cause for discouragement as might seem at the first glance to be the case. The Spirit of Jesus to-day is attacking evils of which the first preachers of His gospel were ignorant. They only glanced at chattel slavery. Not only has chattel slavery largely disappeared, but we are buckling on our armour to

deal with wage slavery, the evil of which they probably would not have understood.

But these considerations have a bearing on another matter. The habit of referring us back to the precedent of earlier times, as in the question, "Was Jesus a Socialist?" is beside the mark. It overlooks the fact that Man has grown—that his world is a more complicated world. The demand for "the Simple Gospel" makes this mistake. Are we to talk to the educated man, who has absorbed at least a smattering of science, in the manner in which unlettered peasants were addressed? Are we to speak to men into whose minds has percolated drippings of wisdom from Hegel and Bergson, as if they had not got beyond Plato or Aristotle? And because, in that ancient world, organisation was feeble and disjointed, are we to deny ourselves (at a time when everything from the sale of quack medicines and the circulation of quack pamphlets, up to or down to the prosecution of a world-wide war is organised), the benefits of organisation? And because, in the early Christian community, worship was a comparatively "simple" affair, are we to suppose that, in a world in which all that ministers to the emotional life through the senses has grown by leaps and bounds, it is to remain at that stage?

What purpose, then, does the backward glance serve? Surely there is a need for returning to the historic sources of the Faith. It is there that we refresh our perplexed minds by a survey of the grand outlines which later ages were to fill up. Our fevered and distracted souls grow quiet as the firm lines drawn by the Master-hand reappear. We see the original design free from the fretting care of our detailed labour. The Vision as a whole is born again.

Yet it must be confessed that the wonder and wisdom that we find there is in a measure of our own bringing. For as one who returns from long wandering to the home of his boyhood and observes, with a capacity nurtured in many climes, the beauty he never saw there before, so do we bring to our reading of the Ancient Story wider meanings, deeper implications than they who lived in it ever knew. We fill in with the gathered lore of experience that which, to our childhood's mind, had been but vague suggestion. We enrich with our knowledge of a more complex world the bold but simple outlines of the Divine Message and Society.

We can never afford to forget that Past. It grows more wonderful as we discover how it bears and includes all that later ages have taught us. But we were never meant merely to imitate the New Testament design. Rather is it expected that we shall fill up, work out, apply over ever larger spaces of life, and maintain through the intricacies of a more difficult world, the original outlines of that Divine Masterpiece.

THE TRAMP.

"Man has sense of the ridiculous enough to know that he is a fool to fight, but not sense enough of the sublime to stop him."—JOHN GALSWORTHY.

Labour and Russia.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

he brief interim report of the British Labour delegation to Russia, to be presented to the Trade Union Congress, follows along the lines anticipated by most people who have kept in touch with the changing of all shades of Labour opinion on the question of the Allied treatment of the Russian Socialist Republic. The first paragraph of the report goes to the heart of the whole situation. "We have been profoundly impressed by the effects of the policy of intervention and blockade upon the Russian people. It is at the root of the worst evils which are affecting Russia at the present time."

It is difficult to find words strong enough to describe the conduct of those speakers and writers who are giving harrowing, and in many cases true, pictures of life in Russia to-day, and finishing up with the liberating untruth, "That is the result of Socialism in Russia." This is the method of the North-American papers and their followers in the provinces; it is the method of the anti-nationalisation speakers; it is the logical outcome of the whole policy of anti-Socialist governments of Europe towards the greatest experiment in applied Communism since the beginning of the Christian era. The wickedness of that policy is too obvious to need stressing. Deliberately to starve and harass a people on all sides for two-and-a-half years, and so prevent them from carrying out their programme of socialisation except under the most unfavourable conditions, and then to add to the conditions produced by a blockade and an ever-ending series of armed invasions as the result of the internal policy of the Socialist Republic, is the last word in capitalistic dishonesty. And that is what is being done to the Russian people, without admitting the case with a degree of moderation which, frankly, I find almost impossible to dilute.

The Labour delegates have been "appalled by the conditions of virtual famine under which the whole Russian population—the manual and the intellectual workers alike—are living." In spite of the fact that epidemics of typhus and recurrent fever are sweeping over the whole country, all medical supplies, and disinfectants have been prevented by the Allies from going into Russia, and the result has been that thousands of lives have been lost by infectious diseases. But an even greater crime is "the turning back of the Russian people against their will the paths of peace into the paths of war." As the result of the Polish attack, "the appeal for creative activity is being once more set aside in favour of the appeal by military enthusiasts, while war conditions provide new pretexts for restricting individual liberty and preventing freedom of discussion."

This is a ghastly crime against humanity, and its evilness is only equalled by its sheer futility. Mr. Lloyd George now has to admit that Bolshevism cannot be "crushed" by such methods. The report endorses the view most of us have held from the beginning of the Allied intervention:

"One effect of the present crisis has been to rally practically all parties to the support of the Government for the purpose of national defence—whatever their differences on questions of internal policy. This demonstrates the futility of supposing that Communist principles, whether they be good or bad, can be destroyed by hostile pressure from abroad. Such pressure only increases the stability of the Government so far as internal politics are concerned."

In its practical solution of the present intolerable position, the Labour report will unite all people of goodwill, whatever their political colour may be:

"Russia's supreme needs are immediate peace and free intercourse with the outside world. We recommend that the entire British Labour movement should demand the removal of the last vestige of blockade and intervention, and the complete destruction of the barrier which Imperialist statesmen have erected between our own people and our brothers and sisters of Russia."

What will the British Labour movement do to put this recommendation into effect? It is difficult to say. There is no mistaking the feeling among the thinking portion of the rank and file; but at the moment that feeling lacks co-ordination and guidance. There is an official element in all the big unions which is timid and unresponsive to great, spontaneous impulses from the rank and file. But it will be impossible to resist these impulses for long; and if Mr. Lloyd George fails to stand by his latest declaration of Russian policy—which is the policy advocated by Labour from the beginning of the scandal—there will be an extension of the "Jolly George" incident on a national scale. At the moment of writing it looks as though the Premier means to put an end to the Russian blockade and intervention, but, as "The Nation" remarks, "with this Government one is never sure." There is even now a suggestion that a hitch has occurred in the Krassin negotiations and that our statesmen are waiting to see how the Polish war goes before finally making up their minds as to their attitude towards Russia.

Meanwhile, as the "Manchester Guardian" points out, the whole situation is wrapped in impenetrable obscurity. General Wrangel is using British equipment in his war against Russia, a British Fleet is in the Black Sea, and British destroyers are searching for neutral ships bound for Russia. According to Mr. Rothay Reynolds, the "Daily News" correspondent (7/6/20), M. Paderewski declared to him in Paris that Poland had been prevented by the Allies from making peace with Russia. "We have spoken to them about it," said M. Paderewski, "and they beg us not to. Our policy is bound up with that of the Allies, and we cannot go counter to their wishes."

In 1913 this country imported from Russia five million cwts. of wheat, 6 million cwts. of barley, 2½ million cwts. of oats, 5,410,600 loads of timber, 1,374 million eggs, and 78,556,368 lbs. of butter, in addition to hides, flax, etc. Russia offers us all these in return for peace and trade. Where appeals to the national conscience have failed, appeals to the national stomach seem likely to succeed.

The Crusader

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"I am counting on them."

Not least among the temptations of the present is the desire to evade a responsibility that appears overwhelming. "Things are so bad, the evil is so widely extended," we may catch ourselves saying, "that there is nothing to be done but sit tight till the storm is abated." The longing to escape from the stress and strain of the conflict and seek refuge in some restful place or occupation, is at times very strong.

There is a parable which seems somewhat to the point in this connection. It runs thus:—

The Lord Jesus had finished His work on earth and had come to the Heavenly City. At the gate, the great angel, Gabriel, met Him.

"Thou hast wrought out a wonderful salvation for men," he said.

But the Lord Jesus only answered "Yes."

"What plans hast Thou made for carrying on Thy work? How are all men to know what Thou hast done?" inquired Gabriel.

"I left it to Peter, and James, and John, and Martha and Mary, to tell their friends, and their friends to tell their friends, until the whole world has heard," answered Jesus.

"But, O, Lord Jesus!" replied Gabriel, "suppose Peter is so busy with his nets, and Martha so full of her housework . . . or the friends they tell are so occupied that they forget to tell their friends, how can the whole world hear?"

The Lord Jesus did not answer at once, and then He said in His quiet, wonderful voice, "I have not made any other plans. I am counting on them."

The story brings home, as elaborate sermons might not do, the responsibility for each of us to assist in stemming the tide of mendacity, greed, and tyranny now running so high.

Creative Leadership.

For all the manifold activities of nature, in spite of the ministries of rain, sunshine, and soil, there would be no harvest but for the labour of human hands and the thought of human brains. Similarly, the part played by "the historic process" may overshadow the need of creative leadership and result in futile doctrinaire-ism and fatal inertness. On all to whom has been given a vision of the Kingdom of God on Earth rests to-day a very heavy responsibility. However hopeless the task may seem, it is for us, in this supreme crisis, to throw aside all that hinders the freedom of our activity and the undistracted concentration of our energy. Somehow the psychological forces of revolt must be awakened in the apathetic crowds of to-day. "How insignificant is the best that I can do, but how infinitely important it is that I should do it."

These People.

"These people are so bitter and so petty. They are always on the grab. If only they would have a bigger and more generous view of things."

People who have always had space in which to breathe and who have been accustomed to large rooms, decent gardens, and adequate income cannot readily understand how "These People" manage to emerge from conditions which oppress and crush them down.

Just picture the homes in which some of "These People" have to live. In some of our suburbs are rows and rows and streets and streets of all built on the same plan. I think that the diabolical person who desired to find the greatest number of things which could be calculated to irritate and infuriate average mortals, must have planned some of the dolls' houses in which these families have to live.

The hall is so narrow that there is no room for a decent sized pram. Infant limbs must therefore be cramped in a miniature pushcart. The bathroom where there is one—is small, and the washing is miniature also. The stoves are tiny. The gas is tiny. All the rooms are tiny.

A harassed mother once remarked to me: "I am so cramped and hemmed in here sometimes I just have to leave the work and go somewhere where there is space to breathe. The children have no natural life, too. They must not laugh heartily for fear of awakening father, who sleeps in the day and works at night. When he wakes they have to be careful not to wake the baby next door. I am sick of always hunting round for the cheapest and sharing it out carefully. I feel that one day I shall be reckless and buy something that the children like and let them have as much as they want."

Why should these people be continually compelled to haggle over pennies? Why should their lives be one long process of elimination?

But the spirit of the people is not broken, although at times it seems to be drugged by oppression. They will not much longer tolerate jungle economics. But they are beginning to realise that a new Government is no use unless it stands for a new set of principles, or rather for a new and practical application of old principles. Many people who have been forced to this conclusion would welcome such a paper as the "Crusader." A 2/6 fund has been started for the purpose of sending out special copies. Those who cannot send a big subscription may like to subscribe to this fund. Our thanks to Mrs. Greenwood, Bedford Park, for her 2/6 and to Mr. Francis Maynard, Chiswick, for his donation of 20/-.

THE PLOUGHMAN

DOMINATION OR BROTHERHOOD.—Lunch hour dresses on this subject will be given by Rev. W. Walsh, D.D., at Devonshire House, 136 Bishopsgate, E.C. 1. 1.20 to 1.50 p.m. on Mondays, June 21st. International Embodiment."

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

lost every religious paper has something to say. Mr. Lloyd George's recent meeting with Mr. Thomas and the railwaymen regarding the loading of munitions. And almost every paper it to read the railwaymen a severe lecture. the "Baptist Times":—

"to yield to the action or the threats of one section of a community in a matter like this would be the abdication of government. This is a constitutional country, there is a proper and recognised method of securing legal ends."

Other papers take up a similar position. "The Christian World" puts it as follows:

The Prime Minister was very firm and he enunciated a sound doctrine on the matter. Such a policy on the part of the railwaymen would not only, as he said, be an attack on the Government, but on government. If we public servants like policemen, railwaymen, postal employees, and others to decide that they will only do work when they agree with the policy they are asked to carry out, then there is an end to ordered government, anarchy takes its place."

"Challenge" writes:—

The Premier has again asserted the right of the Government to govern, and denied to the trade unions a claim to interfere by direct action. . . . We are glad Mr. Lloyd George has retained emphatic defiance to the threat of direct action. His position would be quite admirable had he done otherwise."

These three quotations will be enough to show readers the tone generally adopted by the religious journals when discussing this vexed question of the handling of munitions. However, I in the "Methodist Recorder" an entirely different view very courageously expressed in an article by Mr. W. R. Malby, and I respectfully commend this notable article to the attention of all many people in our Churches who are inclined to join in the outcry against the dockers and the railwaymen. In order to give still wider publicity to Malby's arguments, I take the privilege of quoting at some length what he has written concerning the refusal of working men—to handle munitions consigned to Poland. But the emphasis of my type, here and there, is my own.

It might conceivably be shown that the Poles were killed in beginning this new war; next it might possibly be shown (though I don't in the least know how) that the British Government were justified in permitting the initiation of this war when the ink was scarcely dry on the Covenant of the League of Nations. It might, thirdly, be shown, that the British Government was justified in sending gifts of munitions to be used against a nation whom we were not at war. These are three difficult positions; but unless all three can be made good, then the sending of those munitions was an immoral deed: it was not even war; it was murder. Christian men are now being invited to say that it was the duty of the dockers to take a hand in it, and criminal on their part to refuse. No one pretends that the case for this kind of war has been made clear; that the cause of righteousness and humanity demanded it. No, the ground on which the dockers are exhorted to proceed is, that they are not responsible for the character of the enterprise, that their refusal to assist may endanger the social order. The munitions come to them for handling in the

ordinary way of business; they are Government stores and the Government is responsible.

So the dockers that load the munitions, and the railwaymen who handle them, are not responsible because they have their orders; and the British Government on being pressed is not responsible, because it promised these implements a long time ago, and it must keep its word. And the soldiers who use them in Russia are not responsible, because it is not theirs to reason why, and the Generals who command them are not responsible, because they, too, are soldiers and are under authority; and the only people responsible are the Polish Government, and the Polish Government is 'acting upon information received.' So the many hands make light work. The end is achieved. The aeroplane in due time sets out upon its errand. A bomb made in England bursts on some poor human creatures grown in Russia, and a little child, mercifully bleeding to death, stares for a while at a piece of flesh which was once her mother. But none of the many hands that furthered that engine of death on its way were responsible, so the State and Church alike assure us."

* * *

"Well, the strange thing is that dockers and many other people have begun to question this doctrine of immunity, and to suspect the whole system of which it forms a part. They have begun to ask questions about the work they do, and the things they handle. They want to know whence these things come, and whither they go, and what sort of business it is that they are helping on, and I cannot see anything discreditable in that frame of mind. On the contrary, it seems to me to be, as far as it goes, quite rational and Christian. And remembering how only three or four years ago we all thought these aeroplanes dropping bombs on defenceless towns were the last word in devilry, I can imagine that if I were a docker, and had to spend all day putting such implements into a ship with my own hands, I might easily get very uncomfortable; and I believe that the more I thought and enquired, the more uneasy I should feel. I think it very likely that I should at length revolt, and say I would do it no more, and endeavour to persuade my fellows to say the same. And then I should know that if I went into a Church on the Sabbath I should quite likely hear from the lips of a Christian minister that if other people followed my wicked example the whole of society would collapse.

I agree that such action as that of the dockers is dangerous, but has the Church shown the more excellent way? Are we to remain dumb while Mr. Churchill makes a war, and only bestir ourselves when some working-men stop one? I fear the overflow of the existing social order, as any middle-aged man who has given hostages must. But the disquieting thing is that the attack on society is to-day more Christian in spirit than the defence of it. There is a passion of faith and hope in the attack which is wanting in the defence, and this ought not to be. We may warn men of the danger of dissolving the social bond, but we have no moral authority in doing so, unless we are also going forward with a crusade to make society worthy to endure. So many times in the past has the Church remained passive while great social evils took root, and then suddenly rallied to the defence of the existing social order when the removal of these evils shook the fabric of society."

The questions here raised are of the most searching kind for the Christian conscience. We certainly tread a perilous path when we declare that men must do what they feel is morally wrong. And if it is urged that without such wrong-doing the State cannot live, then our State had better die, and make room for some social order which will not require such sacrifices.

The State Must Go!

By G. T. SADLER, M.A., LL.B.

The State is a form of government by force foisted on a people who previously lived by local customs, such as the people of India before the days of the East India Company. They had their princes, no doubt, but lived in villages by their immemorial customs.

William I., the ruffian who subdued England, and gave its lands to his followers, set up feudalism here, a new kind of State-rule. The freeholder of to-day is the political descendant of the baron with his free socage, or his knight tenure. Knight tenure was abolished and became free socage in 1660. The landlords now are from the old serf-holding barons. Many are still called barons!

The capitalists, with the landlords, now largely control the State. The State has ever existed to uphold property and the property-owners. The people are quite secondary. If Factory Acts are passed, they are simply a lessening of the torture allowed and upheld previously by the State. The State upheld the leonine contracts of the capitalists, and then, on pressure, took a bit off the evil system that the State had enforced. A contract is not a mere agreement. It is an enforceable agreement.

The factory people could have combined and struck together against capitalist oppression at the beginning of the 19th century. But the State called such "conspiracy against trade." The Combination Act of 1800 forbade Trade Unions. Thus, what seems good by the State is only the UNDOING of a little of its previous cruelty. It seems splendid to get Trade Unions allowed and strikes to be legal; but they never ought to have been made illegal. So with restrictions on landlords and capitalists now. The landlords' freehold should never have been allowed. A man should use land, but no one should own it, any more than own the air or sunshine. We have to buy land to get it for use still, but we need not use it to exploit the needs of others.

The leonine contracts of capitalists and their immunity from combinations against their cruelties, should never have been upheld by the State.

The State was set up by conquest. The State is a trick to exploit the people by force, and use them as cannon-fodder. The State must go! Its administration must be largely decentralised; its army and navy be disbanded; its munition works be stopped; its law-courts cease to enforce the old pagan criminal law of revenge, which is the basis of that law; and cease to enforce leonine contracts between rich men and poor men; and cease to interfere in the love-affairs of men and women in the Divorce Court.

A Commonwealth, upheld by spiritual sanctions, exposing and, if necessary, boycotting evil men, must take the place of the State.

The transition to that is by the people learning and acting on the principles of sharing the wealth of the world, without violence to another, or to peoples far away in other lands.

We must teach the evil of force in law, war, even in revolution. We must show that it is stupid and futile. Had not Russia resorted to force might have gained a happy Commonwealth by it.

It is not more laws we need, but the killing of laws by passive resistance to them. The only use of force should be to calmly restrain those who temporarily or permanently irrational, as the anarchist, the lunatic or drunkard, and then to bind them, not to harm them; and only if other methods fail. All capital punishment and all prisons must be abolished. All distraint for rent or debts must be abolished. If a man has his refuse cleared, will not pay his fair share to the local community expense for doing this needful work, then the man should be warned, and later exposed, on the lines of the Roman "infamia." But we should still collect his refuse, for the sake of health to all. We do not want the State, which pretends to protect lives; then arranges to kill 800,000 in one of its Imperial wars, to defend or gain Empire for capitalists. It was for Baghdad, not Belgium, the State fought.

The State is a deceiver, a lie! The State must go! Passive resistance will destroy it. The refusal to handle munitions is the thin end of the wedge. The Prime Minister himself says government is impossible if such things go on. Then let them go. We have had enough of him and Mr. Churchill, and of those who engineered the war by secret "conversations," and by shrieks at the Mansion House in 1911, when war nearly came.

We do not want to kill our fellow-men, where they are. We do not want property at the price of blood. We do not want to keep vast peoples who should be free, and want to be free.

Let Ireland have a plebiscite as to whether it should be a Republic or not. The Government is afraid to organise that plebiscite, and only like such for peoples who were under German or Austrian rule.

The State must go! It arose by force. It exists for exploitation by force. It is a pagan institution. It gets men to be soldiers by good pay, or by other tricks, such as the lie that it exists to preserve peace. The "peace" it seeks is the burglar's peace. The State does not like to be disturbed at his work. The "peace" the State keeps up by force is the "status quo" for the landlords and capitalists to exploit the people by their leonine contracts. That peace is threatened, millions may be killed and wounded to restore it. Let us learn to act in good will. Avenge not yourselves. Resist not (striking back) him who is evil. Refuse to make war, carry, or use munitions. Refuse to actively support the State—behold, it will wither away!

A Stale Fallacy.

Lord Robert Cecil, M.P., has been giving expression to the exploded theory that the interests of Capital and Labour are the same. Speaking at a Unionist demonstration at Ripon on Saturday, he is reported as saying:—

There was a breach between employers and employed, which was not getting narrower, but wider. He thought he saw difficult times ahead of us, and if we could not do something to get the breach narrowed and get these two great classes together we might be in a great difficulty in a few years' time—perhaps in a few months' time.

He believed there was only one way out of the difficulty, which was a bold thing to say. He believed we had got to recognise this principle; that employer and employed, capital and labour, were engaged in a common enterprise, in which they had both got rights, and if we were to get them to work together satisfactorily we must treat them as joint partners in the enterprise in which they were engaged. He believed in profit-sharing, but he believed in it merely as an incident in the partnership between employers and employed.

People's ideas of boldness differ. If Lord Robert Cecil considers it a bold thing to tell his Unionist audience that Capital and Labour must learn to co-operate, what shall be said of the assertion that the interests of these two classes are necessarily opposed and that there is nothing to be done but to abolish class distinctions altogether?

The fallacy of Lord Robert's "bold" assertion was exposed fifty years ago. John Stuart Mill, in 1869, wrote thus:—

"There are people who think it right to be always repeating that the interest of labourers and employers is one and the same. It is not to be wondered at that this sort of thing should be irritating to those to whom it is intended as a warning. How is it possible that the buyer and the seller of a commodity should have exactly the same interest as to its price? It is to the interest of both that there should be commodities to sell, and it is in a certain general way the interest both of labourers and employers that business should prosper and that the returns to Labour and Capital should be large. But to say that they have the same interest as to the division is to say that it is the same thing to a person's interest whether a sum of money belongs to him or to somebody else."

Word for word that analysis of the position can be verified. It is literally and undeniably true that the employer's business, under the present system, is to produce as cheaply as possible. Rent, the cost of plant, the wages of labour-power, must all be brought down to the lowest point consistent with efficiency. No matter what may be his private feelings in the matter, as an employer he is compelled to get labour as cheaply as possible. Scientific management, as it is called, may lead, in the interests of increased production, to better conditions, but no matter what improvements are admitted in the lot of the workers, the motive governing the system remains the same—it is the motive of exploitation.

On the other hand, the worker is taught to regard his labour as something to be sold to the highest bidder. No such motive enters, or, under the present system, can enter into industry as actuated men, at the commencement of the war, in volunteer-

ing for military service for payment ridiculously below what they had been getting in their ordinary occupations. The worker knows he is working for private profit and not for the common good. He is out to get all that he can. He knows that the profits of the business are subtracted from what he produces and that his wages are but a tithe of the wealth he creates. His business as a worker, therefore, is to get as large a return for the sale of his labour-power as he can. The System permits of no sentiment, no human sympathy. If these exist, they exist in spite of the system. How, in the name of Truth and Commonsense, are you going to reconcile these two conflicting interests?

"But," says some critic, "there must always be different classes, the directing mind and the obedient hand, captains of industry and privates of the industrial army." That there must be leadership on the one hand, and those who accept and follow that leadership on the other hand, is obvious. But that is not what is meant by class division. This class division means, for one thing, that there are those who own and control the means of production and those who are maintained on the same basis and for the same motive that plant is repaired or replaced and land rented for the erection of factories. And, for another thing, it means that those who thus control labour are not representatives of those whom they control, but their exploiters.

When the workers, mental and manual, come into their own, they will themselves appoint those whose skill or experience entitles them to leadership. Like those who appointed them, they will be the servants of the community. It will be to the interests of all concerned to maintain a high standard both in quantity and quality. The relationship between those who organise industry and those actually employed in the industry, will violate the spirit of democratic equality no more than does the election of one member of a cricket team to captain the team through the season. Every football or cricket team is an example of the simplicity and effectiveness of the method advocated by those who, because they advocated it, have been labelled as anarchists and cutthroats.

Surely the time has come for politicians like Lord Robert Cecil to cease repeating the hoary fallacy as to the desirability of reconciling the conflicting claims of Capital and Labour. It is time that we all faced up honestly to the facts of the case. Unionist and Liberal audiences and Church congregations may applaud the amicable sentiments expressed by the noble lord. But the coming storm will sweep away all such pretences and evasions and lay bare for all eyes the fundamental basis of the new Society.

God did not create men in two classes—the exploiters and the exploited. He did not so order things that we should be compelled to form antagonistic groups. The motto of the Society He created is, "We are members one of another."

The Domestic

Christian Idealism and the Family.

One of the commonest jibes at the Socialist movement in the past was the statement that it threatened family life. The charge is so old that reference to it is found even in that ancient document, the "Communist Manifesto," published by Marx and Engels. That it still lives is shown by the silly canard as to the communising of women under Bolshevik Government.

It is not enough to meet this with a bare denial. The fact is that it is Capitalism which destroys family life. The housing conditions which it allows, and even seems to encourage, the economic pressure it brings upon the woman to go out to work to augment her husband's meagre wage, are among the ways by which this inhuman system corrodes domestic life, and subjects even this oasis of affection to its destructive influence.

But undoubtedly the changes now taking place are affecting our homes, and will affect them still more. There is nothing to be alarmed at in this. The family, in the course of its long history, has undergone many metamorphoses. In spite of its seeming permanence, it is a plastic institution, and we may be sure that its final stage has not been reached as yet. What transformations may we expect? Or, rather, what transformations may we hope to see?

Jesus and the Family.

Preachers are in the habit of talking as though the maintenance of the present form of the family was synonymous with Christianity. They argue that any interference with its structure is a departure from Christian ideals. Yet the first thing we observe in turning to the teaching of Jesus on this matter is the subordinate place given to family loyalty. He even goes so far as to declare that unless a man hate his nearest relatives he cannot be His disciple. Again and again he suggests that the Kingdom of God has greater claims on us than the domestic circle. This is a point that the aforesaid preachers have quietly ignored. But can it be passed over in that way? Is it a harmless truism?

Family selfishness, clannishness, devotion to one's "ain folk" at the expense of others, may often be disguised by a show of affection and by real self-sacrifice, but it is none the less unChristian. Fathers and mothers who ask nothing for themselves may yet, in obedience to ambitions for their children, display the most unmitigated selfishness. Not a little of the cruelty of commercial life to-day is due to the eagerness of men, who have no thought for their individual selves, to see that their own flesh and blood are well provided for. Many a man who would take a heroic course is intimidated by the thought of those for whom he is responsible. If the subordination of the domestic circle to the Kingdom of God means anything, it means that we are responsible for the family life of mankind.

Except for those of special ability or of unusual courage and faith, fidelity to conviction is to-day all but impossible to those with domestic responsibilities. One of the first things, therefore, that we must hope and work for is such a rearrangement of Society as will make possible the development of a social conscience as loyal and self-sacrificing as is now, in many cases, the family conscience.

Christianity and Marriage.

Do we realise what the new economic status now conferred upon so many women means to the marriage relationship? The ordering of family life was comparatively simple when there was but one will, one master. The wife was merely the attendant upon the husband's fortunes. With him, and him alone, lay the decision in all the matters of vital importance. His economic position gave him the mastery. For him was the privilege of finding his vocation. For her only the characterless round of household tasks, the suppression of initiative, the denial of self-expression.

Changes are coming in this respect which must radically affect family life. The despotism, often unconscious and involuntary, of the husband is challenged. The Christian emphasis on the value of personality, irrespective of sex, strongly reinforces the tendencies apparent in society to-day. But that means a strain on the relationship of husband and wife. The strain was there before, but it was hidden by the woman's necessary submission. The agony and degradation were underground. The sensuality on the one hand and the misery on the other were kept out of sight. But the self-assertion of women has changed all that. The conflict—if conflict there be—is between equals, and the consequences of disagreement are more public. In the past the externals of married life were maintained at all costs. To-day the need for secrecy is not so great. Will family life as we know it stand the strain of this new factor, or will it break up and give place to some other relationship between men and women? We must face this possibility frankly and fearlessly. Those who accept uncompromisingly the Christian emphasis on personality must be willing to accept anything that makes for a finer type of human being and a truer social order.

Comradeship Essential.

I do not myself anticipate the abolition of marriage, and one of the reasons why I believe it will prove permanent is the very factor we have been discussing. With greater freedom and independence on the part of women will come greater self-respect and a larger capacity for comradeship. And it is in this comradeship I find one of the strongest bonds between the individual man and woman. This it is that will transform marriage and give it an attractiveness which it so often failed and fails to achieve. But we must face the facts. Undoubtedly

ition.

are in for a period of license. The legal tie will become looser. Irregular unions will multiply far beyond what is the case even to-day. But out of the sexual chaos will emerge, I believe, a type of married life having its roots in unforced affection and finding its joy in a developing companionship. From anarchy we shall probably pass through anarchy to a true ordering of things. Law will count for less, and love for more. The walls which jealousy has constructed will crumble. The secluded Paradise—or Purgatory—of two individuals immured together for life will disappear. Freedom will be found compatible, here as elsewhere, with fellowship, and fellowship with freedom.

Monogamy.

It may be contended that this is consistent with a state of things which could not be called monogamy. If Love be the only law, it will be said, is there any reason why Love should confine itself to a single individual of the other sex? This is the real crux of the question. To the answering of that problem we must bring all the sincerity and courage of which we are capable.

There is one factor which, so far, has been overlooked. We saw that under the new order of things women will partake of the vocational freedom which until lately was enjoyed exclusively by men. It is but the converse of that truth to say that men will take upon themselves more responsibility for the welfare of the children. Fatherhood will mean more than it ever has, and that fact has an important bearing on the question we are debating. It points to the human trinity of Father, Mother, Child. It means that the devotion to each other of man and woman is directed outward to another, bone of their bone, flesh of their flesh, and that in the child, born of their love, is not only the fitting symbol and evidence of their union, but the actual occasion for its permanency. The Perfect Love depicted in the New Testament is presented to us in the form of fatherhood—a fatherhood which is manifested not only in creativeness but in constant care for those who have been created.

The greatest consideration remains. The lifelong union of one man and one woman is sometimes described as being sacramental. And that word is supposed to close the discussion. But other relationships also are sacramental. Every human tie is or should be of that character. What, then, is meant? Is it not that in this union "for better and for worse", and in the special features which distinguish it, there is that which is peculiarly fitted to convey, in physical form, the all-enduring relationship to us of Christ the Bridegroom? Is there any other human tie which so fully and beautifully mediates the highest truth concerning the bond between God and Man? Here is the romance of religion, the mystic's "perfect union," the gospel of divine faithfulness. And it is here, not in far-fetched religious symbolism, but, in the common experience of ordin-

ary men and women, not in books and sermons, but in the actual warp and woof of our lives. No wonder that Coventry Patmore said that there had been three ways in which God's relationship to man had been described—first as that of Master and Slave, then as that of Father and Son, and last as that of Husband and Wife! It is this highest, holiest relationship of which marriage is the sacrament.

There is much that one would like to add, questions one would like to be able to answer, but enough has been said to indicate the main lines along which will run the Christian Revolution of the Family.

That there is need to examine this question none can doubt. We have passed through a time of war and hate, but it is not these that are the fiercest foes of love. Lust is a more deadly enemy, but the way in which to overcome lust is not by artificial restrictions but by a courageous and reverential consideration of the great problem that has been here raised.

PETER THE HERMIT.

SPORT.

Walt Whitman once wrote:—

"I am the teacher of athletes,
He that by me spreads a wider breast than my own
proves the width of my own,
He most honours my style who learns under it to destroy
the teacher."

An excellent example of this spirit is to be found in the "Observer's" comment on the sporting supremacy of this nation:—

"We do not share in any feeling of dismay at the appearance of foreign champions in British games. The French may defeat us at Rugby football. A Japanese may challenge our tennis champions. The Dutch may outdo us at Henley. An American has won and will again win the golf championship. We draw if anything a certain feeling of pride from these defeats. The world has been the pupil of these islands in all these sports, and it appears to have been well taught."

That is the real sporting spirit—and it is also the real Christian spirit. The two things are not far apart.

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The Case for Ireland.

L. By A. SCOT.

The recent decision of the N.U.R. Executive not to support the Irish workers in their refusal to carry munitions for the shooting down of their own compatriots, has merely intensified the seriousness of the situation. People in England have not the least conception of the truth about Ireland nor of the indomitable spirit of the Irish; they do not realise that—to quote from a letter from the west of Ireland which is lying before me—"unless three-quarters of the nation are jailed or killed, they will never give in."

It is essential that the British democracy should realise that as regards Ireland it is not merely a case of one act of aggression, but of several centuries of persecution, injustice, and robbery, as anyone can satisfy himself who reads history; not the expurgated version served up for use in English schools; but the actual facts.

Let me, to use a legal phrase, "state a case" for consideration not of counsel, but of the British democracy.

From the sixth century onwards, Ireland was the most civilised and flourishing country in Europe. People came to Ireland from Germany, France, Rome, and even Egypt, for education in the sciences and arts of that day. The Irish schools alone maintained the knowledge of Greek, and founded monasteries in England and on the continent. The Danish and Norse invasions were stemmed by Brian Boru in 1014 and followed by a national revival lasting for 150 years; during which time Ireland became

THE GREATEST TRADING COUNTRY IN EUROPE.

This prosperity excited the envy of the English kings, and in 1154, Henry II. obtained a bull or edict from Pope Adrian IV. giving him permission to go on a "crusade" into Ireland. It must be explained that for some centuries about this period, the Popes, who were constantly at war with France or Germany, looked to the English kings to support them; and consequently it suited their policy that the so-called British Isles should be under one king.

It was not, however, till about 15 years later that Henry invaded Ireland, and then only because there was dissension there, and the dethroned king of Leinster appealed for the assistance of his army. But the consequent settlement of various Anglo-Norman barons in Leinster and elsewhere resulted in their becoming as Irish as the natives, and for the next 200 years, though the king of England was accepted as lord of Ireland, English influence in the land was feeble, and the policy of the kings was to try to strengthen it by fomenting disunion and quarrels among the native princes; the well-known maxim of all tyrants—"divide et impera."

How uncertain was their tenure may be seen from the fact that in 1316 the Irish elected Edward, brother of Robert Bruce, to be king of all Ireland; and for two years he gained victories over the English before he was finally killed. Indeed, it was not

till the Tudor period that the English made any headway in their work of murdering the soul of a nation, though they constantly issued edicts against Irish trade, laws, customs, and language.

In 1494, Henry VII. took the bold step of prohibiting the Irish Parliament from originating laws without the previous consent of the English Privy Council. This edict is known to students of history as "Poyning's Law." The Tudors were actuated by the same greed which has characterised the behaviour of the English to Ireland through centuries.

THEY NEEDED A LARGER SHARE OF PROFITS FROM IRELAND

to help them to pay for their foreign wars, and they also aimed at capturing the carrying trade of the world, to which project Ireland's merchant fleet and foreign trade were at that time an obstacle. However, English pirates made war on the Irish ports and on the trading ships from France and Spain while Henry VIII. forbade the export of linen and woollen goods from Galway, which was then the most flourishing port on all the Atlantic coast of the British Isles.

Elizabeth went one worse, for she prohibited the export of all woollen cloth from Ireland, with the result that the weaving industry was ruined and thousands of workers reduced to idleness and beggary. Not content with ruining Irish trade, and her ministers pursued a policy of slaughter and extermination against the Irish people, of whom Professor Lecky wrote that "the ferocity surpassed that of Alva in the Netherlands and has seldom been exceeded in the page of history"; while the celebrated historian, Froude, stated that "Sir Peter Carew had been seen

MURDERING WOMEN AND CHILDREN AND BABIES THAT HAD SCARCELY LEFT THE BREAST."

These facts are carefully ignored in Fletcher and Kipling's School history, which is addressed specially to "all boys and girls who are interested in the story of Great Britain and her Empire," as well as in all other histories served out in schools.

Not satisfied, however, with ruining the shipping, fisheries, and woollen industry, and murdering the native population, this great queen deliberately debased the Irish coinage so that no merchant could carry on business with England except at a loss of ten per cent. James I. planted the devastated provinces of Ulster and Leinster with lowland Scotch and English, most of whom were quickly assimilated into the native Irish race. In the following reign Strafford was sent over to continue the policy of ruthless extermination, while Cromwell's dream was to sweep all that was left of the Irish nation "to Hell or Connaught." Under his rule

THOUSANDS OF IRISH WOMEN AND CHILDREN WERE SOLD INTO SLAVERY IN THE WEST INDIES,

while one-third of the population perished by sword or pestilence during the period 1641-1652. It would be tedious to relate the various methods adopted by England in the 17th and 18th centuries to kill Irish industry and commerce, the crushing of the trades in glass, silk, cotton, fish-curing, sugar-refining, etc., by statutes impelled by the jealousy of big business men in England. The final act of treachery was the Act of Union of 1801 and the underhand methods used to bring it about.

"A SCRAP OF PAPER."

When Germany in 1914 declared that the treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium was merely a scrap of paper, a howl of virtuous indignation arose from the English Cabinet. Yet how often has England treated her engagements to the Irish as scraps of paper? Here are two specific instances.

In 1691, the treaty of Limerick was made, guaranteeing religious freedom to the Irish. At the instance of the Puritans, however, William of Orange allowed the treaty to become merely waste paper; and continued to subject the Irish to both religious and commercial persecution.

Again, in 1782, the English ministry passed the "Act of Renunciation," which guaranteed the independence of the Irish Parliament and its sole right of making laws for Ireland FOR EVER. No sooner was it passed than they started plotting to destroy it.

At this time the Irish Parliament consisted of 300 members, of whom some 200 were merely nominated by as many individuals—owners of pocket-boroughs; such a state of things facilitated corruption, and Castlereagh succeeded in getting the Act of Union passed by spending over a million pounds in bribing the borough owners or actual members. It was said that of all who voted for the Union only seven did so without pecuniary inducement.

The invasion of Belgium by Germany was stigmatised as the greatest international crime in history, but it was no worse sin than the original theft of Ireland by the English for purposes of commerce and money and land, nor are the worst recorded atrocities of the Huns any worse than some of those perpetrated on the Irish in past centuries.

The British democracy has over and over again been betrayed by its politicians, who have been actuated by insensate ambition and greed of Empire or impelled by business men lusting for the wealth of foreign lands. The British statesmen have been zealous to secure the right of self-determination for Poland, Bohemia, and countries outside the Empire; but they regard not the beam in their own eye.

The murder of the soul of a nation is a national crime for which not only the rulers but the whole community are responsible. Is the British democracy willing to accept passively the responsibility for Ireland, or will it awake to the cry for justice, and insist that the wrongs of some 700 years shall be made right? Ireland believes in the ultimate good sense and appreciation of justice of the British democracy and the leaders of the Trade Unions, and it is to them that the soul of Ireland looks for deliverance from persecution and for the right of self-determination.

TYPES.

I.—THE RURAL VICAR.

He talked pleasantly, as we wandered round his church, of monumental brasses, and displayed encyclopaedic knowledge of ecclesiastical architecture and county families.

In the vicarage, afterwards, he manifested a jovial hospitality, and though, as I knew, his means were not large, his desire to entertain went far beyond conventional requirements. He was an honest soul, interested in the day's cricket news, recalling stories of College life at Oxford, not unversed in the points of a good horse, but, in matters of theological controversy, allowing himself to drift with the strongest current.

I tried to get him to talk about the conditions of the Agricultural Labourer, but he wandered off to an enthusiastic description of a novel he had just finished. I gathered that he was a little troubled in conscience by the fact that he had taken no part in the Great War. But he consoled himself by the reflection that those who attended to the spiritual needs of the nation in that grave crisis performed as real a service as those who fought.

I have been wondering what he meant by "spiritual needs" and in what way he imagined he had been attending to them.

From "The Jerusalem Leader."

33 A.D.

(With apologies to the Editor of "The Religious Press.")

Much as we deplore the unhappy incident of last week, it is impossible to close one's eyes to the fact, as the Sanhedrin happily realised, that such seditious utterances as are attributed to the late Nazarene "prophet," imperil the existence of our nation and the present order of Society.

Such ill-considered statements as the lower orders have caught up from his lips and are repeating to one another in secret, can have no other effect than to inflame popular passion against those who, by the will of an all-wise Providence, are our rulers.

His teaching was the more dangerous inasmuch as it contained half-truths, which, of course, no loyal Jew would dispute. We, too, believe in the Fatherhood of God; and the Kingdom of Heaven, and we, no less than he, desire to see a fairer distribution of wealth. But the new sect has the unfortunate characteristic, common to such impatient revolutionists, of attempting to translate into immediate action truths which have been enshrined for centuries in the writings of the prophets, and were intended rather for the pious meditation of the faithful than for the incitement of reckless incendiaries. Fortunately the incident is now closed, and we shall hear no more of this misguided and ill-fated agitator.

Bookland. Essays in Compromise.

The jumping-off place, so to speak, of Arthur Herald's "Essays in Moderation" (Swarthmore Press, 5s.), is a quotation from Rev. F. W. Robertson:—

"Wherever opposite views are held with warmth by religious-minded men, we may take for granted that there is some higher truth which embraces both. All high truth is the union of two contradictories. Thus predestination and free-will are opposites; and the truth does not lie between these two, but in a higher reconciling truth which leaves both true. The truth will be found, not in some middle moderate, timid doctrine which skilfully avoids extremes, but in a truth larger than either of these opposite views, which is the basis of both, and which really is that for which each party tenaciously clings to its own view, as to a matter of life and death."

This may not be a very exact definition of moderation, though it is cited by the author as such, but it is an excellent text for anyone who would write a book or preach a sermon on Reconciliation. And let it be said here that few things so urgently call for clarification as the difference between the temper of mind expressed by F. W. Robertson, and compromise. The purring self-satisfaction of folk who imagine that they can still the storms of human passion by a deprecating wave of the hand and the enunciation of some "timid doctrine which skilfully avoids extremes," is more provocative than the undisguised antagonism of fanatics.

Unfortunately, Arthur Herald does not write up to his text. He misses the opportunity that text gave him for a synthetic treatment of religious and social truth. One gathers that he has never so much as glimpsed the fundamental antagonisms inherent in our Civilisation. Everywhere he skims the surface, imagining that by an adroit manipulation of the present arrangement of things he can quell the revolutionary passions of our age. Judging by myself, the oil of his complacency will only add to the flames of revolt.

Why, then, it may be asked, waste time and paper on a book of this character? Only because it is typical of a good deal of writing that passes for reconstructive thinking. The impotence of this type of moderation is one of the most tragic spectacles in the world to-day.

But let the reader judge for himself. Here is a foreword to the second part of the book—the part which essays to give practical suggestions for the remodelling of Society:

"The author does not seek to turn society upside down, or to establish some ridiculous Utopia which ignores the greatness and littleness of human nature; but he does aim at a very definite thing, which is nothing less than the establishment of an era combining the virtues and graces of the Victorian period with the knowledge and enlightenment of the early years of the present century, but without the narrow exclusiveness of the one, or the materialism of the other—in short, an era of ordered liberty which shall not be the peculiar privilege of any particular class."

Let me give one other example of this moderation of desire. Speaking of the Church of the future, the author says:

"There is nothing aggressive about its methods and teaching. Its aims are few and definite, and it pursues

them with the quiet confidence of a living faith. It is not in search of heaven on earth, but it does want God's will to be done."

Evidently Mr. Herald would have no truck with the wild fanatic who identified the will of God with the coming of His Kingdom, and taught His disciples to pray, "Thy Kingdom come; Thy will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven."

There is no lack of specific details as to the kind of Order the author hopes to see. For instance, we are informed as to the scale of salaries that will be received by the clergy of his Utopian Church. Archbishops will receive £1,500 per annum, Bishops £1,000, Deans £750, and so on. On the other hand, vague phrases are used to hide ignorance or indecision on the graver issues of our times.

We cannot see that Mr. Herald's world will be fundamentally different from the one now staggering on the brink of self-destruction. Hereditary monarchy is to remain. "The Utopians are attached to their Royal Family, whose members have always tried to put the national interest before their own." Likewise the institution of private property, modified by a more equal distribution, is to continue. Armies and navies and aerial forces, also, will be a feature of this happy world of benign Compromise. The State, the Law Courts, and, presumably, the whole penal system, remain untouched save for a little varnishing and rearrangement here and there.

No, Mr. Herald. It won't do! We have been through five years of the most ghastly war in history, and we are watching the resulting chaos of the most hypocritical and cynical peace treaty ever drawn up, and we have come to the solemn conclusion that the evils responsible for these things are not to be exorcised by a few bland conciliatory sentiments, and that a little patching and cementing will not hold together a world bursting with revolutionary fires. Millions of our fellow-men are starving through the effects of our inhuman blockade. Ireland is being tortured under the heel of a brutal Imperialism. We are haunted by the shrieks of Amritsar. Everywhere men and women are toiling under an industrial system which denies them all initiative and exploits their strength for the sake of a favoured few. And it is not enough to tell us that your archbishops will receive £1,500 a year, or that your armies and navies and aerial defences will be maintained in such and such a way. We have had enough of armies and navies, and our patience with those who would maintain them in any way is exhausted.

You deprecate the searching for a "heaven on earth," but we have learned from the Nazarene that we are Children of God and that, in our Father's view, nothing is too good for us. Your religion appears to be the bastard child of Gentility and Fear, and we prefer that type defined, by a writer whom you quote, as "betting your life there is a God."

We are tired of Compromise. We are suspicious of Reconstruction. We are putting our faith in the possibility of Re-creation.

Austria, for Example!

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

The repair of States like that of garments depends upon the extent of the damage and the strength of the parts. We have all seen our wives or mothers take hold of a tattered shirt or sock, turn it over and over, shake their heads, and then throw it into the rag bag.

That rude simile expresses my feelings regarding our modern capitalist society. And certainly I cannot understand how any careful observer could travel through Europe to-day without feeling that the only thing worth troubling about is a new policy arising from an inspired social vision. When I think of the suffering that the people of Germany and Austria have endured since the Armistice, and of the scant hope there is of any real amelioration of their condition, I feel it is to waste time and to misinterpret the situation to talk about "reform."

To be quite frank, what one sees in Europe to-day is a concourse of enslaved people surrounded by merchant victors guarding their prey. Only to-day I read in "The Times" (June 9th) that a secret meeting of the German and English Food Controllers had taken place in London, wherein the representatives of 60 million starving people had been asking permission to have a little more food in order to provide the necessary strength to pay the tax that we have laid upon them by the might and under the threat of the sword. A more cruel and cold-blooded proceeding after the punishment that has already been meted out to these people, and considering the cause of the war (as revealed in the Peace), it would be difficult to imagine.

Let us visualise the situation: Seventy million people in Germany and Austria deliberately kept on the point of starvation, in a position where they are daily faced with the fearful problem of how to procure enough food to see the day through! I have witnessed that struggle till I have been sick and well-nigh savage. Indeed, the struggle is so keen that it leaves no money wherewith to buy clothing, personal or domestic. Only a real intimacy with the people themselves can reveal the state of affairs that exists, for they deliberately hide their poverty. Their one aim is to appear decent—to hide their suffering. Perhaps it would be better if they were not so sensitive, disregarded appearances, and let the truth speak. They cannot buy clothing, and they work their fingers to the bone in order to look respectable. At a first glance one gets quite a false idea of their condition. But intimacy reveals the truth—highly educated people who dare not go out for walks because they cannot afford 60 marks to get their shoes soled; people who wear imitation shirts—a piece of cotton for the chest, with a neck-piece attached, and fastened to the body by means of strings! And I had seen a large number of peculiarities in men's suits before I realised that they had been turned.

Now this state of things cannot proceed indefinitely. Even suits have only two sides, and cotton does not wear for ever. If this starvation policy is continued for another winter, catastrophic consequences will result—physical and political.

But it is about Austria that I desire more particularly to speak in the present article. And, first, let me say that I share the ignorance of the more reasonable members of that nation as to whether cruelty, revenge, fear, greed, or ignorance was chiefly responsible for the Treaty of St. Germain. But of the actual impossibility and inhumanity of that Treaty there can be no two opinions.

Apart from the violations of the demands of race, which are serious, it would seem that the makers of the Treaty of St. Germain had parcelled out the old Austrian Empire according to the desires of the new aspirants to Nationality in the fold of the Entente, and given the name Austria to what was left. But that residuum can in no sense be called a Kingdom, as, especially in a Europe constructed on a foundation of greed, and thus of antagonisms, it is too economically impotent to stand alone. Austria has lost almost all her coal fields and her most fertile lands, whilst her industrial life has been strangled by reason of a distribution of territories which cuts off one part of an industry from its counterpart, as spindles from looms, preparatory from finishing processes, etc. Then, it must be remembered, Austria stands in the midst and at the mercy of several new small States, favoured by the Allies, whose career is marred by having been started in a wrong spirit and with a false aim; in consequence of which they are cutting one another's throats. The idea behind their merciless policy towards Austria is too obvious to need explanation. Thus Austria is not only without food, she is without hope. She is procuring food on conditions the possibility of whose fulfilment only the wildest imagination could conceive. Yet she appeals in vain. She asks for an intelligent consideration of her claims, but receives in reply a little charity, and "a Commission with wide powers," which would seem to mean powers to make her fulfil impossible conditions. Yet she bears her burden of suffering with wonderful courage, some idea of which may be gained from the fact that a man's hat, or a shirt, or six pounds of meat would swallow up the entire wage of the average worker. A rational policy would be to improve Austria's credit, endeavour to induce a reasonable spirit in her neighbours, and give her liberty to become a member of a Danubian Federation of States, or to link her fate with that of Germany—which now appears as the only possible solution to about 70 per cent. of the population.

But reasonable solutions are out of the question, the terrible fact being that the Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain are a faithful expression of the modern capitalist mind.

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TO ALL ASSOCIATED WITH BROTHERHOODS, DEBATING SOCIETIES, ETC.—In arranging meetings would you please remember that this Union is perfectly willing to send speakers dealing with the position taken up by "The Crusader," who would give an address, open a discussion, or take part in a debate, whatever might be most desired.

"CRUSADER" SELLERS.—The "Crusader" seller at Marble Arch has twice during the last few days sold more than five dozen copies on an evening when a meeting was being held. But we want sellers at all our meetings and we appeal to all who can give an hour one evening a week to help at the nearest local meeting.

OPEN AIR MISSION.—We are in great need of extra portable platforms. If any friends can hire or lend us one or two we should be grateful. Please notice the alterations in times and places of some of the following meetings: Friday, June 18th:—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch: H. E. Brown, C. Paul Gliddon, Basil Tritton; at 8 p.m., Walthamstow, Hoe Street: Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen; at 8 p.m., Kilburn, The Grangeways: H. W. Green, J. Newton Harris, Ivy Sheldon. Saturday, 19th:—At 8 p.m., Ealing Broadway, corner of Offord Road: C. Paul Gliddon. Sunday, 20th:—At 12 noon, Leytonstone, outside the Green Man: Basil Tritton; at 3.30 p.m., Hampstead Heath, outside Jack Straw's Castle: C. Paul Gliddon, Winifred Wood. Monday, 21st:—At 8 p.m., Leytonstone, outside the Green Man: Rev. R. W. Sorensen; at 8.15 p.m., Forest Gate, outside G.E.R. Station: C. Paul Gliddon, W. H. Hancock. Tuesday, 22nd:—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon, Rev. R. W. Sorensen; at 8 p.m., Clapton, corner of Kenninghall Road and Upper Clapton Road: H. W. Green, E. Oakes, Winifred Wood. Wednesday, 23rd:—At 7.45, Stepney, corner of Commercial Road and Lucas Street: Rev. F. Fincham; at 8 p.m., Catford, outside G.E.R. Station: J. Newton Harris. Thursday, 24th:—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch: Rev. F. Fincham, C. Paul Gliddon; at 8 p.m., Kentish Town, corner of Leighton Road and Kentish Town Road: Alfred Cordell, J. B. Lief. Friday, 25th:—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch: H. E. Brown, Winifred Wood; at 8 p.m., Walthamstow, Hoe Street: Rev. R. W. Sorensen; at 8 p.m., Kilburn, The Grangeway: Alfred Cordell, Ivy Sheldon, Basil Tritton.

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Christian Commonwealth Fellowship.



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscription for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, pendants, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Price 2d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

Dreams and Realities.

One of our members (2515 Finchley), who is a hard worker in the cause of Fellowship, sends us a poem which she considers embodies the C.C.F. point of view, and helps to explain our attitude towards things as we find them. We share some of the hopes with you:—

The City of Comrades.

I live in a City of Comrades,
An isle in a turbulent sea,
Some call it "The City of Heaven"
And other "the City to be,"
But I will just call it a city,
A city for you and for me.

'Twas built on the structure of friendship,
Humanity, goodness to all;
Its pillars of justice and mercy,
Invincible, stately and tall,
Supporting a palace majestic
Which never can tremble nor fall.

Its people are plain men and women,
In number they are but a few;
Yet something in them is distinctive,
Inspiring, uplifting and new,
Which makes of this City of Comrades,
The dream of the ages come true.

Their creed is to serve and be useful,
And wisdom and learning their shrine;
"All men are my brethren" 's their slogan—
What slogan more lofty, divine?
Their life is replete with endeavour
For you and for me and for mine.

But where is this city so beautiful,
Where is this enchanting domain?
It is not a dream nor a fancy,
For man has not striven in vain;
'Tis right where you dwell, and are seeking
This City Divine to attain.

Come join us, we need you, good brother,
Our City to swell with your grace,
You'll help us to spread the great doctrine
Which soon the whole world must embrace:
One family, vast and united,
Forever one glorious race!

Our Paper.

The "Crusader" stands for the establishment of the City of Comrades, here and now, and lays strong emphasis, week by week, on the social implications of Christianity, of a Christianity that is revolutionary, i.e., that must turn the world upside down. To one of you, this emphasis may appear disproportioned, partly because you have not come into close touch with the evils the writers denounce, and partly because other sides of Christianity are of more importance to you. You believe, however, that the

"Crusader" is working to replace the ideals that appear to rule the world to-day by those that belong to the City of Friends, which we of the C.C.F. have been working to build since we became a Fellowship. You may not agree with the "Crusader" in all details, but in principle you are at one. Further, the "Crusader" is helping the Fellowship. A valuable suggestion comes from a Fellow who did not at first appreciate our new paper, but who is now an enthusiastic reader. "May I suggest as a small way of helping on the Fellowship and its paper," she says, "that each reader shall subscribe regularly for three copies a week (6d.). This is something definite, and calls for little or no self-sacrifice, since, in return for the small outlay, one receives one's own copy and has the happiness of passing on a copy to two others who either may be unacquainted with the paper, or who are really for the time being too poor to subscribe to it." Another member, a farmer in Essex (937, St. Osyth), has found it possible to transfer in full the real affection he had for the "C.C." to the "Crusader." "I think you understand why I so like it," he says. "I most heartily recommend it to others. The secretary of the Labourers' Union . . . takes it; previously he was rather opposed to me, not being able to gather what I was driving at. But now . . . we have some delightful conversations. When we take our stand against all forms of evil we can faintly grasp what it cost Jesus our Leader, and what it costs others who are working with Him. And we are anxious that others should travel the same way, and that we may give them Fellowship." 937 tells us of other new friends he is finding by this means. Can you help in either of these two ways?

Fellowship Wanted.

1527 (Leeds) asks for cheer for himself and his wife (4485), who is suffering from cancer. He considers that the C.C.F. is better than ever.

5025 (Wiltshire, Blackburn) is living in a new neighbourhood and would welcome friendship.

The Fellowship as a Co-operative Commonwealth.

We cannot all go into co-operative communities and co-operate in the fair and equitable production and distribution of the means of life. But we are seeking Fellowship in daily life wherever we are, and we can, as Fellows, help one another in practical ways.

If you wish—(1) TO SELL: A hen; her eggs; a piece of ground, or its produce; a costume you have done with (and cannot afford to give away); furniture for which you have no use; books; etc., etc. (2) TO BUY: Anything whatever—from a secondhand bicycle to a house, a china tea-set to a byre of cattle. (3) TO LEND: Your knowledge, your advice, your books, your country cottage, your health and strength in holiday or spare time. TO BORROW: Any of the above, or things not mentioned that may be necessary to your full development or to the service of your neighbours.

Why not make use of the Small Advertisements in the "Crusader," making them truly a Fellowship Column, by means of which Fellows can touch one another with helping hands? Everyone will know that this is an exchange and part of a real Co-operative Commonwealth. There is no room for profiteers in the Christian Commonwealth Fellowship. The rates are as follows:—9d. a line (prepaid). Instructions should reach this office not later than Monday for following issue.

SIDELIGHTS.

A Bishop's Definition of Murder.

Dr. Kelly, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ross, speaking at Aughadown before administering the Sacrament of Confirmation to children, said the Pope had commanded all bishops of the Catholic Church to preach the doctrine of forgiveness for injuries and brotherly love. A great many things were occurring in their country, and they might ask themselves whether they were lawful or otherwise. Many lives had been lost, and people said they were justified in taking those lives because Ireland was at war with England. It took two nations to make war, and if England were at war with Ireland the representatives of England were perfectly justified in shooting down the Irish. Were they prepared to admit it? He was not. It was murder if English soldiers shot them, and if Irishmen shot down policemen it also was murder. There could be no excuses such as, "We got orders from headquarters." Headquarters, in issuing such orders, violated the law of God and the Christian religion.

The Free People's Church.

The Soviet paper "Izvestia" reports that Archbishop Vladimir of Penza has offered a programme for the activities of the Free People's Church. The new Church agrees with the Soviet power that the holy relics have been used for the exploitation of the people, and is ready to take all measures necessary for "the further unveiling of such swindles and frauds." Archbishop Vladimir, commenting upon the Russian Civil War, said:—"Christianity condemns all bloodshed, and endeavours to attain eternal peace, but it does not deny class differences and the class struggle. From the point of view of the true orthodox, the Civil War is an inevitable evil and the only means of attaining the aim which is common to the People's State and the People's Church, to create eternal peace and to lift the banner of Labour high upon a reconciled world."

Militarising the Police.

The organised workers will be interested to read the text of confidential memoranda which have been circulated amongst the Metropolitan Police.

Confidential Memorandum. May 14th, 1920.

Explosives, Pistols, Etc.

Superintendents should send in as early as possible the names, etc., of the officers whom they recommend, and who are qualified to give instructions in the use of Pistols.

In interior Divisions the Sub-Division may be combined; in exterior ones the tuition might proceed on Sub-Divisions as far as practicable.

The enclosed list of rifle ranges have been returned by Superintendents as being suitable for firing with the .32 service weapon.

Superintendents should arrange for the necessary practice at one of these ranges with the service weapons, but the .22 semi-automatic should be capable of use at any range certified for the .22 miniature rifle.

(Signed) J. OLIVE, A.C.A.

To Supts. A to 6th.

Confidential Memorandum. May 22nd, 1920.

Explosives, Pistols, Etc.

The officers recommended by Superintendents to act as instructors in the use of pistols are approved, and they are to be used in the discretion of Superintendents in order that the instruction in both .22 and .32 weapons may be proceeded with as quickly as possible.

A supply of .22 ammunition for instructional purposes is now being distributed, based on the authorised strength.

About 26,000 rounds are also available for sale to Divisions for practice, or for the use of rifle clubs. As this has been obtained by the Receiver from the War Department,

it is saleable at the reduced price of 1s. 4½d. per 100 rounds being the actual cost price, and orders for the quantity required should be sent in as early as possible to Superintendent Bassom, who will distribute it as equally possible.

(Signed) J. OLIVE, A.C.A.

To Supts. A to 6th.

A Play to See.

What should be an important event in the dramatic output of the year is the performance, on Sunday, June 27 at 3 p.m., at the Surrey Theatre, Blackfriars, of Sirg Tucie's play "The Liberators," which is being produced by the People's Theatre Society by Mr. J. Fisher White.

When the English translation of this play by Miss Fann Copeland was published a year or two back, it created great attention in the Press, not only on account of its outstanding qualities as a contribution to the Drama, but on account of its extraordinarily vivid and outspoken expression of the deep feeling of spiritual democracy which is reacting against the phenomenon of War—and especially of War among nearly related Peoples. The production of a play by a great dramatist hitherto unacted in England containing such an intensely significant motive should make a deep impression.

A Candid Confession.

The 29th Conference of the International Law Association was notable among other things for the outspoken, no doubt unpopular, admission of Sir R. B. D. Acland, K.C., the Judge Advocate General, that the origin, though, as he was careful to emphasise, not the justification of the German brutalities to our prisoners was the refusal of the latter to work and obey prison regulations. This last statement, which aroused considerable dissent, was not made without the solid basis of five years' experience in investigating reports of enemy brutality. That it should have been made at all showed that a responsible English official was not afraid to acknowledge that the faults were not wholly on the side of the enemy.

National Peace Council.

The 14th National Peace Congress will meet in Glamorgan from June 16th to 20th. Among the subjects discussed will be "The Economic Consequences of the Peace Treaty," "The War that was to End War," "The Problem of Ireland and Russia." Among the speakers we note the names of Mr. Charles Trevelyan, Professor W. T. Goode, and Mr. H. Hudson.

Eugene Debs and the Bishop.

Rev. Dr. John S. Stilli, of the People's Church, Louisville, Ky., has been saying things about the Capitalist tyranny of America:—"If the Bishop wants to know what men are turning their backs on the churches in order to turn their faces towards Socialism, let him find out what happens that Gene Debs goes to jail, and not the Bishop. The fact that Gene Debs goes to jail will not kill Socialism. But the fact that no Bishop goes to jail may yet kill the Christian Church. . . ."

RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

New Town.—Published for the New Town Council. J. Dent and Sons, Ltd. 2s.

Thoughts on the War: The Peace—and Prison.—By E. Morel, with an introduction by Robert Smillie. Published by the Author, Orchard House, Great Street, Westminster. 2s.

The Paths of Glory.—A collection of poems written during the war 1914-1919. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.

Magic.—A play for children. By Pourquoi Pas. S. A. Warner, 15 Devonshire Street, London, E.C.

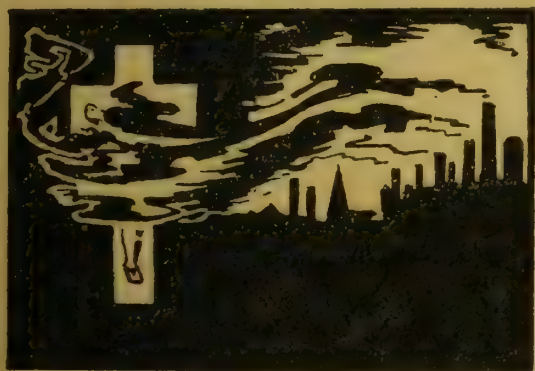
The Crusader

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(Registered as a Newspaper)

Twopence.



The Outlook.

THE new provisions added to the Home Rule Bill stipulate that Irish members before they take their seat shall profess allegiance to the British Sovereign and Constitution. This is virtually asking them to sign away the principles which, in the great majority of cases, they are elected to carry out. Mr. Lloyd George declares that on this point no concession can be made, no matter what the cost. But is there any reason to trouble? The Irish are not likely to send members to Westminster. To do so would be to deny the authority of their own Republic. The question of self-determination for Ireland has got beyond the point of discussion. It is now an established fact. The question which has to be settled next is the self-determination of this country. How much longer are we to be governed by a hireling Press and a Cabinet-ridden Parliament?

IN his interview with Mr. J. H. Thomas, the Prime Minister cited the case of Lincoln's refusal to recognise the Secessionist States. It would have been more useful had he remembered how there came to be any United States in the first

place. The loss of the American Colonies—from the Imperialist point of view—was one of the great blunders of English history. Speaking from the same point of view, the present Government seems bent on repeating that mistake.

THE negotiations with Krassin still hang fire. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in the course of his weekly article in the Glasgow "Forward," suggests one of the reasons. "I happen to know," he says—

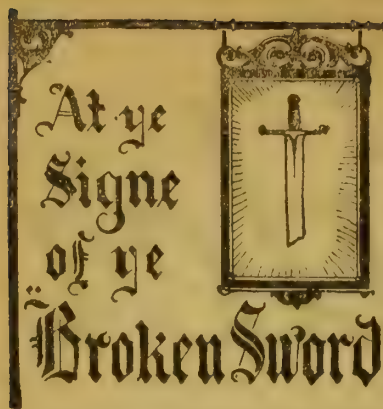
why Krassin has not, at the time when I write this, met the Economic Council. The reasons given in the newspapers are untrue. Bond-holders are behind it all. Claims of the most absurd pretensions are being made, and everybody moving in well-informed circles knows it. Private interests are to be made the first claims on the Russian nation. The people may starve, but the rentier is to flourish, and property holders, who have suffered by the Revolution (especially foreign ones), are to have their bills paid upon a basis which no Government with any liberty would accept."

IN the same article he reviews the responsibility of the Labour Party at the present time:—

"One's mind plays with the vision of a great British Labour Party which would be the rallying point of Europe—a sober and an attainable dream. That Party has everything at its feet. Its voice can penetrate to the furthest frontiers if it could speak; its presence could be in every Chamber in Europe if it had personality; its mind could be a menace to the wrongdoer and a gladness to his victim if it knew it. I hope that the delegates at Scarborough will show the Parliamentary Party that the rank and file have that vision."

What effect the Labour Party can have on Continental affairs when it speaks with decision can be seen from the repentant mood which its report on conditions in Hungary induced among the Reactionaries of that country.

THE latest war, at the time of writing, is between Turkey and the troops which, it is said, M. Venizelos has promised the Allies for the enforcement of the "Peace" Treaty Regulations. Scarcely a week passes now without the threat of conflict in some new quarter,



The Happy Hypocrite.

There is another side to the parable of the two sons, one of whom said "I go, sir," and went not, and the other of whom made no promise but went. And this other side was

charmingly presented by that master of satire, Max Beerbohm, some years ago in a little story, entitled "The Happy Hypocrite." The story tells how an evil-faced man, to win a woman whom he loved, donned a mask which gave him the appearance of a saint, and how, after he had for a long while constantly worn the mask, it was one day torn from his face in the presence of the one to win whom it had been worn. To his amazement and joy he found that disguise was no longer necessary, for his features had conformed to those he had assumed. His long hypocrisy had resulted in his becoming in fact, what he had, at first, only pretended to be. The lesson—if that is not too serious a word to use for so light a story—is obvious.

There is a type of individual, fairly common now-a-days, who says:—"I make no profession of religion and I am certainly not a saint, but at any rate I am no hypocrite. I say what I mean and mean what I say." But do those who thus discourage a profession of religion ever reflect how often our characters are affected by the professions that we make and the appearance we present? One of the reasons for putting soldiers into uniform and students into gowns is the psychological effect upon the wearers. Their attire reminds them of their obligations to the organisation with which they are thus identified. For good or evil it imprints upon their mind the characteristics of those organisations. I am quite sure that my mood is affected by the clothes I wear, and that if I saw myself attired in the latest West End fashion I should more or less assume the consciousness of the dandy.

It used to be the fashion to say that you could not make a people sober by Act of Parliament, or that living in fine houses would not change the character of people naturally dirty. So far as the first statement is concerned we shall soon have an opportunity of finding out from the United States whether prohibition laws make for sobriety of character, and Russia ere long will be able to tell us how far communistic institutions induce a communistic psychology. I have very little doubt of the result in either case. Indeed I am coming more and more to feel that one of the surest ways of reforming a nation is to get it to pretend that it is reformed and to pass measures in excess of its actual moral standards, and then to live up to the social creed it has thus professed. And that is why I have a certain hesitation in subscribing to the statement

that there is no value in a mere profession of Christianity. To me it seems a matter of no small importance that this and other European nations definitely profess to be Christian. There is no need to remind me of the hideous countenances behind the mask. In spite of that I am hopeful that slowly but surely, the profession, if it be maintained, will react upon the character of our civilisation.

The wearing of that mask has at least this advantage, that it gives the critic something to which to appeal. We can demand of Christendom a high standard of social ethics than we can of fetish worshippers in the Pacific. We can say to the members of the Christian Church: "Your creeds and sacraments and Bible proclaim such and such truths. Why do you not live up to them?" Moreover, when you come to think of it, there is something almost cowardly in the refusal to commit oneself to any spiritual and moral ideal for fear one should come short of it. To have nailed one's colours to the mast is half the battle. The man who goes into life without any colours flying from his mast lacks one of the greatest incentives and one of the surest means of recalling him to his better self. Peter's tears, after his treachery, were due to the remembrance of the brave words he had uttered so recently and the contrast they afforded to his actual conduct.

There is a story of a Scotch regiment which at a critical juncture in a battle broke and fled. It was rallied by its leader seizing a casket containing the heart of the Bruce and flinging it into the midst of the foe. The clansmen, to recover their treasure, made so furious an attack that, in the attempt to repossess themselves of the relic, they won the fight. There is the wisdom of the serpent in that mode of strategy. Preempt the ground now occupied by the enemy. Set your standard where only heroism will save it from desecration. Make large promises. Vow big vows. Commit yourself in the eyes of men to lofty ideals. Wear the mask of the man you would be.

It is dangerous. But it is more exciting and more heroic than the life of the man who stands committed to nothing more than what he knows he can at once attain.

THE TRAMP.

Come
to
Oxford
for
four
days
August
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To confer with the

"NEW TOWN" COUNCIL

About the founding of a Country Town in England, in which "Service" shall replace "Profit-making" as the basis of life and work.

In which Education shall be exalted, and Human Personality honoured.

For full Programme, particulars of rooms, excursions, etc., from the Secretary, "New Town" Council, 27 Chancery Lane, W.C. 2.

To Abolish War.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

The League to Abolish War has waited upon Mr. Lloyd George and—asked for an International Army and Navy! And Mr. Lloyd George has replied, in effect, that he would be only too happy to oblige, but, really, he couldn't spare a single regiment or as much as a second-hand battleship to start their collection; what with having to keep 16,674 soldiers in the Rhine, 22,846 in Constantinople, 32,068 in Egypt, 23,014 in Palestine, 70,603 in Mesopotamia—to say nothing of the ever-growing British Army in Ireland, and Mr. Churchill's "Red Army" in this country—well, it was simply impossible to think about dropping contributions into the box held out by the League to Abolish War. And so the League to Abolish War had to return from Downing Street without having made a start with its One Big Army and Navy which is to set about the task of "abolishing war."

The League to Abolish War means well. It has quite a number of good, earnest souls on its books who are genuinely—many of them passionately—desirous of abolishing war. Its deputation to the Prime Minister included such men as Bishop Gore, Rev. T. Phillips, Rev. Bernard Snell, Mr. John Oxenham, Mr. Herbert Stead, Mr. George Barnes, Dr. Elvin, and Mr. Frank Hodges.

The tragedy of the thing is that a deputation composed of such men could wait upon the Prime Minister with no other object in view than to advocate that—to quote Bishop Gore—"steps should be taken to arm the League of Nations with some adequate force." So that there could be no mistake about what this "adequate force" meant, Lord Curzon defined it thus, to the satisfaction of the deputation. This force, he said—

"if it is to be effective, will not consist of so many brigades or divisions. You must have a navy also. In some cases the operations could only be conducted by sea, and in other cases they could only be conducted by air. It means the creation of a great international force composed of all those arms."

It is heartbreaking to find leaders of the churches, together with Labour leaders, seriously advocating the creation of what—despite the euphemism "International Police Force"—would be nothing more or less than a gigantic murder machine, which could be used relentlessly to crush any people whose definition of "democracy" or "self-determination" did not coincide with that of the particular clique at the head of the machine. The sheer absurdity—say, the sheer wickedness—of attempting to "abolish" war by such means should be obvious to every thinking person.

Within a few hours of the League to Abolish War deputation leaving the Prime Minister, another deputation waited upon him. This time it was composed of members of the National Union of Railwaymen who wanted to know what he was going to do about Ireland. Here was an even greater "acid

test" of this precious League of Nations which was to afford "mutual guarantees of political and territorial independence for great and small States alike." President Wilson, in that famous speech of July 4th, 1918, declared that the war was being fought in order to secure that—

"the settlement of every question, whether of territory, or sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, UPON THE BASIS OF THE FREE ACCEPTANCE OF THAT SETTLEMENT BY THE PEOPLE IMMEDIATELY CONCERNED, AND NOT UPON THE BASIS OF THE MATERIAL INTEREST OR ADVANTAGE OF ANY OTHER NATION OR PEOPLE WHICH MAY DESIRE A DIFFERENT SETTLEMENT FOR THE SAKE OF ITS OWN EXTERIOR INFLUENCE OR MASTERY."

On the following day, Mr. Lloyd George endorsed that speech. Of course, there is nothing to be gained by raking up these and the hundred and one other solemn pledges which have been shamelessly broken by Mr. Lloyd George and the Allied statesmen. But I want the League to Abolish War to turn their attention from the Poland-Russia situation and fasten it on to the Irish situation. The people of Ireland, that is, "the people immediately concerned," to the extent of 90 per cent. of the population, have expressed themselves as desirous of an Irish Republic. Mr. Lloyd George told the N.U.R. deputation that "the Government would never agree to an independent Irish Republic unless absolutely beaten to the ground." He told the railwaymen more than that. He declared that the Government were prepared to face a "million casualties and a five years' war" rather than grant the Irish people the right of self-determination.

What would the League to Abolish War do about Ireland? Given a League of Nations armed with "a great international force," would it use that force against the people of Ireland in the interests of Mr. Lloyd George or even of a majority of people in this country who "may desire a different settlement" of the Irish problem for the sake of their own "exterior influence or mastery"? Alternatively, in the very unlikely event of the Council of the League deciding that the people of Ireland are entitled to govern themselves in their own way, would the League to Abolish War set its international army and navy against the people of this country in order to "persuade" them of the justice of the claim of the Irish people by bombing their cities, bombarding their coasts, and keeping foodstuffs out of their country? That is clearly the logical outcome of the "International Police" idea. And its effect would be, not to abolish war, but to ensure that whenever war came every nation would be involved. The whole scheme is madder than the maddest dream of the maddest "peace crank."

War will be abolished when a sufficient number of people in every country pledge themselves never to take part in war. Meanwhile, all who desire to abolish war should be creating public opinion in favour of complete disarmament.

The Crusader

Friday, June 25th, 1920.

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Business Communications
To the Secretary,
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LONDON, E.C.4.
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The Illusion of Summer.

It is Nature's busiest hour. Everywhere is she engaged in her marvellous work of creation. Crops are ripening for the mowing-machine. The fruit harvest has already commenced, and, in the orchards, effective preparations are going forward for the autumnal ingathering. But all these signs of plenty may deceive us. Encouraged by such indications of prosperity, and our minds further lulled by lazy summer weather, may we not fail to realise the true condition of the world at this time? It is not so easy to imagine misery when the haze of sunshine lies like a mist upon the hills, and brooks are babbling beneath the foliage of leafy June. It is difficult to picture starvation amid scenes of Nature's abundance.

"The Duty of Suicide."

But those who are privileged to enjoy these sights of the countryside should remember that there is no necessary connection between the Calendar of the Seasons and the course of human history. While the fructifying sunshine fills our valleys, in Austria they are discussing whether suicide may not be a duty to the community—whether, with so many to feed from so scanty a store, self-destruction may not confer a benefit upon those left to struggle for the means of life. And even if the golden glory of the sunshine grows paler as we think these thoughts, is it not our duty to think them? Can we excuse ourselves by saying "Of what use is it for me to make myself miserable concerning suffering which I cannot help?" It is the intolerableness of such misery that is the dynamic of progress.

Creed, the Middleman.

For between Nature's abundance and the labour of human hands there is a Middleman. Greed steps in to divert to its own ends the flow of natural wealth and the products of human toil. And so, while the fields overflow, Famine stalks abroad; while the woodlands whisper their open secret to the listening ear and receptive heart, little children swelter in city slums, ignorant of the buttercups and daisies waiting for baby hands to pick. It is this Middleman we must get rid of. His profits absorb what was meant for all. Until we do, the harvest hymns in which we thank God for the abundance of Nature remain but hypocritical nonsense.

C. PAUL CLIDDON will conduct the service at Burghley Hall, High Road, Leytonstone, at 6.30 on Sunday, June 27th. Subject: "The Problem of Human Suffering."

Inoculate the Children

A local parson is reported to have said recently "Set women against war. It is the only way to end war. Begin with the children, and tell them the hideousness of war, with all its horrors and results, and so inoculate their blood, as it were, that the evil germ may be overcome. . . . Influence the hearts of mothers, inspire the hearts and minds of men with your own enthusiasm, use your power to create a tremendous moral force. . . . It is the only way to procure a lasting peace and thereby the possibility of establishing the Kingdom of God."

Undoubtedly many women in the past have acted as recruiting sergeants, and have urged their menfolk to join up. I know girls who have in the past deliberately cut men who have refused to do so. Mothers have taught their children to be proud of the men who have fought. These same mothers oftentimes when conflict arises in the home, have gently quoted:—

"Little birds in their nests agree,
And 'tis a shameful sight
When children of one family,
Fall out and chide and fight."

No wonder puzzled little minds ask "Who really knows right, teachers or mummies? 'Cos teachers says we are all children of one big family, and mummie says daddies must fight."

Is it an instinct for martyrdom, or is it the result of a narrow outlook which has been responsible for this attitude of so many women?

Now that women have seen that war means millions of broken hearts, broken lives, crippled and starved children, and economic chaos, they will surely gladly "inoculate the blood of their children so that the evil germ may be overcome."

Economic necessity often keeps our recruiting officers busy, but when "children of one family" refuse to allow economic necessity to overcome principle, we shall no longer see sections of workers attacking each other. Probably most Crusaders would be willing to use their last bit of energy to prevent war in future. But are they endeavouring to widen the circulation of the "Crusader" so that its power may be used to "create a tremendous moral force which will procure a lasting peace and make possible the establishment of the Kingdom of God"?

I wonder, by the way, if they have ever heard that paper for the children, the "Explorer." Its motto is "Love Conquers All." Crusaders are invited to forward 2/6 for one year's subscription, and when the children once get the "Explorer" regularly for a bit, they will see that the subscription is renewed.

Many thanks to our anonymous friend who has sent 1/- towards the Thousand Sixpences Fund; also our friends, W. and R. Boag, of Greenock, who have again sent a donation of 10/-.

In ordering special copies of the "Crusader" Miss Salt, of Harrogate, says: "I could not do without the 'Crusader.' Thank God for all the keen spirits inspiring and upholding it."

THE PLOUGHMAN

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

What an awful hammering the Free Churches got the "Nation" the other day! And it cannot be denied that that tremendous letter, under the heading "The Eclipse of Nonconformity," and over the signature F.A.A., has put into so many words what great many are thinking about the Free Churches. And the replies that several of the Free Churches have made in the same paper seem to admit an indictment, though they argue that it is not a complete statement of the case, and is, therefore, wholly one-sided and prejudiced. I hope that this thing attack, which is mainly directed at the religious officialism which has for the time being taken all spirit out of the Churches, will result in a welcome change in the direction of a little Christian courage. As F.A.A. rather tauntingly says: "Nonconformity might die fighting for high principles and unpopular causes. But it cannot afford to be despised." That it is despised just now cannot be denied.

And why? Let F.A.A. answer. "It was furious at the suggestion of premium bonds; it said very little about the massacre in India. It was very angry over the Enabling Bill; it tolerated a Peace Treaty founded on revenge and loot. It is unsparing in its condemnation of Mr. Fisher's education proposals, but it is doing little or nothing for the League of Nations, on which depends the future peace of the world." Thus the indictment swiftly passes on from subject to subject, touching on Sir Henry Wilson's recent openly militarist speech, on the Polish war for Russian territory, and on the tragic bungling in Ireland, and showing in every instance the sorry plight of Churches "scorched by war and tricked by the peace," and now "in danger of giving way to the temptation of thinking that things are so hopelessly wrong that it is not worth the bit of good trying to put them right."

I am surprised to find religious journalism allowing this letter to pass almost without comment. In paper after paper there is no reference whatever to it.

Does this mean that it has escaped the usually sharp eyes of our editors? I notice that they have not even mentioned Lenin's letter! I believe that F.A.A. is completely right when he says: "The young and ardent spirits in Nonconformity, who believe in the application of Christian principles to public affairs, are profoundly disturbed by the apathy and timidity of their leaders, their newspapers, and their official assemblies. They are depressed by the lack of brave, efficient, and enlightened leadership."

How utterly sick we get of the prevailing policy of dodging the plain issue by thrusting the head into the sand and refusing to see. Glaring facts of the most importance, and facts which, moreover, are known to every intelligent person, are simply

ignored by many of the speakers and writers to whom we look, and who are supposed to represent us. Do they not know into what contempt they bring us? For example, I have before me at this moment an account of an address just given in a large and important Nonconformist Church at the Sunday afternoon meeting of the Brotherhood. The subject was "Britain's Destiny." And what did the speaker say? Did he use well a priceless opportunity? Did he seriously lay before his audience the truth of the situation—our terrible entanglement in the new militarism, the low ethical standard of our public life, the looming cloud of financial embarrassment, our strained relations with foreign powers, the threatening flash of lightning which every little while illumines the industrial sky? Apparently nothing of this kind had anything to do with the subject, for (according to the report I am reading) he said: "God has given us the victory and guided the nation to be a power to influence the world to universal peace, liberty, freedom and righteousness." I wonder how much longer men are going to be allowed to go on talking such rubbish in our places of worship. No wonder F.A.A. says of Nonconformity: "It has lost its grip on the world, its influence on society, its power in politics. Its congregations are smaller, its Sunday Schools are dwindling, its young people are drifting away." And if someone, tired of apathy, timidity, and the habit of evading facts which everybody knows, is so bold as to get up and talk a little sense and try to tell the naked truth, he may depend on it that his candle will be put out by the official extinguisher. At any rate, that is the experience of some of us. But I am quite convinced that there is now a vast inarticulate multitude in Nonconformity who are becoming painfully aware of the position, and who, in face of the latest developments in our country, will soon be ready to cry with F.A.A., "We have had enough of this officialism, with its chilling conservatism and caution. We need a Christian audacity that will face facts and tell the truth about them."

I notice that the Prime Minister is just now catching it hot in several religious papers. The Temperance Council of the Churches have begun to face him with some of his own words. In November he received a deputation from the Council. Mr. George promised them a Bill that would perpetuate "the beneficent results" of Liquor Control during the war. But not even yet has the Bill appeared. The Temperance Council now ask Mr. George what he means by deceiving them in this way.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

Mysticism and Revolution.

It is not your Sidney Webbs, Arthur Hendersons, or even your Lenins to whom, primarily, are due the upheavals that from time to time shake Society. These may dig channels, provide means of escape for the molten lava thrown up from the depths of human nature, but it is another type of individual from whom comes the eruptive force.

The Russian Peasant.

Dostoevsky thus describes the Russian, who, in these days, has set the world on fire:

"There is a remarkable picture by the painter Kramskoi, called 'Contemplation.' There is a forest in winter, and on a roadway through the forest, in absolute stillness, stands a peasant in torn kaftan and bark boots. He stands, as it were, lost in thought. Yet he is not thinking; he is 'contemplating.' If anyone touched him he would start and look at one as though awakening and bewildered. It is true he would come to himself immediately, but if he were asked what he had been thinking about he would remember nothing. Yet probably he has hidden within himself the impression which had dominated him during the period of contemplation. Those impressions are dear to him, and no doubt he hoards them imperceptibly and even unconsciously. How and why, of course, he does not know either. He may suddenly, after hoarding impressions for many years, abandon everything and go off to Jerusalem on a pilgrimage for his soul's salvation, or perhaps he will suddenly set fire to his native village, and perhaps do both. There are a good many 'contemplatives' among the peasantry."

Stephen Graham, who quotes the passage, adds: "The Russians are volcanoes, either extinct, quiet, or in eruption. Below the surface even of the quietest and stupidest lies a vein of racial energy, an access to the inner fire and mystery of the spirit of man. When the spirit moves in the depths, then the ways of the outward man seem strange."

The Mystic in History.

The Russian is not the only example of this combination of mystical reverie and volcanic energy. It must not be forgotten that the early Christian movement was characterised by the same association of meditation and action; that Francis of Assisi, who created a powerful social movement at the opening of the thirteenth century was a mystic; that in the fifteenth century a German peasant, Hans Böhm, declared he had a commission from the Holy Virgin to denounce Pope and Emperor, Prince and Bishop, and to announce a new social order in which each would be his neighbour's brother; that in the same century Jeanne D'Arc, fortified by visions and heavenly voices, delivered her country from a great tyranny; that the greatest voice towards the end of the fifteenth century on the side of the people was that of the monk and mystic, Giralomo Savonarola; and that, later, the first serious attempt in Christendom at setting up a Communist Republic was made by the Anabaptists, who were strongly tinged with mystical tendencies. These examples serve to show that the combination in the case of the Russian is not unique or accidental. It is not necessary to endorse all or any of these various attempts to turn the world upside down in order to establish the con-

nection between the Contemplative and the Revolutionist. Indeed, the effectiveness of "the practical mystic," whether for good or evil, has almost passed into a proverb. As a matter of fact, he is the greatest force in history.

The Explanation.

Nor is it difficult to explain why this should be so. The Contemplative described by the Russian novelist was receiving impressions that sank into his subconscious mind and set up a movement there that would one day find expression with abnormal energy. There are subterranean depths in human nature, and when these are stirred let the defenders of the conventional order beware, for they have provoked that against which the diplomatic schemes of the conscious mind offer a vain resistance. Men who draw their strength from these hidden sources often strike the spectator as being almost superhuman, and, in a sense, so they are, for in their minds the barrier between the finite individual life and the infinite cosmic ocean of energy is broken down, and through their personalities the world is flooded afresh with the life-force that lies beyond the normal experience of mankind.

The Opiate of the People.

In the face of this, how looks the accusation against a religion which emphasises the need of prayer and seeks to provoke into activity the depths of our being that it is an opiate of the people? That ecclesiastical institutions and the religious instinct are exploited in the interests of the dominant class, that religious authorities attempt to stave off inevitable change by putting a taboo on the existing order, making it a sin to meddle with it, we should be the last to deny. But education, art, sexual influence, have also been exploited with the purpose of dulling the keen edge of revolt. Are we, therefore, to deny a place in life to these things?

No doubt the sight of a peasant lost in reverie before an ikon, contemplating with unseeing eyes the Figure of the Outlaw of Galilee, may provoke the ire of the materialist. But are we to conclude that the meditative influence thus fostered is nothing but an opiate? Shall we refuse to believe that by prayer, communion, contemplation—call it what you will!—man does not become charged with the electric power of revolt such as no scientific system as such can ever give? And if he does, are we not neglecting one of the great sources of strength for the proletarian revolution in discouraging the practice of mystical religion?

RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

A New Aristocracy of Comradeship, by William Paine. New Era Series. Leonard Parsons. 4/6 net.

Man and his Buildings, by T. S. Atlee, A.R.I.B.A. The Christian Revolution Series. Swarthmore Press, Ltd. 6/- net.

The Case for Ireland.

II.—By A SCOT.

The Premier has talked glibly about assassins, and Mr. J. H. Thomas has apparently been persuaded that the assassinations are all on one side. The transportation of shells and siege guns has been camouflaged as a "box of revolvers"—a phrase which will become historic.

The previous article dealt with facts of the past; now we come to facts of the present day, and these facts can speak for themselves. They show that the real assassins in Ireland are not the Sinn Féin volunteers, but the police and military, and that notwithstanding the "box of revolvers" incident, the police are already armed, as anyone who has been in Ireland knows.

The facts at our disposal would fill several complete issues of the "Crusader"; so only a very small selection can be quoted, but even these show conclusively that the British Government have established in Ireland a Reign of Terror which has no modern parallel outside Armenia; that they have revived the odious system of "lettres de cachet" so prevalent in France before 1789; that numerous persons are arrested by police and soldiers without any charge being preferred, and that the assassination of harmless civilians is obviously connived at if not actively encouraged by the authorities, while simultaneously the Premier is representing the unfortunate victims of outrage as assassins. Moreover, since the beginning of March, a new element has been introduced to add to the terrorism. Troops and police are now encouraged to wreck the property of well-known Republicans.

Even the English papers reported the verdict of the coroner's jury on the murdered Mayor of Cork. The public in their ignorance laughed. Was it a true verdict? Judge from the following cases:—

On March 22nd, an engine driver named Howe, returning from duty at 11-30 p.m., was set upon by policemen in uniform when passing Thurles police barracks. He was tripped up from behind, knocked down, and repeatedly kicked upon the head and body. All his teeth were broken. He was also wounded with what seemed to be a bayonet. His pockets were gone through and all his money stolen.

Who spoke of a "box of revolvers"?

It is curious to note that at the end of February the Dublin police, ACTING ON ORDERS FROM THE MILITARY AUTHORITY, discarded their identity numbers from cap and tunic.

March 31st: Two men were tried by court-martial for possessing a copy of the official organ of the Irish volunteers. One was given six months' hard labour, the other twelve months. The same day armed police raided and declared illegal a meeting of the Westmeath Executive of Sinn Féin, which was called to make arrangements for the coming County Council elections. At this rate, why should

not police in England raid the business meetings of the I.L.P. or B.S.P.? They are both dangerous Bolshevik organisations.

April 1st: Armed police savagely attacked and dispersed a gathering of civilians at Gorey. Many men, women, and children were wounded.

April 14th: The Superioress of the nuns at Bantry Workhouse hospital announced her intention of removing the Community owing to the action of English troops in another part of the building firing into the nuns' quarters.

April 15th: Military and police, taking a handcuffed Sinn Féiner through Derry streets, were jeered at by a crowd. The police charged with bayonets and wounded several civilians. (Were we not told that the poor defenceless police needed a "box of revolvers" to protect them from the savage Sinn Féiners?) The crowd, thus provoked, threw stones at the police and soldiers, who then fired 40 rounds into the defenceless crowd.

Similarly, at Nenagh, police armed with rifles marched through the streets while a demonstration was taking place in sympathy with the Mountjoy hunger-strikers. The crowd jeered the police, who charged, using rifle-butts and batons on women and children, and ultimately bayonets. Over 50 persons were seriously wounded.

At Limerick, on April 29th, a body of English soldiers issued from barracks armed with rifles and bayonets. They roamed the streets wrecking business houses and firing into private residences; they attacked pedestrians with bayonets, wounding many, and fired many volleys along the streets. This continued for three hours.

May 12—13. At the inquest on Mr. J. Breen, of Kilmihill, county Clare, shot by police on April 18, the solicitor stated he was unable to produce detailed evidence, since police and soldiers had threatened the lives of townspeople who intended to give evidence. Deceased's father stated that on hearing shots he came out of his house and saw his son lying on the ground. He ran to him but was ordered back by the police who threatened that if he did not go back they would "blow his brains out too." The jury found that Breen had been killed by Constable Martin, and added this rider:

"From the evidence before us we desire to say that the present system of government in Ireland is as barbarous and uncivilised as the Authority on which that government is founded is immoral and unjust, and that that government is and always has been destructive of material prosperity and intellectual development. The way, the only way, to secure peace and prosperity to Ireland is to allow the Irish people to choose their own form of government. We respectfully ASK THE CIVILISED NATIONS OF THE WORLD to aid us in this choice."

The Carpen

Dr. ORCHARD

The ascension of Jesus Christ in its relevance to our modern problems was the subject of one of Dr. Orchard's recent sermons at King's Weigh House. Dr. Orchard held that the ascension, treated as a fact of nature and a revelation of ultimate moral power—the two things together—was an assurance that all man's hopes were guaranteed in the ultimate realm. The ascension of Christ rebuked our little faith and gave the lie to all the policies by which the world was directed at the present time.

Spoiling the Principalities.

One of the things Christ did for us, said the preacher, was to manifest the powerlessness of all the forces of repression by which the world tries to crush out its best ideas and crucify its best men. Here was a Man who had no place, prestige, or possessions, and at His death His programme had attracted to His standard scarcely a score of people. He had disappointed the common folk, and had not secured the allegiance of the rulers. Evidence was secured that He had used expressions which were detrimental to social peace. Inflammatory words had been uttered by Him which might have the effect of upsetting some cherished institutions. It was manœuvred that He should be put to death with torture, ridicule, shame, and humiliation, so that His memory should be for ever blotted out and His influence once for all destroyed. Yet our Lord utterly disproved the effectiveness of this method of repression. By the time St. Paul was writing, the crucified Peasant had begun to influence thought and letters, the outcast Teacher had set the world astir with strange dreams, the Man without financial resources was accomplishing what all the riches of this world could neither affect nor destroy. All the forces which this world knew so well how to muster had only given Him a greater lease of life. He spoiled the principalities and powers. He triumphed over them openly in His Cross. He led captivity captive.

Christ and the Revolutionaries.

At the time Christ was born, and again and again in Palestine, there had been risings and mutterings among the people. The people's religious convictions had been outraged by the Roman occupation, their national pride had been humbled, they were disgusted also with the place-hunting policy of some of their own people. But our Lord never approved a usurper's programme. He forbore to accept kingship at the hands of the common people. It was significant of how utterly the common people were disappointed in Him that they not only let Him go to His death without lifting a hand to save Him, but chose in His stead Barabbas, a leader of sedition. (Barabbas, of course, was not a burglar; he was a robber in the sense in which the term was always applied to social revolutionaries). Our Lord obviously admired something in these zealots. He

loved the man who would throw away his life even in a mistaken cause. He seemed to have a great kindness for the people who had forfeited the world's respect. He knew their sin, but it was not in His eyes such deadly sin as hypocrisy and that careful calculation which always managed to avoid getting into trouble. The Lord utterly disapproved violence, and yet He liked the violent man much better than the man who proposed to do nothing at all lest matters should become inconvenient for him.

The Only Triumph.

The spiritual fact proclaimed in the ascension was this: that Christ's methods are the only methods that even in a world like ours will ever triumph. It was by relying on spiritual power that Christ defeated all violence that was brought against Him, and won for Himself a kingdom that would come into existence when the kingdoms of this world had passed away. Certain definite positions had to be accepted by all who followed that path; for example, that it was better to bear any evil than to inflict any evil, that one must be absolutely careless about what happened to oneself, and that one must have no concern for one's own comfort, reputation, or support. It meant this curious attitude to life, that if you wanted to overturn the great evils of society, to get rid of the autocratic and tyrannical powers of this world, you must first show that you did not care that much for them. You must put the freedom of your own soul first, and then, sometimes without lifting a finger, you could undo all the prison bolts that man ever forged. Captivity itself was made captive. It was when a man had achieved his inner liberty that nothing outside could do anything to harm him.

Reaping the Whirlwind.

Dr. Orchard turned sharply to the terrible world situation of the moment. The further we got away from this awful war the more evil its results were seen to be. Some had hoped that there would come from it a great emancipation of mankind, that the outstanding wrongs of European history would be got rid of, and an end be put once for all to the waste that was continually coming upon us through war. Once we got rid of the one great menace to European peace we should find it possible to make peace for everybody for ever. The idealism and sacrifice inspired by the war were such wonderful powers that, when the war was over, we should be able to invest them in social reforms, we should get rid of class strife, it would be possible to reconcile forces in politics and religious and social theory hitherto opposed. We were led also to expect a great revival of religion. The Church would get rid of nationalism and sectarianism, and become international and supernatural and comprehensive. What a disappointment it had all been to those who hoped for such things from the cleansing of war!

the Throne.

SERMON.

The efforts of peace-making in Europe had only brought the great continent to a deluge of misery. Everywhere there was the threat of war blazing out again. Promises made again and again that peace should be restored in Russia had been broken. Secret diplomacy was at its old lying game. Armaments were still being piled up. What were America and England building their gigantic navies for? They were building them against one another. There was no other possibility. Backward races were being exploited for ends purely commercial. And here was Ireland completing seven hundred years of tragedy in a climax of rebellion and repression. The bitterness of industrial strife made it impossible to conceive how any understanding could be reached between the various sections of society. Hardly a thing seemed to have been taught us. Coercion was still the one thing that authority believed in. The only cure for force was reckoned to be more force. The only answer to threats was more threats.

A Tongue-Tied Church.

The result of coercive methods might be to crush out bad men, but their use corrupted the heart of society. The Cross itself was devised for a most respectable purpose, to keep wretched criminals in order. But it was no accident in history, for it had occurred only too often, that at length it impaled the Son of God. You never knew at what this punitive justice would strike in the end. Oh, he knew! these things were always to be used for good ends and by good men. But the devil had hold of them all in the long run. The trouble was that so few people did believe that the Carpenter of Nazareth was on the throne of Almighty God to-day. They said they believed it, but when it came to the crisis they acted and voted as if Jesus was the veriest weakling and the most hopeless dreamer this world had ever seen. And the Church! The Church could not pull her weight. The Church, if it spoke now, had to eat its own words and to incur a thousand reminders and reproaches. The Gospel had been put in pawn, and the Church had lost the ticket! And it was no good declaring now to the rebels and revolutionaries that force was no remedy. The Church ought to have thought of that before.

The Statecraft of Hope.

What was to be done? We must try to win the rulers of this world from the statecraft of fear to the statecraft of hope. We must try to get them to be generous enough to believe that men would respond to a great thing when they saw it. It meant a sharp decision for them. It meant that they must turn their back on all the diplomacy they had been trained in. It meant that they must take risks, not only for their own reputation, but for their country. But would they be worse risks than were being taken now? Were we going to bring the world to any worse tragedy by following Christ

than by following Mammon and Mars? And, Dr. Orchard continued, we must impress the same thing on the rebels. Political and economic freedom were worth so much that you must not stoop to such methods to achieve them, because if you did you would lose them all. Our great advance movement was continually being side-tracked on this account. We had got to say to the Irish rebels as to our own Government, that violence on either side was absolutely futile. We had got to say to the social reformers of our day that they could build up a new system inside the old in such a way that the old would crumble around it. What our opponents wanted us to do was to resort to violence, because they knew that all the way down history that was the manner in which freedom had been lost.

Right Side Up.

"If you are to win your triumph in a proper way you have got to get back faith in the glorious reality of Christianity. It means believing that the Carpenter of Nazareth is on the throne of God. And let me add that the triumph should be won in the spirit of good humour. Laugh away the world's stupid follies. Turn the world upside down, not in bitter revolution, but in a tempest of good humour, just in order to get it right side up. What we want is a simple, an intellectually convinced, and a practical faith, that we are ready to go to the stake for, and that will reform the world on the assumption that God is exalted far above all rule and authority and principality and power. Men and women, when we believe THAT with all our hearts and souls and minds, there will be hope for this world. Not until."

THE CHURCH SOCIALIST MAGAZINE

Anglo-Catholic Congress Special Number

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THE ROCK WHENCE YE WERE HEWN—Rev. P. E. T. Widdrington.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE REPORT, Etc.

Send stamps (4d.) for this number, or 2s. annual subscription (six bi-monthly numbers), to Miss G. M. Harvey, 55 Edgware Road, W.2.

DOMINATION OR BROTHERHOOD.—Lunch hour addresses on this subject will be given by Rev. Walter Walsh, D.D., at Devonshire House, 136 Bishopsgate, E.C., 1.20 to 1.50 on Mondays. June 28th: "A League of Peoples."

Pacifist Policy.

I.—THE NEED OF A NEW ORIENTATION. By WILFRED WELLOCK.

The war situation is rapidly changing, and with that change pacifist policy must also change. Faster than we realise, and in spite of appearances, national antagonisms are yielding to the even more powerful antagonisms of class, and hastening a crisis, a civil war, which, once it gets well going, will sweep across Europe. Before this peril the old methods, arguments and shibboleths of pacifists are useless. A new pacifist policy is needed, and to this end a new orientation.

We must be prepared for quite new thoughts, for revolutionary ideas, principles, and methods. Prejudices must be swept aside, preconceived notions over-ruled by a fearless endeavour to face the facts and to find the true way to peace and freedom. And things are being done in different parts of the world to-day, particularly by Labour, which are revolutionary in character, in spite of every attempt to prevent a revolution, and which reveal startling possibilities. These we must consider, and certainly drastic and determined action of some sort is needed if the reactionary and socially-disintegrating policies of our modern capitalist governments—particularly of the Entente—are to be defeated.

The first question towards which the pacifist movement needs to orient itself is that of Labour. It is refreshing to observe that many pacifists are beginning to realise that if their principles are to triumph they will have to be applied all round, to social and economic as well as to international relationships. In other words, they are discovering that war is the natural outcome and expression of an industrial policy and a commercial system founded on greed, the craving for personal, material aggrandisement, and will last so long as capitalism lasts. Thus at the recent Congress of the National Peace Council, in Glasgow, I was interested to learn that several speakers, including the chairman, pleaded for pacifists to join hands with Labour in order "to help clear away the conditions which make war possible." In Germany, too, I have observed the same tendency. At a meeting of the Berlin Branch of the German Peace Society, last February, I heard Dr. Krusch, an ardent pacifist and socialist, deliver an inspiring lecture on the ethical value of Soviets. Also, while at Stuttgart, I received a copy of a series of resolutions on the social question which the local Peace Society had just passed, one of which declared that every member of the community should render service to the State.

The plain fact must be stated: Capitalism and pacifism are absolutely incompatible. Great riches side by side with poverty, is itself anarchy. And when we think of how riches, through their power over opinion and morals, over the Press, the pulpit, Parliament and the professions, tyrannise over the poor, over Labour, we see at once that capitalism not only implies war but is war, a form of conflict whose ultimate manifestation will ever be a clash of arms. Indeed, capitalism is hastening such a conflict at the present time, and a pacifist agitation

which would leave capitalism free and omnipotent would be deplorable, and contrary to the best interests of humanity.

Because it rests on a materialist conception of life, involves privileges, injustice and every form of spiritual and physical oppression, capitalism requires the sword, is impotent without it. Thus for pacifists to defend capitalism is an inexcusable contradiction. And it is capitalism that is responsible for the social unrest of the present time, and that will, sooner or later, bring a European civil war unless it is overcome by a new idealism, a finer spirit.

It was the description of this final conflict between Capital and Labour, this culmination of the feud that has been growing in intensity and bitterness during many decades, which distinguished the thinking of Marx, and which has proved him to be something of a prophet. It was because he saw better than others the real MEANING of capitalism that he was able to describe its ultimate effects and end, and that he appealed to the workers to prepare for the inevitable conflict, wherein would also be decided the fate of Western Civilisation. To-day, Respectability, all the "correct" thinkers in Church and State, denounce from their pedestals of pitiable ignorance the man who saw the future more clearly than others, as if HE and not capitalism were the offender, the destroyer of civilisation, of honour, of peace, of all human sympathy, and the cause of the class war. That Marx was not a pacifist surely need not surprise us, for what great thinkers were pacifists in his day? But even if he had been pacifist, it is possible he might have seen the inevitability of a bloody encounter in a conflict which involved the very existence of capitalism. And, indeed, the present situation and outlook are such that in spite of all that pacifists, Christian revolutionaries and other idealists can do, I am personally convinced nothing will be able to prevent the capitalists resorting to force when Labour seriously tries to free itself from the tyranny of capitalism.

And recent events have proved that so long as capitalism reigns, wars will rage and militarism will be rampant, despite Leagues of Nations, Courts of Arbitration, and the like.

Thus a pacifist capitalist is a self-contradiction. At best he represents a good feeling resting upon an incomplete thinking; at worst he is a hypocrite whose real object is to defeat the workers and hold them in subjection. A sincere pacifist must stand Left, believe in a classless society.

The times are critical and offer no excuse to the wavering and the half-hearted. A great crisis lies not far ahead, a colossal struggle between Capital and Labour. If in that conflict Capital triumphs, it will mean the reign of terror, of unbridled militarism and materialism, and, finally, the extinction of Western Civilisation. Such an eventuality must be prevented at all costs. But can it be prevented by pacifist means? That depends upon how serious, determined, bold, we pacifists are.

Bookland. Essentials of Reconstruction.

This book, called "Some Christian Essentials of Reconstruction," and published at 5/- by G. Bell and Sons, is composed of twelve addresses given at a Summer School at Swanwick, the home of many enjoyable gatherings. Those who have seen The Hayes at Swanwick, with its long, wooden Conference Hall pleasantly placed in a charming garden of flower-beds, shrubs and lawns, and surrounded by the blue Derbyshire hills, will be able to picture the scene presented by such meetings as this book reports. The people have come from many different parts of the country: the speaker, chosen for special gifts, is on the platform giving the eagerly awaited address; the chairman sits back contented; the middle-class, well-intentioned, comfortably-off audience drinks in the wisdom kindly provided for it by the promoters of the conference. Through the wide open windows are seen the garden's trees swaying softly in the summer wind; song-birds add the charm of a perfect musical accompaniment; and the great world of industry (the subject of the address) is far away in towns and cities.

The addresses printed in this book contain useful information now and then, and a few valuable suggestions, but taken as a whole they are as disappointing as addresses on Reconstruction are apt to be. The fact of the matter is Society is so desperately sick that Reconstruction is far too mild an idea. And, further, in the case of this book, it has to be remembered that twelve months have passed since the speeches were made. A year is a long time just now when the current of history flows in a torrent. Much that was said and written a year ago, and which passed for wisdom then, has a queer, foolish look now. For example, Capt. R. L. Reiss addressed this Summer School on "The New Spirit in Housing Reform," and we find him saying:

"Before the war there were people interested in housing reform on broad and progressive lines, but they were comparatively few in number. The Government Department concerned took a narrow view of the question, and the utmost that they appeared to expect at that time was that a few houses would be built on better lines than before, and that there would be some progress in regard to the clearing and closing of slum dwellings. All this is changed. An entirely different spirit is now shown. The question is not 'Can we get things a little better?' but 'Can we set an entirely new standard and ensure that the whole of our population can be fond and proud of their homes?' The kind of house, the kind of land upon which the houses are built, the kind of town development which we are to secure are all being looked at with an entirely new vision. The really hopeful feature is that this point of view is not confined to a few housing reformers. It is the accepted policy of the Ministry of Health and its officials, and of the more progressive members of our local authorities."

Capt. Reiss, like many another at that time, had great faith, but quite evidently very little knowledge of the real situation that the war had produced. He had not read deeply the signs of the times, so he was able to encourage his hearers with utterly false hopes. And even yet there are to be found a vast number of people in this country who cannot understand that the war did anything much more than merely clear away certain great obstacles (such as

the German Government) that once stood in the way of democratic progress!

Another address in this book is on "The New Spirit in Industrial Relations." Here again, so it seems to us, there is almost complete failure to deal with the real position. The speaker, Mr. W. L. Hitchens, sees that the plague from which we are suffering is "selfishness," and he sees that this selfishness is not only in individuals, but is also embodied in the structure of the industrial machine, yet he hopes to carry us forward to our salvation without putting us to the pain of absolutely fundamental changes. He appeals to our better nature, and he finds the New Spirit in a new sense of Duty. And what he means by this can be gathered from the illustration he uses to conclude his paper:

"Some short time back it was my good fortune to be brought into touch with a boys' club attached to a certain industrial organisation. The results achieved were most remarkable, and the explanation was that the individual in charge was a genuine enthusiast. He really cared for the boys, and all he did was prompted by his interest in them. He did not agitate for a 47- or a 44-hour week for himself; he did not do as little as he could for as much money as he could squeeze out of the company; he did not restrict his output; he was not continually asking, 'Where do I come in?' his one object was to do something for the boys. And the boys responded. . . . The result was, as I say remarkable, and I think it could only have been achieved in that way. In fact, it is only in that way that all really great results can be achieved."

Exactly. But the difficulty is that the modern industrial world quite fails to inspire people with any such sense of duty to ideal ends. Its very first principles are a contradiction of ideal ends.

The contribution by Mr. Basil Mathews is important in that it emphasises the international character of the Labour problem. Mr. Mathews shows how greatly we depend on the products of far-off lands for the every-day things of social life. He then points out that the standard of life in England is often held down by the low standard of life abroad, and he declares his conviction that the essential problem of Labour for the next twenty years, if not for the next fifty, is that of raising the position of the worker, not in this country or in that, but on a world-wide scale. Turning to ask what part the Church can play in all this troubled scene, the Bishop of Lichfield frankly admits that "the industrial revolution caught the Church unawares," and he calls upon those who profess Christianity to repent and "claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice." But quite the best thing in the book, we think, is the opening address by Mr. Clutton Brock, in which he urges us to conceive of freedom as freedom not from something, but to something. And he comes right down on the present social problem in these words:

"If we are to be saved, we can only be saved all together; if we are to be free we can only be free all together. What we must believe in, and aim at, is a universal salvation—a salvation material as well as spiritual. Only so can we reconcile the conflict between the material and the spiritual that is always troubling us."

The Crusade.

The London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation is in the full swing of its open-air work. Some fifteen meetings a week are being held. This is a heavy drain on the supply of speakers, and we are asked to appeal for help to all who can assist in this way. Recently the Union, in response to urgent pressure, has extended its area of activity. Paul Gliddon, the Secretary of the Union, has been organising a series of successful meetings on the East Coast. A reader who was present at one of these sends us the following description:—

A sultry night in June, in a sleepy East Coast town. Silhouetted against the black marble of a fountain stands a figure, reminding one of the prophets of old. One or two pedestrians gather out of curiosity. Some pass by, with a smirk, when they hear the name of Jesus Christ—thus has the Church discredited Christianity in the eyes of the man in the street. Gradually a crowd gathers and listens in wonderment to a message that is new to them. The significance of it—the association of God and Bread—of the material and the spiritual, sink deep into their very souls. As they listen, entranced, one feels this is the message for which their souls

are hungering. Questions—and then a rush for “Crusaders.” Sixty-five are sold in no time at all, and one could have sold many more.

This is one of a series of meetings in Harwich, Dovercourt, and Parkeston, commencing on Wednesday afternoon, when the Rev. Fincham addressed a large and enthusiastic women’s meeting, and culminating in an inspiring service in a country church at Upper Dovercourt, where one feels that here at least the Christian faith is not dead. The success of the open-air meetings held each night and on Sunday morning makes one feel how essential it is that smaller districts should have the message of the Social Gospel presented to them. The smaller towns need help even more than those who have the advantages which city life affords. Can nothing be done? The people are ready and waiting. What is possible where only two sympathisers are concerned is still more capable of being satisfactorily worked out where there are strong branches of the F.O.R. and kindred progressive societies.

It may be added that Mr. Gliddon will be glad to organise similar gatherings in other districts.

The World's Youth.

We have received an enthusiastic letter from Ernst Krotoschin (recently quoted in the “Crusader” in connection with “Weltjugend”). He has received the “Explorer” and Explorer Guild Advices, and writes:—

“The organisation of your Explorer Guilds is, I believe, one fraught with joy and blessing. May it be that through such education in the pure spirit of Christianity a generation of true MEN and pacifists may arise.

“Pacifism is to-day more than a mere educational task, and all pacifist endeavour must depend upon the independent action of the individual. Only so can each deep and genuine ‘common-thought’ come to reality, which I, in my ‘Weltjugend,’ have named as the only way out of the threatening chaos of all European culture.

“All efforts of teachers, statesmen, and philanthropists are useless, or, at least, remain incomplete, unless the coming generation is convinced that not only the teachers but the peoples must be possessed with the spirit of the highest religion of self-sacrifice and self-denial, as expressed in the words—‘That ye love one another as I have loved you.’”

Herr Krotoschin goes on to congratulate “The Explorer Guild” in putting into action this ideal, and promises support in Germany for the Guilds.

He wishes friends interested in this movement amongst youth to know that his address is now E. Krotoschin, Pfalzburgerstr. 24, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Germany.

I shall be glad to hear of young men or women in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales willing to start Explorer Guilds.

We are seeing all around us that the militarists are up and doing to catch the boys and girls—to “Be prepared.” It is up to us to do our bit in leading them into world-service and friendship. This can only be done by individual painstaking service amongst the boys and girls.

T.W.W.

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The Dictatorship of the Nazarene.

The greatest career of history begins with a sharp attack on the nerve centre of self-confidence. The Carpenter had emerged from His thirty years' obscurity to find Himself called to the leadership of the world.

The Insidious "If."

That the full meaning of that moment of illumination might become clear, He retreated into solitude. There an insidious "If" invaded His mind and threatened the very foundations of His authority. "If thou be the Son of God——," reiterated the tempter. For a brief period Jesus' whole career hung in the balance. The authenticity of the Voice that had called Him was in question, and if that went all would go. But the test was passed. Shouldering the responsibility of the world, He came forth to face, throughout the remainder of His life, the scorn and ridicule and hatred of mankind, and to remain, in spite of all opposition, calmly confident of Himself.

The echoes of that "if" reached Him to the end. In the hour of death itself He heard it—"If thou art the Son of God come down from the Cross." They have been repeating themselves ever since. Never were they so loud as they are to-day. "If Thou be indeed the Conqueror of the world, come down from the Cross on which diplomatists and demagogues have nailed Thee." Thousands of men and women, amid the awful shadows of these days, are asking themselves whether this be indeed the Deliverer, or whether we look for another.

Our answer lies ultimately in His own belief in Himself. It is the character of leadership to be more sure of oneself than the world is, to create a following by the very force and calmness of one's own confidence. This character, Jesus possessed to the full. Whatever the world might say or do, no further shadow of doubt seems ever to have crossed His mind as to the authority of the vision that called Him to His work.

Towering above nineteen centuries of Christian failure, the Carpenter remains masterfully certain of Himself. Whoever else may doubt the authority of His dictatorship, it is not He. And this faith in Himself kindles ours. The combination of this quality of leadership with a humility that rejected no indignity, and a love that refused to deceive the most credulous, is irresistible. For one so full of the desire to serve, this assumption of responsibility for others must have had behind it some supreme sanction. Apart from that interpretation, His whole life and character are reduced to meaningless chaos.

Dictatorship or Democracy.

Our belief in Democracy is waning. The twentieth century is not so certain as was the nineteenth that the voice of the people is the voice of God. The people are sunk in apathy and ignorance. The saying that what is everyone's business is no one's

business receives fresh confirmation every day. The world seems returning to an acceptance of the power of the few who profess to know. Here it is a military dictatorship which stirs up counter-revolution. And here a Cabinet clique controls Parliament. Here, again, the Big Four, or Three, or Two, usurp the throne of the world and dictate to Cabinets. And, looming up out of the background, an industrial dictatorship, dispensing with the forms of democracy, claims to coerce the unwilling for their own good, and settle the destinies of people in those people's despire.

The tendency is too strong to be evaded. It is a new phase that must work itself out. The cumbersome machinery of popularly-elected committees has had its day. The age of creative leadership has commenced, the final stage of which must be the government of the world by one strong will, confident, with a sublime confidence, of itself, and able by means of its own unswerving faith to convince others.

The Carpenter Waits.

But those who aspire to this position have not passed the test. Their actions show that they lack that sense of authority which allows the world freedom to make its own choice. An "if" has crept into their minds, and they have succumbed to the third temptation, to secure the domination they desire, and which they believe to be for the world's good, by falling down and worshipping the Devil and using his means for achieving their victory.

There is only one in all history who has passed this test successfully. Claiming the dictatorship of the world, He claimed it with so supreme a sense of His right to it, with so clear a consciousness of His mandate, that to Him it appeared superfluous to force the issue. The world must come at last to Him to whom it belonged. Sooner or later the Truth must tell and rightful sovereignty assert itself effectively.

To-day a Figure stands like a statue hewn from the surrounding rocks of the wilderness. Its face is turned to gaze across the sands of the desert to the chaos of the misled or leaderless peoples. In its silence and its immobility is a great certainty. The Carpenter waits for the Kingdom that is surely His.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.—Mrs. Despard's Birthday Party on July 2nd, at 7 p.m. at Caxton Hall, Westminster. Violin solos by Miss Jessie Snow, songs, recitations, short speeches, refreshments, flowers. Tickets 1s. each from 144 High Holborn, W.C.1.

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"ON HUMAN NATURE."

Mr. W. J. Chamberlain writes:—

I should be glad if you would find room for the following which I have received in reply to my recent article under the above heading:—

"Many thanks for 'Crusader' of May 28th, in which however, you miss my whole point. By 'the soullessness of human nature' I meant the soullessness found in human beings as such, i.e., not as capitalists or non-capitalists. Capitalists are not necessarily more soulless than workers. Many use their capital unselfishly, and the only alternative to them (since the existence of capital is necessary for commerce) is the State ownership of capital. But who can be more 'soulless' than State officials, who have no personal interest in the workers like a kind private employer? Further, the depravity of man, before changed by grace, is Bible teaching, not ministers' invention. Only the supernatural change of conversion develops the 'very soul of God in men.' Human nature asserted itself unchanged in the German atrocities. This is not a 'hideous' doctrine, but a fact of world knowledge. Conversion by the Holy Spirit destroys soullessness of capitalists without destroying capitalism. Please publish this with your kind reply."

As I should require at least three issues of the "Crusader" to reply to my minister critic, I prefer to give him the last word and remain obstinately unconverted!

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than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, pendants, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Postage 2d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

Everyday Beauty.

"No price is set on the lavish summer,
June may be had by the poorest corner."

So we believe—superficially. And we imagine that we enter into and enjoy the fullness of beauty that is spread around us in these islands just now. Perhaps we do, if we have seeing eyes. Then happy are we. As another wise singer ("R.L.S.") says:

"Our lives and every day and hour,
One symphony appear;
One road, one garden—every flower
And every bramble dear."

But some of us are so much occupied with un-beautiful things in the world of men, with this civilisation of ours that seems to be in such a mess, that our spirits cannot soar; they live on a universal flat. There is a prophet among us who tells us that the matter stands the other way round: it is the lack of the seeing eye that is the cause of the unbeautiful things we deplore. "There are not enough lovers of beauty among men. It all comes back to that. Not enough who want the green hill far away—who naturally hate disharmony and the greed, ugliness, restlessness, cruelty, which are its parents and its children! Will there ever be more lovers of beauty in proportion to those who are indifferent to beauty? Who shall answer that question? Yet on the answer depends peace." (John Galsworthy: "A Green Hill Far Away.")

Where shall be found these lovers of beauty if not among those of the Fellowship spirit? 2225 (Sheffield), who is an artist, says: "It is our business to MAKE men love beauty. Often we who have seen just a little are enabled to see it and love it more truly when we seek it, not alone, but with others—in Fellowship. How many there may be—Fellows in embryo—unsuspected, waiting for just that little word we can give, we know not, and perhaps should never know if we made no move to find out. At times we need much courage. And looking upon the world with so many apparently 'dead,' sensitive souls need great faith and a divine patience. May all strength and courage be with you. My love to all of you."

The Gift of Fellowship.

Is 2225 right, and does Fellowship give us this power of seeing beauty? 2251 (Glasgow) believes that it does; she speaks of "Fellowship that makes the world seem so beautiful to those who can pierce through the gloom to the deeper realities of life." Is it true, then, that—

"We are mortals clad in veils,
Man by man was never seen?"

If the C.C.F. has a creed at all, it is this; and, therefore, we go forth on our quest for the hidden Fellow.

"Sometimes on the hills, or in the city streets at sunset, in hours of sacred human love and friendship; in moments of splendid courage; in those infrequent seasons when our noisy thoughts are stilled; we are touched by a sense of something wonderful waiting beneath the visible flatness we usually inhabit—something vastly more real than anything we have ever seen or handled." And Fellows learn to capture this wonderful something for daily use. As 844 (Nottingham) says: "It is such a small share I can take in helping England to be better. Just a few poor women come within my sphere of influence, and I try to keep bright at ALL times. That I have found is a power for good; so many find it easier to let drabness and monotony reign in their lives." 2491 (London, W.C.), who works in an institution, speaks of the everyday inspiration of the C.C.F. thus: "I am most thankful that I joined the Fellowship before I came to work here, for the mere fact of belonging, I'm sure, helps me on, although I have not time to meet or correspond with other Fellows." This thought is echoed by 5095 (Bilt-hoven), who writes: "I think it is the fear of correspondence that keeps people from joining our circle. They do not know what opportunities they are losing—opportunities of happiness and helpfulness."

Fellowship Offered and Wanted.

3557 (Brentwood), a woman gardener, will be delighted to send flowers to any Fellows in London, especially teachers who would like them for their nature classes.

2442 (Bognor) will be glad to welcome any members visiting his neighbourhood.

1787 (Barrhead) is to go out to Toronto in August, to enter upon a new life. The good wishes of the Fellows will follow her. Will Canadian Fellows write her a line of welcome?

2920 (Liverpool), a demobilised soldier, lost much of his interest in the things that matter when he lost the "C.C." Can any Fellow help him to revive it?

Manchester Circle. Friends are invited to Bechwood, Stalybridge, on Saturday, July 3rd. Will all who are able to come please let Mr. Thompson know by June 29th. Further particulars sent.

Introductions.

5347 (Johannesburg), an electrician, interested in Spiritualism, Socialism and experimental psychology, would be glad to correspond with men or women; he will be pleased to help in any way.

5409 (Gloucester) would like to meet local Fellows and to correspond with women in New Zealand or India. Educated a Roman Catholic, her religion now is just to do right for right's sake; she studies the effects of creeds on others. She is specially interested in the education of children, a natural life, and music.

5411 (Aberdeen), introduced by 3737, is a hammerman, specially interested in religion. He wishes to have a good knowledge of the Bible and of English, in order that he may help others.

For the Children.

Next week's page is to be given up to the children's part of the Fellowship, the League of Chums; there will be a story by the Story-Chum (Rev. V. T. Pomeroy).

SIDELIGHTS.

Tagore and the Missionaries.

In an account of a visit to Rabindranath Tagore in the June issue of "The World To-morrow," Mr. Edmund B. Chaffee says:—I wish it were possible adequately to portray the loveable simplicity of this modern prophet. Here is a man who has drunk deep from the eternal springs. How much he owes to Christianity I do not know; probably more than he would acknowledge, for he knows his Bible more thoroughly than most Christians, indeed than many Christian ministers; and certainly he exemplifies the spirit of Jesus. However, he criticised the missionaries in India for not preaching and living more the simple gospel of Christ and less the cult of "westernism." He feels, with most educated Indians, that we have propagated as much the religion of western civilisation as the religion of Jesus. "Missionaries," he said, "are always nationalists first and Christians second." At no time did his eye flash as when, in speaking of the recent Amritsar riots, he said, "Not a missionary as far as I know uttered a protest." Perhaps in thus pointing out that Christians were generally Englishmen, Americans, Frenchmen, or Germans first, and secondly followers of the Nazarene, Dr. Tagore shows us the reason for the slow progress we have made in bringing about a truly Christian social order.

Here and There.

The "Daily Herald" has been calculating the cost to members of the aristocracy of a day at Ascot. Among the items are: Ascot frock £25, lace cloak £15, hat £11. It is in the light of this expenditure that one should read the reports that reach us from the famine-stricken areas of Europe. In the "Observer" of June 6th we read this, for instance:—

In Vienna things are so bad that in a serious periodical it is advocated in earnest that the State should no longer punish people for, or prevent them from committing suicide; on the contrary, in consideration of the mental and bodily agonies of the Viennese, chiefly caused by under-feeding, the State should assist them in permitting the doctors to help their patients who ask for it into another world. Suicide under such circumstances is the good right of every citizen—so the periodical asserts. The following is from the "Morning Post" of June 11th:—

There are people in Montenegro to-day who for weeks have not had a grain of corn in their cottages, people who have not a stitch of clothing to bless themselves with, and who dare not, for very shame, cross their threshold in the daylight. They steal out when darkness falls, grub up the leaves of the Asphodel—a plant the omnivorous goat rejects—boil the bitterness out of them, and feed on the nasty remainder. In one village, consisting, perhaps, of twenty houses, ten families were recently counted who by such means kept body and soul precariously together.

An Optimist.

Principal Sellie, in a letter to the "Nation" on the alleged "eclipse of Nonconformity," declared that on the great issues of the hour the Free Church speak with no uncertain voice. They are whole-heartedly in favour of the League of Nations, and utterly opposed to militarism. They are working hard for social justice, and for better international relations, and they are determined to find some way of applying Christian principles to public affairs.

Church Service for Trade Unionists.

A departure from the usual order of Church Service was made at the Longsight Free Christian Church, Manchester, on a recent Sunday evening, at a service to which Trade Unionists were specially invited.

In the discussion which followed the sermon, several speakers remarked how in their early years they had been associated with the Church, but had since left her because

of her obsolete dogmas and lack of sympathy with the masses, and agreed that only real live Christianity could save humanity. There was evinced in the discussion a tendency to put the Church on one side and all progressive movements on the other, but it was pointed out that this was not a fair statement. Just as, in the Church, there had in days gone by been planted in their breasts those aspirations which had grown so rapidly that the Church could not move fast enough to satisfy them in their quest for something better and nobler in the world, so to-day the Church of Jesus Christ still has the message that will keep mankind in the path of progress, dare she but utter it, and dare this generation but respond to that adventurous appeal.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

OPEN-AIR MISSION.—The "Crusader" continues to be very much in demand at our meetings, the success of the latter having been greatly helped by the exceptionally fine weather. One meeting during the week ended with a Roman Catholic priest giving it his blessing, while at the close of another, the speaker was asked to debate our position with a socialist organisation. **But we are in serious need of additional speakers.** If others would come forward we could double our work without undue strain. The following meetings are arranged:—**FRIDAY, 25th:**—At 6, Marble Arch: H. E. Brown, H. W. Green, E. Alcock Rush, Basil Tritton; at 8 p.m., Kilburn, The Grangeway: A. Cordell, Ivy Sheldon; at 8 p.m., Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Rev. R. W. Sorensen. **SATURDAY, 26th:**—At 8 p.m., Ealing, corner of Offord Road and Ealing Broadway: A. Cordell. **SUNDAY, 27th:**—At 12 noon., Leytonstone, The Green Man: C. Paul Gliddon; at 3.30 p.m., Hampstead Heath, Jack Straw's Castle: Basil Tritton; at 8.15 p.m., Tottenham, outside Friend's Meeting House: J. Newton Harris. **MONDAY, 28th:**—At 8 p.m., Leytonstone, The Green Man: A. Cordell, Basil Tritton; at 8.15 p.m., Forest Gate, outside station: H. W. Green, W. H. Hancock. **TUESDAY, 29th:**—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch: Rev. Oliver Dryer, C. Paul Gliddon; at 8 p.m., Clapton, corner of Kenninghall Road and Upper Clapton Road: E. Alcock Rush, Basil Tritton. **WEDNESDAY, 30th:**—At 8 p.m., Catford, outside station: A. Cordell, C. Paul Gliddon; at 8 p.m., Stepney, corner of Lucas Road and Commercial Road: Rev. Frank Fincham, H. W. Green. **THURSDAY, July 1st:**—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch: Rev. Frank Fincham, Rev. R. W. Sorensen; at 8 p.m., Kentish Town; corner of Leighton Road and Kentish Town Road: C. Paul Gliddon, J. B. Lief, E. Alcock Rush. **FRIDAY, 2nd:**—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon; at 8 p.m., Walthamstow, Hoe St.: W. H. Green, Rev. R. W. Sorensen; at 8 p.m., Kilburn, The Grangeway: J. Newton Harris, Ivy Sheldon, Basil Tritton.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

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The Outlook.

ORD HUGH CECIL in the House of Commons the other day put into clear and forcible language a criticism of the present Government, whose only fault is its obviousness. said:

"It is the Government's own habitual conduct that induces such misgivings. Let the Government only act straightforwardly. They have earned, rightly or wrongly, the most lamentable reputation for want of sincerity. I have known a great many Governments, but never one with so bad a reputation for speaking the truth and acting sincerely."

is a fact that no one to-day accepts Government statements at their face value. The crime of issuing false coinage is severely punished; but those whose insincerity depreciates the truth-value of parliamentary language are rewarded with high office.

* * *

WE are governed to-day by pretence. We pretend that the Russians are inhuman monsters whom it is our duty to suppress. We pretend that Irishmen are making unprovoked

attacks on harmless policemen. We pretend that the proposed peace treaty with Turkey, apportioning to the various allies the several parts of Asia Minor, is in accordance with the principle of self-determination. Everybody knows that these are lies, and everybody winks at the liars. But why is this hypocrisy necessary? How it would clear the air if someone would make a brutally frank statement of capitalist ethics. Unfortunately it is our English habit to pretend to be acting from humanitarian motives, even when pretence has become a farce.

* * *

BUT no amount of hypocrisy will change facts or prevent the working of economic and psychological laws. The lies of the Peace Treaty cannot make it possible for Germany to pay the indemnity imposed. Mr. Lloyd George's talk about "a box of revolvers" does not alter the fact that we are approaching a state of things in Ireland which will not bear thinking of. The promises by which the Turks have been deluded have no power to prevent the reaction of the Moslem East. Truth will out, and the longer it is held back the greater and the more destructive is its volcanic energy when once it escapes the paid liars of the Press and the professional prevaricators of the diplomatic world.

* * *

THE edifice of make-believe is toppling over, and great will be the fall thereof. Pessimism can scarcely go too far in its description of world-conditions to-day. But there is this amount of comfort to be gleaned from the threatened collapse of the world "made safe for Capitalism." That very collapse bears witness to the fact that you cannot build up a permanent structure on a foundation of lies. But if those in authority have to bear the responsibility of lowering the moral standards of this country to a point never before reached in the memory of those living, what shall be said of a public that "loves to have it so," and leaves the fate of millions to a few cynical politicians while it rushes off to catch a glimpse of Mary Pickford? Which is the more guilty—the duped or the dupers? Oh! for the Great Awakening!



At ye Signe of ye Broken Sword

Legion.

The madman who replied to a Questioner that his name was Legion must have possessed some spark of that genius which is sometimes found on the borderland of insanity. He told

the terrible truth about himself, namely, that he had no self, that there were only, inhabiting his individual body, a number of conflicting selves, jostling and confusing each other. It was the babel of these multiple personalities that occasioned his madness.

To be able to organise your life and unify yourself is, I take it, the hall-mark of sanity. I sometimes think that I do not want to be any wiser or better man than I should be if all my various moods and capacities were co-ordinated in a living whole. For, like most middle-aged people, I have passed through many phases and displayed, at different times, very varied characteristics. The past is strewn with the crude beginnings of a multiplicity of careers. I have tasted to the full, at times, the luxury of physical well-being. With the prairie wind gurgling at my ears, the saddle creaking pleasantly beneath me, and the vast plains of Summerland stretching out to the hazy horizon, every sense seemed satisfied. But again, these things have vanished from consciousness as though they had not been. Life has become, for a while, interiorised. In one mood Nature dominates, in another the social man awakes, in still another the mind is obsessed with the thought of some task that must be performed. The temptation is to allow some one phase of our many-sided nature to dominate us, to become sectarian embodiments of the spell of poetry, or of the relief which humour gives, or of the solemnity of religion. We are saved from this by the sense of loyalty to past experiences. We know that, however overwhelming may be the mood of the moment, it is not all there is of us. At other times there have been equally imperative claims upon us. "Can time undo what once was true?" And so, without moderating the joy of the moment, we make the sign of unforgetting loyalty to experiences no longer present, but once real and living.

Gradually, as we obtain greater mastery of our life, a larger and larger number of our past selves can live contemporaneously with us. The showman who explained that the larger skeleton in his show was that of Oliver Cromwell as a man, while the smaller was that of the same person in boyhood, represents the common idea of our mental states. The full-grown man should carry along with him the positive moods of the past. Our true self is merely our whole self. The wholesome, healthy,

holy man (the three adjectives have a common origin) is he who has thus learned to live in every part of his being, neither denying any portion of his personality, nor allowing the inmates of the vast building to become chaotic.

Madness and depravity are due either to obsessions or to the failure to master and reduce to order our multiple self—mental or moral, as the case may be. Our great moods are those in which every instrument in the orchestra is playing its part in harmony with every other instrument, and the whole of our past is living contemporaneously in disciplined order in the present.

And what is true of the individual is true of Society. We talk of the coming of the Kingdom of God as though it were some new thing not now among us, something to be added to or substituted for our present world. The truth is that the Kingdom of God is here now but it is in fragments. It has become sectionalised. The mysticism of a Russian peasant and the strenuousness of a Roosevelt both belong to it. The monarchical principle together with the ideas underlying aristocracy and democracy, all, have their place in it. In the final form of Society will be found something which Capitalism has contributed as well as the developments due to Socialism. There is enough Religion in the world to-day to constitute the Holy Catholic Church. There is need only of the co-ordinating Leader. That Leader will not contribute anything fresh. He will simply establish right relations between the materials already supplied. His function is that of the Reconciler.

Man is not something new in the animal world. He possesses no power that is not already to be found in some incipient stage in the lower creation. Man owes his supremacy to the fact that in him the catholicity of the whole animal creation. He has harmonised the creation. In him the lion and the lamb lie down together. So the Church of God, the new Society, will be merely the effect of the leadership of Christ in utilising, and co-ordinating, and presenting in one glorious summary the elements now scattered over history and throughout the world. He comes not to destroy but to fulfil, not to deny but to harmonise, not to add anything but to relate to each other the existing fragments of truth.

THE TRAMP.

Burghley Hall Fellowship, High Road, Leytonstone: C. Paul Cliddon will conduct the Service on Sunday, July 4th at 6.30 p.m., the subject of the address being "Christian Strategy."

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15. Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters" 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

DOMINATION OR BROTHERHOOD.—Lunch hour addresses on this subject will be given by Rev. Walter Walsh, D.D., at Devonshire House, 136 Bishopgate E.C. 1.20 to 1.50 p.m. on Mondays. July 5th: "League of Religions."

The Labour Party Conference.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Labour Party conferences are becoming more unwieldy every year, and it is very doubtful whether they are now much more than annual demonstrations. The twentieth conference of the Party, held at Scarborough last week, was faced with an appalling agenda containing nearly 150 resolutions, most of which carried from one to half-a-dozen amendments. The agenda committee did its best to cope with the more important matters dealt with, but it was not found possible to cover more than about half of the resolutions sent in for discussion. In spite of a little "breeze" over the credentials of Lt.-Col. Malone, the conference was conducted with the minimum of friction, and the debates at times reached a very high level. There was little to give encouragement to the critics of Labour. On the contrary, there was everything to indicate that when the time comes for Labour to take over the reins of Government, there will not be lacking a sufficient number of men (and women, too, I hope) with the wisdom and courage—and vision—so necessary to save the country and the world from another tragedy which might well mean the end of what there is left of our civilisation.

The outstanding feature of the first day's proceedings was the fine lead given to the conference by the president, Mr. W. H. Hutchinson, of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. One passage from his speech deserves quoting in full. Dealing with the situation in Ireland, Mr. Hutchinson declared:

"In Ireland, with a brutality equalled only by the folly of it all, the Government are playing the tragic farce which couples high-sounding phrases about self-government with the coercion of military rule. I, for one, do not want a British Empire on those terms. I welcome the Empire in so far as it is a commonwealth of free nations bound together by ties of blood and friendly co-operation. I would welcome Ireland, India, and Egypt, if they desired it, as free and willing parties in such a commonwealth. BUT FOR AN EMPIRE HELD TOGETHER BY FORCE I HAVE NO USE, AND I DO NOT THINK THAT BRITISH LABOUR IS PREPARED TO STIR A FINGER FOR ITS MAINTENANCE. I believe the day is coming when no people will be content to be ruled by others, and for that day British Labour works."

In the long resolution of protest against the "Peace" Treaty and the present state of Europe, passed by the conference, there was outlined an international policy which alone can save Europe. This resolution repudiated the Treaty as "grossly violating the professed objects for which the Allies entered the war and the pledges under which the Armistice was made," and demanded its immediate revision in accordance with the terms of the Armistice; it condemned secret diplomacy and called for corporate action through a League of Peoples to "put an end for ever to military and Imperialist

projects and programmes"; it called upon the Allied Governments to organise the world's food supply and raw materials in order to help to save the lives of millions of people in Europe; and finally it approved the suggestion that a deputation should wait upon the Prime Minister on the matter of the White Terror in Hungary, and to emphasise the need for peace with Russia and the lifting of the blockade.

The substantial majority for complete self-determination for Ireland, even to the extent of an Irish Republic, showed that the chairman, in the passage I have quoted, was speaking for the rank and file of the Party. It was curious to find Mr. Ben Tillett speaking from the "out-and-out" pacifist point of view on the Irish question. "If the soldiers are withdrawn," he said, "more will be done for pacification in six months than has been done by a hundred years of bayonet and Dublin Castle rule." Only three hands were held up against the resolution.

The debate on the question of the Second or Third International followed much on the lines of the debate at the I.L.P. conference. Nobody expected to see the British Labour Party decide to affiliate to the Third International, but the big majority against leaving the Second was hardly expected. In so far as the decision to remain in the Second International was a declaration in favour of a peaceful revolution and against a bloody revolution, it was good. But in view of Lenin's repeated declaration that joining the Moscow International does not necessarily involve acceptance of the policy of violent upheaval, and his recognition of the fact that the revolution in this country will not develop along Russian lines, it is, I think, a great pity that the conference leaders should have insisted upon the votes being cast for or against bloodshed, when they should have been cast for or against the greatest measure of unity among the organised workers of Europe. The surprise of the conference was Mr. Snowden's renunciation of the doctrine of State purchase of the Liquor Trade. His exposure of the complete failure of the Carlisle experiment was responsible for the defeat of the State purchase resolution. In spite of excellent speeches in favour of Prohibition, the futility of trying to "rob a poor working-man of his beer" in the present state of public opinion was demonstrated by the overwhelming vote against. The I.L.P. resolution demanding Local Option was, however, carried by a large majority.

A drastic but thoroughly practical resolution on the housing problem called for the resignation of Dr. Addison, a capital levy in order to provide cheap money for municipalities, the control of building materials, and the encouragement of direct labour.

It is, of course, impossible to do justice to the conference in a page article, but this scrappy resumé may serve to give "Crusader" readers a bird's-eye view of the proceedings.

The Crusader

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Economic Necessity.

Cleaned and filleted coming up now for the tall lady with the basket! Herrings' heads off for the little girl! Cod cutlets for the gentleman here! Skate skinned for the lady with the brown coat!

The atmosphere round the fishmonger's scales was tense. Harassed housewives watched weights anxiously. The shopkeeper bustled around. The lady at the desk looked perky and on the alert. In the midst of varying emotions, the man at the cleaning block remained apparently unperturbed. The heads of herrings, the eyes of cod, the skins of skate were sloshed into the refuse pail, but his expression varied not.

He was tall and thin. His mouth was grim, but his eyes were dull and expressionless. Was there, one wondered, a living, palpitating soul behind those eyes? Was that soulless, stolid look a mask which hid the man's distaste for his work?

The sweetest of children can sometimes be cruelly unkind. A little girl watched the man at the block, wonderingly, pityingly, her expression revealing her disgust. She remarked in an audible voice: "Why did he choose such a nasty job, mummy?" And mummy replied carelessly: "He doesn't mind, dearie. These people are used to that sort of work."

The man at the block bent just a little lower over his work, and slashed away a little more furiously. But his eyes followed the lady for one instant. They were blazing with rebellion, and his lips were curled sarcastically. Then he bent to his work again.

In their tiny home that evening he tried to forget his loathing and braced himself for a goodnight romp. "Come along, kidlet. What shall we do?" But kidlet, a dainty, delicate mite, was unresponsive for once, and said: "Why does our daddy always smell of nasty horrid fish now? He used not to."

Daddy laughed mirthlessly. He used not to! That was before the Great War! Kidlet had, of course, still to learn the laws of economic necessity.

There are thousands of people to-day eating their hearts out doing work which they loathe.

Thousands more are breaking their hearts because they cannot get work, loathsome or otherwise.

The "Crusader" wants to make it possible for all to live a full and a free life. A friend from Ruskin College, Oxford, in promising to introduce the "Crusader" at Labour and Brotherhood meetings during the long vacation, writes: ". . . To work for the upliftment of my fellow-men. I believe this to be the highest form of life. . . . I now desire to help in increasing your circulation." More volunteers are needed. Can you help?

THE PLOUGHMAN.

Friar Douglas.

A correspondent in Dumfries writes: "We have had Friar Douglas with us for a few days, during which he addressed two big open-air meetings on 'The Christian Revolution' and 'Can we be Christians?' He has created a big impression. Not only some of those who were present, but others who couldn't be, but had heard accounts of his address, have talked with me on the matter in a way that quite surprised me. His giving up his Church seems to strike home, to begin with. The greater part of the audiences were composed of non-church-goers and Socialists. Question time was very interesting."

The Unknown Path.

The significance of this message is that it is one of many such reports. From the meetings held by the London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in and around London, we have the same account of eager listeners. An audience of a thousand in the centre of the Metropolis is not an unknown thing. For us the predominant thought is that of the responsibility this condition of things throws upon us. The work to which we seem called is terrifying in the bigness of its possibilities. By what means it may best be accomplished, to what it may lead, are questions which at present it is impossible to answer. We are on an unknown path, and were it not that we have assurances that we have been led to this adventure, we could not face so difficult and uncertain a future.

The Crusade has Commenced.

But one thing is certain: the Crusade concerning which we have said so much has commenced in real earnest. This summer must see it established and developed, and to this end we plead for the co-operation of all who can organise meetings or undertake speaking. Let them communicate at once with Paul Gliddon, F.O.R., 17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.

The following is from a biography of Francis of Assisi:—

In an age of wealth and luxury this poor Friar of Assisi largely altered the life of the world by humility and love, being outwardly as near a replica of Jesus as the Christian Era has produced. His example of utter self-renunciation was so contagious that persons of every class and both sexes voluntarily gave up their wealth to become his disciples. He thus became the pivot of a great social and religious movement. He effected it without setting class against class, or violating any law, human or divine. He dissolved all social barriers, and united princes and peasants into a loving fraternity. This he accomplished not by external means, but by the power of self-sacrifice and love, through which alone a true brotherhood can be brought about."

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

is glad to see signs here and there of a new age coming into the Religious Press. Several papers have recently shown that they have a definite opinion about two or three things, matter, and about which there has been such a timid silence. For example, the Terms of are now apt to come in for the ethical criticism which they ought to have had from the beginning.

That is to say, the conscience of the religious journalist is now catching up with the conscience of, say, the "Nation," or the "Labourer," in this matter. Other questions, too, are, ice, emerging from darkness and being exposed by the light of Christian standards. There is real decision about war, but the overwhelming ever-increasing power of our militarists is causing much misgiving, and a few very decided pronouncements have lately been made in the Religious Press. Now ethical level of public life is also calling for criticism and rebuke, and notably in the "Methodist Times" one finds bold remonstrances against the profiteering practices of some of the to-do business men in our Churches, and against the reckless extravagance and waste which is our State policy. On this question of extravagance in high places I want to quote a few sentences from the present issue of the "Methodist Times."

It is to be wondered at that the thoughts of men from Westminster to the Labour Congress at Scarborough?" asks the editor. And then he continues: "The historic parties have ceased to exist. Whatever it may have done in war, the Labour Party in peace has been a tragic failure. The programme of the Independent Liberals is doubtless excellent one, but it has yet to see the full light to be expounded by leaders of conviction and courage."

Labour HAS a policy, which it is advocating all down the land. . . . With the violent theories of the Left wing we have no sympathy; when Labour, in the interests of economy, demands 'a Capital Levy at home and Peace abroad,' it is our vote every time." Such a statement in a great denominational organ of the Free Churches is of much interest, for it shows not only a healthy attitude towards Labour on its political merits, but it shows also just that healthy independence of mind which some of us have long prayed to be appearing within the borders of the Christian Church. Many of my readers brought up in the old traditions will readily realise the far-reaching significance of some of the words quoted. Others, of course, will be disappointed that the statement does not go a good deal further.

Now we turn to another quarter to illustrate the thesis that a new boldness and freedom of thought is showing itself in religious papers. This time the subject shall be Ireland, and the paper I refer to is a Church of England one—the "Church Times." After describing the terrible condition of things in that unhappy island where "Murder has

become a commonplace, and indiscriminate shooting is the order of the day," the writer sharply rebukes the House of Commons for its levity on the question. "It is all of a piece," he continues, "with the utter failure to understand what the needs and aspirations of Ireland are." Lord Monteagle on the same evening introduced a Bill for granting Dominion government to Ireland and providing for the setting up of the Constituent Assembly advocated by Sir Horace Plunkett. It has probably small chance of making progress in this Parliament; we fear, indeed, that it would do little to satisfy present demands in Ireland. Time was when such a measure of independence would have been acceptable. We believe it could have been made a success. But the chance has gone by, and the Government is faced now with a strongly republican spirit. For the Prime Minister to talk of a five years' war and a million casualties is but to inflame passionate resistance. For ourselves, we see no escape from the logical dilemma imposed by the acceptance of the principle of self-determination. Is the sacred principle to apply to everyone except those at our own doors?" And not content with this remarkably revolutionary utterance of his own, this editorial writer in the "Church Times" turns to the chairman of the Scarborough Labour Party Conference, as it were, for a dip of red ink with which to underline the sentiment. Says he: "There was one passage in his (the chairman's) speech that was greeted with loud cheers, and that was his demand that Ireland should be allowed the right of a Republic if she chooses. He followed it with the statement that Ireland would be willing to become a partner with Britain. Exactly what he meant by that we are uncertain. None the less we rejoice to find ourselves in agreement with his main contention." Here again is welcome evidence that within the Christian Church there is appearing now at last a judgment which is independent enough to issue a resounding challenge. However, my readers must not think that the whole Religious Press is thus speaking out. But I venture to suggest that the two quotations I have made may well indicate that deep stirrings of thought are troubling the conscience in our Churches, and that the old, fatal docility which has for so long robbed organised Christianity of any distinctive message is now at length beginning to break up. When a Free Church paper is found to be boldly declaring—against the opinion and interests of many influential Free Church people—for a Capital Levy, and when an Anglican paper, with equal courage, takes sides with rebellious Irishmen who claim complete self-determination for their country, it is time for some of us to rub our eyes and wake up to new possibilities in the near future. I never feel that the writers in the religious papers have grasped the fact that the battle-ground has now moved from the political field to that of economics, but I am quite sure that signs are favourable, and that the tremendous argument of events will in the end prove irresistible.

The Case for Ireland.

III.—THE ONLY WAY. By A SCOT.

I was given a few weeks ago, a private letter from Ireland, written by a person of good education and family, in which it is stated that the local town "is very disturbed—drunken soldiers killing people in the streets: one poor woman had her leg blown off, and the man who tried to help her was **BEATEN UNCONSCIOUS**, with rifles. The police who are killed are spies, men who would betray their fathers and mothers if it suited them. Another spy killed here last week had 23 children, 14 alive, and was evil in other ways as well. He was told to emigrate, but would not, and was **HEAVILY PAID BY THE GOVERNMENT**. Many of the Sinn Feiners won't marry, have taken a vow as they don't want to leave widows and children behind."

If it be true that Ireland is one of the jewels of the English crown, it is certainly not an emerald but an ensanguined bloodstone. The history of the English oppression of Ireland forms the bloodiest page in the history of the world. Ireland was the first independent country which England set out to conquer in her struggle to create a world empire, therefore Ireland forms the cornerstone of the foundation on which that empire is built. But an empire founded on such a foundation of injustice, cruelty and chicanery is destined to collapse like a house built on the sand.

The history of Ireland, as summarised in the first article of this series, shows that England, being unable to subdue the Irish as she did the Indians and Africans, by force of arms alone, was driven to wholesale massacres and depopulation of large tracts of land; and when after that the country still remained independent, she accomplished by bribery and broken promises what she had been unable to do by force.

In 1914, the manhood of this country were invited (and later compelled) to fight for the liberty of small nations. In 1920, the same men are ordered to Ireland to suppress the liberty of a small nation. In 1914, the Germans were bombarding Louvain, Liege, and other places. In 1916, the English bombarded Dublin. In 1914, the British public said "Oh, the poor Belgians! Oh, those brutes of Huns!" In 1916, it said, "Serve the rebels right!"

When a foreign country commits acts of war, they are at once termed "atrocities," unless the country in question happens to be in alliance with England at the time. When a British force commits acts of war on a small nation which is striving for the right to be allowed to exist, they are merely "measures necessary for upholding Law and Order." Voilà la difference. England, of course, can do no wrong.

One has only to cast one's memory back a few years to the Marconi scandals, and remember who was afterwards installed as the head of the fountain of unsullied justice, to recognise the disinterested

honesty and purity of administration of members of the ruling clique.

English policy all over the world has gone into a tangle from which it can only be extricated—under our present oligarchical system of government—by the pressure of public opinion, supported by some form of direct action. This public opinion is formed, not by the unthinking mass who follow the racing and football news, but by the intelligent few who read papers like the "Crusader"; therefore, to use a slang phrase, it is up to them to set about it. For a nation is morally responsible for the sins of its rulers, and every individual shares in that responsibility who does not dissociate himself in opinion from those who are guilty.

Twenty years ago, Mr. Lloyd George risked his life being lynched by a Jingo mob for condemning the Government of that day for trying to crush the rebellion of the Boers. To-day he is sending "the armed forces of the Crown" to crush the Irish in their struggle to assert their own national rights. *AUTRES TEMPS, AUTRES MOEURS*. Of course, the Premier is perfectly consistent, for is not Ireland a part of the United Kingdom, voluntarily incorporated therein by the Act of Union (which was a bribery?), and are not the Sinn Feiners mere rebels who have to be taught Law and Order imposed by the Pax Britannica?

As regards direct action, the Italian trade union workers have elucidated the problem. When declaring any sort of strike, they simply refuse to transport troops or munitions by rail or sea. Of course, such a state of things could never be maintained in a well-regulated country like England, where the chief official of the Seamen's Union is against direct action for political purposes. At the recent International Congress at Genoa: who was the Secretary of the N.U.R. is on the best of terms with the head of the government, and is full of such a genuine love of peace that he is honestly endeavouring to discover that "middle way" of reconciling impossible opposites. Heaven forbid that our workers should even think for themselves on such a point as the maintenance of the armed forces necessary for the maintenance of "Law and Order," or there would be no means left to the Government for suppressing strikes at home, apart from punishing mutinous rebels in a foreign country. Fortunately, for archangelic rulers, the motto for workers is "theirs not to reason why," otherwise the soldiers might begin to form the delusion that they are being used in England for the exactly contrary principle to that which they fought in Flanders; while a still further stretch of the imagination might suggest to them that, when they have finished exterminating the rebel brood, they might be used in England to oppress any of their civilian comrades who show a tendency to copy the dangerous example of the Italian workers.

Lloyd George's Secret.

The Prime Minister's position to-day is almost unique. There have been few in the history of the world who have exercised power comparable to his. The Big Four who dictated terms of existence to the nations of the earth he is to-day the biggest. At home his position remains, after successive political crises, unassailed. To all appearance these years of danger leave him stronger than before.

What is the secret of his success?

To answer that question adequately would require not an article but a book. But a partial answer may be found in the word "detachment."

Mr. Lloyd George does not belong to the race that he governs. He is a Celt. So far as I know there is not a drop of English blood in his veins. He is the inspirer of the greatest patriotic stunt in our history does not belong to us. The irony of the situation is seen to advantage in the fact that it is a Celt who is the Spokesman of Imperialism in controversy with his fellow Celts of Ireland. It is his voice with its Welsh intonation which declares that the demands of the Irish will be met with unflinching resistance. The son of a little nation, is he who is largely responsible for the organised oppression of the little nations throughout the world.

It is strange to reflect that the most successful leader of Ireland in the last century—Parnell—possessed this same detachment, and for a similar reason.

It is even stranger to remember that the founder of British Imperialism was a Jew. Benjamin Disraeli was at the furthest remove from the stolid British people, yet no statesman in modern times has exercised such an influence on our destiny.

In another sense also, Lloyd George stands aloof from the interests he represents. He does not belong to the class whose battles he is fighting with such adroitness. He is sprung neither from the aristocracy nor the plutocracy. He has no such deep and serious convictions as to the desirability of an hereditary ruling class as Lord Hugh Cecil. Unlike Mr. Bonar Law, he has no personal connections with the commercial world. He is not the natural ally of Big Business in the sense in which that might be said of Lord Reading. Mr. George does not take capitalism seriously. He does not believe in his heart that its preservation is necessary to civilisation. He can afford to look at the whole controversy from the detached standpoint of a lawyer who has been fed by one side to conduct its case against the other side. Occasionally, hypnotised by his own eloquence, he may be carried away, but on the whole his mind remains cool, collected, calmly determined to make all forces serve his own personal ends.

It is this aloofness which enables him to play so effectively with the heavy English plutocrats by

whom he is surrounded. (Capitalism to-day can be defended only by men totally lacking a sense of humour, or by those who, like Mr. Lloyd George, do not take it seriously). It is this that leaves him free for sallies of wit and flights of poetry. Like D'Israeli, he is a born romanticist, but, like the hero of the Primrose League, he commands his romanticism and makes his imagination serve the causes which it is to his individual interest to defend.

The Prime Minister and his party will not be overthrown save by a similar detachment. The Christian internationalist—the man to whom the interests of the Christian Society stand first—the Communist who has freed himself from the narrowness of class interests is the man for to-day. That is where the Church should come in. Its position enables it to take up an attitude of lofty impersonal detachment. Freed from all vested interests, it should be able to stand like a grave adult among squabbling children. Belonging to an Empire by the side of which "the kingdoms of this world" are but allotment holdings, its representatives should prove themselves masters of the situation. A detachment due, not to devotion to individual ambitions, but to the spell cast by the Kingdom of God, is the secret of success. It is those who are not of the world—who stand above it—who best rule the world.

This impersonal attitude does not indicate a lack of sympathy or of human warmth. It is those who have risen above the ordinary levels of life who can descend to those levels with greatest freedom. The adult when he mingles with children inevitably leads their sports.

Imperialism, Capitalism, have reached a stage at which no one who takes them seriously can speak with moral and intellectual authority. The case for the present world order is so bad that it can only be defended by the lawyer-type working for a fee. The sincere mind is handicapped by its sincerity. And a defence of that kind is best attacked, not from the body of the Court, but from the Judge's rostrum. We need the impersonal person.

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MODERN PROPHETS

Were it not that the lives they sacrifice are those of other people, not their own, one might almost admire the persistent efforts of the Exploiters to stave off inevitable disaster. Their attitude might be characterised as that of the will-not-to-believe. They are strenuously building banks of sand to keep out the inflowing tide, and heroically pretending to succeed.

Sand-Bank Defences.

To safeguard their interests they built up a huge rampart of corpses, broken homes, ruined cities. They hoped that war would distract the attention of the peoples and divert their thoughts elsewhere. The war is over, and once again they see the rising floods of revolution. The people are recovering themselves and again clamouring for the overthrow of their Exploiters. Seeing this, the defenders are rebuilding their ramparts with lying treaties. They are deluding themselves that they can postpone the Judgment Day by scraps of paper, the writing on which defies the laws of the universe. Bribery and political trickery are thrown on to the heap to bolster up the crumbling edifice. When they are warned that their labours are vain, they lightly assume that the prognosticators of evil are biassed by self-interest. The insignificance of our numbers reassures them. Let me remind them, therefore, that behind us stretch a long line of prophets whose word cannot be lightly set on one side. Throughout the last century these did not cease to warn us that we were heading for Niagara.

Marx and Mazzini.

Let me take first the prophets of materialism, because their warnings were the most explicit, the most scientific. One cannot to-day turn to the works of Marx and Engels without marvelling at their prescience. In ponderous volumes that left no loophole for evasion, they foretold the doom of our present civilisation. They showed how Capitalism is bringing about its own downfall—how the creation of a proletariat is paving the way for a Communist Republic. They wrote in the dispassionate and impersonal tone of Science, and their prophecies are not subject to the criticism that they are the vapourings of sentimental moralists. But the works of the Marxians have all these years lain unheeded. Now that the seed they sowed in obscurity has borne harvest in Russia, it is idle to plead ignorance. Any day these many years the Exploiters might have brushed the dust from their volumes and read therein, to their own discomfort, but also to their salvation. Had they been lovers of truth they would have done so.

There is some excuse for neglect, perhaps, in that these men appealed to economic facts rather than to moral ideals and religious faith. But did those who found Marx too materialistic pay more serious heed to Mazzini? When the Italian prophet, in passion-

ate words, told us that the world of the future must be built up on the principle of Association, did the who were building on a foundation of Competition prick up their ears? Mr. Lloyd George told an Italian deputation the other day that in earlier years he had read Mazzini. The Lloyd George who inhibited the eloquence of the champion of national freedom is to-day the Prime Minister responsible for the Crucifixion of Nationalist hopes in Ireland in India, in Egypt, and throughout the world. Is such reading as our prophets honoured! On such heedless ears do their words fall!

The Victorians.

The same is true of Ruskin. We have long ago built his tomb, and imagined that we were atoning for our early neglect. We have issued his works in cheap editions and encouraged school children to study them. Nothing of lip service is left undone. He is enrolled amongst our immortals. It is accounted safe to quote him in the pulpit. Yet, have we appreciated the teaching of the author of "Unto This Last," with his enunciation of the principle of service as the foundation of industry, we should long ago have scrapped the whole machinery of Capitalism, and the Guild idea would have been a living fact in our midst. Can we plead, with rich bound volumes of this revolutionist in political economy on our library shelves, that we have not been warned as to the coming cataclysm?

With Ruskin must go Carlyle. There is a tendency to regard Carlyle as out of date. Recall "Chartism," "Shooting Niagara," "Past and Present," and see whether the prophetic fire does not still burn! Some of the passages on those pages might have been penned yesterday. Their denunciations of plutocracy and the cash-nexus are more easily understood now than when they were written.

But these two writers were only the most prominent of a host of Victorian prophets whose works still receive a nominal homage among us. Samuel Butler, William Morris, Edward Carpenter, to name only a few of them, with varying clearness declared the same message.

Tolstoy and Nietzsche.

Two European figures stand out amongst the great teachers of the past century—Tolstoy and Nietzsche.

Lasting into our own day is that strangely prophetic Russian novelist and preacher, Tolstoy. Between him and Marx lie the honours to-day for the movement which they both clearly foresaw, though they interpreted it in different terms. Both are international figures, read and followed in every civilised land. But Tolstoy had the advantage of artistic powers which enabled him to command the public where Marx was unread. He has proclaimed his message of ethical Christianity in every quarter.

esses.

UNHEEDED WARNINGS.

claiming to be cultured. Europe and America have listened to him, but, so far as their actions indicate, passed on.

It may surprise some to find Nietzsche's name in this category. The author of "Anti-Christ" is known in this country as the spokesman of Prussianism. Perhaps in that capacity he may now be turned to for sanctions to endorse our latest policy. But, if so, we shall be disappointed. In Nietzsche's wild and inconsistent utterances there is little to defend Prussianism, much to condemn our smug respectability, our unadventurous pietism, our servile following of the crowd. Assuredly, in calling witnesses against our generation, we cannot omit one who spoke with such courageous independence, no less to those who call themselves democratic than to those who claim the virtues of aristocracy.

All these voices have spoken, repeating in varied manner, principles, the very antithesis of those governing our public policy and our private paganism these last five years. Looking at the world to-day, it is difficult to believe that they have ever spoken, still more that they have been widely read. Did we imagine that they wrote for fun or for money? Were their spiritual agonies acted for the sake of dramatic effect? Have we supposed that their ambitions would be satisfied by seeing their works, beautifully bound, resting on the bookshelves in plutocratic homes? For all practical purposes we have neglected their message. We have chosen other prophets—the hirelings of the daily Press, the subsidised writers on economics who assured us that all was well, the small-minded pulpiteers straining at gnats and swallowing camels. These have been our leaders whose leadership has brought us—where we are.

One thing is certain. Such neglect cannot be allowed with impunity. To have listened to the voice of Truth is to have incurred a responsibility. The world to whom these men spoke is under a heavy debt of obligation. To-day our prophets are at the door demanding that our lightly spoken praise be transformed into action.

The Last Word.

But the last word in prophecy and judgment remains to be spoken. The final summing up must be uttered by other lips than theirs. The truth thus variously expressed must be correlated, focussed, and given the highest of all sanctions.

Long ago a people who had been warned as Europe has been warned, by a succession of heralds, were given a parable, the meaning of which has a living application to-day. A certain landowner, it was said, had let out his property to tenants and departed. In due course he sent agents to receive his dues. The tenants, seeing the chance of obtaining the property in perpetuity, maltreated and even

killed those sent to them. As a last resource, the owner sent his son whom they also killed. Whereupon the property was transferred to others and themselves ejected and destroyed.

These servants with their partial messages have spoken to heedless ears. We have damned them with faint praise and gone our own way, confident of our ability to rid ourselves of all religious and moral restraint. Capitalism has nursed the hope that it has heard the last of prophets who meddled, in the name of righteousness, with economic matters. But the day draws near when one greater than a prophet shall make His voice heard. The Church of the Son of God in these years has been strangely silent. Save for solitary voices here and there—a Maurice, a Kingsley, a Scott Holland, a Conrad Noel—its supreme authority has not been exercised. The Exploiters have congratulated themselves on this silence, but they have counted without their Host. The reserves of the Most High are about to be launched. First the prophets—individual souls fired with conviction—then the Son. First the fragmentary deliverances of isolated heralds—then the summing up by those who speak under the sanctions of Christ Himself. First the witness of those prophets in no conscious alliance with the historical Church—then that Church itself, shaking off its time-serving traditions, and coming to the judgment seat of the world. In its message the materialist and the idealist shall each find his truth. The people who pleaded the claims of democracy and the prophet who bore witness to the need of a new aristocracy shall find their severed truths at last united and complementary. The emphasis on individual responsibility and social obligation shall be heard side by side. Sacramentalism and philanthropy shall co-operate, and again it shall be said, "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in His Son." A united Church, gathering up the fragmentary truth of the Age, shall speak the last word. If the Exploiters hear not that—then chaos and destruction!

Let the Church prepare itself for this grave function! With it rests the duty of bearing final witness to the Kingdom of God. Its solemn function is to bring matters to a climax, to force the issue and compel a heedless public to make its choice for Christ or Barabbas, for life or for death. With the Church rests the task of closing the discussion. None other than it can invoke the highest Authority. For it is reserved the awful responsibility of uttering the Last Word.

Some day it may be we shall see a new order of Jesuits, vowed not to the service of the Pope, but to the service of mankind.—MR. H. G. WELLS.

Pacifist Policy.

II.—LOVE AND ECONOMICS. By WILFRED WELLOCK.

Hitherto pacifist policy has been formulated with reference to disputes between nations; in future it must be formulated with reference to the class struggle. And the first thing to be said in regard to the latter is that, as recent history has abundantly proved, war will endure as long as capitalism endures, in spite of all that pacifists may do. For social antagonism, which is the soul of war, is implied in and fostered by capitalism. And certainly pacifists who do not believe in a bloodless revolution, in a society no longer dominated by considerations of wealth, but founded on spiritual principles, will be regarded as reactionaries by the entire Left Wing.

Now, in coming to grips with this question, let us at once admit that it is not enough to utter vague phrases about love. Unless we realise the modern social need, visualise more clearly what pacifism, or Christianity, as the case may be, implies, I fear that our preaching will defeat its own ends. Not that this type of pacifist is not sincere. Usually he is very sincere, but often his sincerity is due as much to fear of an attack on capitalism as to zeal for Christian principles. He will preach about love continually, but he will never tell you exactly what love means. He will fearlessly tell you that love is capable of all things, yet shrink from a description of the relation it ought to establish between a man and his neighbour, especially if one of them be rich and the other poor, or one is an employer and the other a servant.

Such will not do. We must toe the line. We must say what we mean by love, what we believe its social implications to be, describe how it is going to transform society into a veritable Kingdom of Heaven. Then we shall at least know where we stand, and by the lives of those who thus preach, what hope their doctrine yields.

I have never realised this need so much as recently, while discussing the ways and means to a new social order with Communists and other revolutionary Socialists—and particularly, perhaps, in Germany. For often these discussions arose out of inquiries about the Quakers and the Fellowship of Reconciliation; and if I discuss these bodies here it is because I appreciate their work and am anxious that they shall act up to their reputation and professions. Those inquiries were numerous, and often eager and expectant—for all kinds of ideas had got abroad, and they were ever attended by unstinted praise, expressions of deep veneration, of the Friends for their work during and since the war.

The cause of the inquiries was usually a belief that a new solution of the social problem was being offered to the world. Thus I was asked if the Quakers bore any resemblance to the Dukobohrs, etc. "Their habits appear very simple, and we like their spirit—but what is their doctrine, what their manner of life? Are they a special community having all things in common, or have they rich and poor and live much as other men?" Such were the

comments and queries that one heard. I tried to answer such with perfect fairness, and had often to explain that not only were there many rich among the Quakers, but that many of those were opposed to Socialism. "And yet they are pacifists! It is very strange." They still thought well of went away sorrowful. They still thought well of the Quakers, but they had hoped to discover a solution to the social problem, which is also the problem of war, and they had been disappointed.

Now it is all very well for us pacifists to preach love, but people have a right to ask what exactly we believe love can or ought to accomplish, and also to say what has to be done in case it does not achieve all that is expected of it. If the love we preach is not capable of giving all, as Christ gave all, and thus of establishing life on a spiritual basis, have we a right to object to Socialism, to the distribution by the State of wealth, whose withholding is the direct cause of physical and spiritual bondage?

It is impossible for pacifists to avoid this issue. We must say whether our love is a principle of amelioration or of revolution, whether it is intended to perpetuate or obliterate social classes, to do all or more than all that Socialism would do.

Pacifists, to be consistent, must either be Christians or Socialists; that is, they must stand for an economic revolution either through personal or through political action. By limiting love in their thoughts to mere benevolence they deny the spiritual basis, and thus the social implications of Christianity, and render a political revolution inevitable. For if economic justice cannot be attained by spiritual means, attempts will be made to attain it by political or even more violent means.

At the same time the method of personal revolution is not nearly so simple as it seems. I personally know many wealthy people who are quite ready to make the ultimate sacrifice could they see a satisfactory way of doing so; but the fact is they do not. The problem is not solved by simply renouncing one's wealth. Often that would be disastrous. In more than one instance such people have appealed to me for advice how to act, and I have found the problem a very difficult one. At root, however, I think it is chiefly imagination that we lack. Still, it is interesting to note that the solution usually reached in such cases is that individuals ought to continue to receive their dividends until such time as the adoption of Socialism by the State releases them of their burdens and enables them to take their place as ordinary men in a world of men, in the meantime using their wealth for the spreading of truth and the preparation of society for the coming of the Socialist Commonwealth.

To take either of these lines, that of personal revolution, or that of social education, with a view to the spontaneous adoption of Socialism, is defensible, but to repudiate the latter alternative and to preach love without giving effect to the revolution which love implies, is a proof of intellectual laziness or, worse, of downright hypocrisy.

Bookland. Comradeship.

The trouble with Mr. William Paine's "A New Aristocracy of Comradeship," (Leonard Parsons, Ltd., 4/6 net), is that it may be taken as a serious contribution to Sociology. Serious minded critics will think, perhaps, that the League of all classes which he outlines is not practicable, or that the Guild Socialism which he suggests would kill private enterprise. Criticism of this kind would be as foolish as an analysis of Walt Whitman's poetry from the standpoint of Marxian economics, or of Shelley's "Skylark," by an ornithologist. The personal, literary and inspirational value of the book is its chief claim upon our interest. The personal element is prominent, though not unpleasantly so. The outline of the author's earlier life, the description of his attempts to find a means of livelihood that would give him the opportunity of knowing and understanding his fellow-men, the recital of his loneliness, the story of his one great friendship, are given without any egotism. "I dreamed as a boy," he says:—

"Of some fortunate country in which man lived in complete concord with all his fellows and compacted his day with beauty; and at the very outset of my own life my dream was dashed into nothingness, savagely, it seemed to me, not by the regular processes of Nature, but by some malign influence that muddled everything out of recognition."

With regard to the author's literary qualities, it is easier to give examples than it is to convey the character of his writing by any description. This picture of a Woman of the People will do as an illustration. I will not apologise for the length of the quotation, but rather for the fact that I cannot give the whole of the passage.

"She is greater than all the great ladies of the land; she is greater than all its great men; she does more good than all the philanthropic institutions put together—than all clergymen of all denominations and all ranks—bishops, vicars, precentors, deacons, curates, and lay readers. . . . She is unthinkable. You cannot describe her, any more than you could describe the Mother of God. She is the Mother of God—the god of the people—for she is the mother of the people. She is old; she looks as if she had never been young. She is poor, and she is despised; she lives on nothing a week. She gets out of everybody's way. . . . You cannot fall so low but you may place your head in her lap. She judges no one. A tear will form and fall from her eyes for the worst of criminals. The gallows do not frighten her. A prison leaves no stain on anybody her eyes rest on. There is such virtue in her work-grained hands that if she but touched the wounds in the side of Christ they would heal miraculously. She is a miracle worker. She spends the pence of the people with an economy that nobody else can understand. Nobody knows how she brough her family up, how she struggled on as wife and widow. Nobody cares. She scrubs your steps, she makes your shirts, she sews the trimmings on your clothes, she finishes your shroud. The magistrate bullies her if she has to appear in court; the politician has never even dreamed of her existence. Only the poor know her, and yet do not know her, for she does not know herself. She has forgotten that she is alive. She has forgotten herself in a life of absolute self-surrender to the needs of her class. It is out of her womb the deliverer will come, yet no angel has ever announced to her how blessed she is. . . . You may devise all sorts of new laws to break her back, but you will not break

it. You may bully her with your charities, but she will one day shame you everlastingly. You may brow-beat her; you may take a few more half-pennies from her purse by competition in cheap labour; you may make statistics about her; you may deplore her dowdy look; you may even have a Royal Commission to see if anything can be done to redeem her. . . . but one day her forgiveness of you will be awful!"

Though Mr. Paine is not, at least as far as this book goes, a scientific sociologist, he might fairly lay claim to a knowledge of social psychology. In this he compares with Stephen Reynolds. The author of "Seems So" might have written this passage:—

"The people will have none of our morality; it has nothing to do with them; they have no use for it. It is **our** morality, the morality of the middle classes. They are moral enough in their own sphere, but the occasion of it ends where we begin."

"A single instance on this head will illustrate what I mean. A working-class boy of my acquaintance replied to a question I put to him as to how he was getting on: Very well just now. Got a job in the milk trade, eight shillings a week, and the man I work with is all right. Gives me a bottle of milk home every night and two shillings a week out of his own pocket. That's ten shillings, and I make a bit for myself, same as he does."

"Had I argued the point with him his eyes would have been opened at once; he would have dropped me instantly, and the whole of his clique would have ceased to trust me from that time onward. I said merely, 'Well, look out for yourself,' whilst I inwardly rejoiced that this foible of his gave me more particularly an opportunity of becoming his friend."

But the chief value of the book lies in the fact that it is the work of a man who has a genuine gift for friendship. His enthusiasm for "the institution of the dear love of comrades" kindles one's own enthusiasm. With him love is not a cult or a theory but a passion; and the search for friendship an exciting adventure worthy of the central place in the economy of life. From all to whom the writings of Whitman and Carpenter make an appeal, this book will receive a cordial welcome. I imagine it derives no small part of its inspiration from those singers of Democracy.

THE CHURCH SOCIALIST MAGAZINE

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Robert Smillie.

AN INTERPRETER OF LABOUR.

The abstract terms used in the discussion of economic and industrial matters prove meaningless to many folk until they are interpreted by some living personality. In Robert Smillie the best elements in the Industrial Movement are incarnated. The part he played in the recent Coal Commission illustrates the point. The Commission was concerned with technical questions connected with the organisation of the mining industry, with profits, royalties, wages, and such like matters—all very dry reading for the ordinary public. Gathered together to discuss these questions were the leading experts in mining finance, in political economy, and in industrial organisation. But it was Robert Smillie who humanised the Commission, and won for it a public interest such as has been awakened by no similar body. Men who had come to discuss questions of finance found themselves up against the lives of men and women. Statistics became eloquent of human suffering. Discussion of profits resolved itself into a discussion of the rights and wrongs of Capitalism, as these are interpreted by the welfare of those living under the system. Again and again Smillie brought the Commission back to the human question.

This is the distinction of the man, that to him Socialism is more than economic science. It is first and foremost a movement for the deliverance from an intolerable tyranny of the men and women by whose side he has laboured.

Personal Experience.

The secret of this personal quality in his work lies, of course, in the fact that he approaches these economic matters with sympathies broadened and intensified by his own experience.

A writer in the "Millgate Monthly" quotes him as saying:

"In the year 1879 I was a coal hewer in Lanarkshire working for 2s. 1d. per day, with a wife and two children to maintain. That in itself was sufficient to awaken hostility against the capitalist system. That hostility was very greatly intensified when I learned that the Duke of Hamilton, who had a wife and only one child, who owned vast estates in Scotland, was drawing every year £130,000 in royalties, in addition to £120,000 in rents, a total of a quarter of a million of money per annum, without expending any energy."

An Industrial Leader.

It is not without significance that Smillie has unsuccessfully attempted to enter Parliament six or seven times. He was instrumental in earlier days with Keir Hardie in founding the Independent Labour Party, but while Hardie fought the battles of Labour in the House of Commons, it was Smillie's destiny to become first and foremost an industrial leader. His successive defeats were probably severe disappointments, but it is doubtful whether a seat at Westminster could have given him the opportunity for helping the Cause he loves which he has had in the Industrial Movement.

If anyone wants to translate into living terms the hackneyed phrases about class-war and class-consciousness, they have only to look at the hero of this sketch. Interpreted by his personality, they lose much of the terror they possess for timid people.

Smillie is emphatically on the side of the workers against their exploiters, because to him the workers as such are they who, though they are the real support of the social fabric, and alone deserving the privilege of controlling its affairs, are, as a matter of fact, exploited by those who contribute no social service whatsoever. In the Scotch miners' champion one sees that "the class war" is nothing else but a great crusade against all class divisions.

Curbstone Comradeship.

But to me the value of Robert Smillie as an interpreter of the Labour and Socialist Movement consists largely in the fact that one sees in him the type of leader whom we may expect to come to the front when the workers feel free to elect to posts of responsibility men of their own unfettered choice. Anyone further removed from the bureaucrat of Capitalist fiction it would be difficult to imagine. Smillie, sitting on the curbstone, pipe in mouth, discussing with his former mates current industrial questions, gives a clearer idea of Labour's reinterpretation of leadership than anything I could say. In spite of all temptations to desert his class, he remains one of them, and his position is due to the affection and respect which they give him.

It is no slight tribute to the mining fraternity that it should have chosen as its standard-bearer a man of the large human sympathies, the strong mentality, and the warm Christian faith of Robert Smillie.

OBERAMMERGAU.

A German editor has been interviewing Anton Lang, who took the part of the Christ in the Oberammergau Passion Play. The play is not to be revived, it seems, for a while. "But why won't it be given?" asked the interviewer. "Well, it's like this," replied Lang, "We live in a time when there are too many strikes, and our parochial activity is also on strike. If we wished it we could give the play, at the latest, next year; perhaps even this autumn. Clearly, the food question is difficult; but when there is question of a work which should help to reconcile the nations—and you would hardly deny that that is the case with ours—ought not the government to help us? If this enforced idleness goes on our glorious band of players will be able to play no more. I am no longer young; and others grow old like me. The girls get married, and, once married, tradition forbids their playing again—the Virgin has just married—you remember, I think, Zwink's daughter, the daughter of Judas—and we have not yet found anyone to take her place." Perhaps there are greater difficulties than those Anton Lang speaks of. The story of the Passion is too violently and challengingly in conflict with the whole course of modern history to attract the rich American and English tourists who, while it was taken as a picturesque representation of conventional religion, could enjoy the spectacle.

The Dream of Christ.

There are two books, published a long time ago, entitled "Looking Backwards" and "Equality," by Edward Bellamy, both now difficult to get; but "Equality" is to be reprinted shortly. That such a book, somewhat stilted in style, but full of extraordinary constructive prophecy, should be considered worth reprinting, is a sign of the times, and in view of our own Crusade, the following quotation comes with interest and inspiration. To understand it we must realise that the year is 2000 A.D., that the "Revolution"—following on the "Great Revival" of Religion and human love—has come about, and that the speaker, Dr. Leete, is seeking to explain to Julian West, the hero of the adventure, who has been in a trance for over a hundred years, the circumstances of the great change which took place, when Capital was nationalised and all worked for the common use, and enjoyed equality, comfort, liberty, and well-being.

"Gradually, as the revolutionary propaganda diffused a knowledge of the clear and unquestionable grounds on which this great assurance rested, and as the growing majorities of the revolutionary party convinced the most doubtful that the hour of its triumph was at hand, the hope of the multitude grew into confidence, and confidence flamed into a resistless enthusiasm."

The Great Revival.

The great revival was a tide of enthusiasm for the social, not the personal salvation, and for the establishment in brotherly love of the Kingdom of God on earth which Christ had men hope and work for. It contemplated nothing less than a literal fulfilment on a complete social scale, of Christ's inculcation that all should feel the same solicitude and make the same effort for the welfare of others as for their own.

The first effect of such a solicitude must needs be the prompt effort to bring about an equal material provision for all, as the primary condition of welfare.

When the people came to recognise that the ideal of a world of equal welfare, which had been represented to them by the clergy as a dangerous delusion was not other than the very dream of Christ; when they realised that the hope which led on the advocates of the new order was no baleful ignis fatuus as the churches had taught, but nothing less nor other than the Star of Bethlehem, it is not to be wondered at that the impulse which the revolutionary movement received should have been overwhelming.

A Crusade.

From that time on it assumes more and more the character of a crusade, the first of the many so-called crusades of history which had a valid and adequate right to that name, and right to make the Cross its emblem.

As the conviction took hold on the always religious masses that the plan of an equalised human welfare was nothing less than the Divine design, and that in seeking their own highest happiness by its adoption they were also fulfilling their Lord's purpose for the race, the spirit of the revolution became a religious enthusiasm.

So it was that the revolution which had begun its course under the ban of the churches, was carried to its consummation upon a wave of moral and religious emotion.

What became of Churches and Clergy?

It must have seemed to them something like the judgment day when their flocks challenged them with open Bibles and demanded why they had hid the Gospel all these ages. But so far as it appears, the joyous exultation of the people over the great discovery that liberty, equality, and fraternity, were nothing less than the practical meaning and contents of Christ's religion, seems to have left no room in their heart for bitterness towards any class. As soon as the great Revival had fairly begun, the clergy threw themselves into it as eagerly as any of the people, but not now with any pretensions of leadership. They followed the people whom they might have led."

T.W.W.

The Liberators.

The People's Theatre Society are to be heartily congratulated on the success that attended their presentation of Srgjan Tucic's play, "The Liberators," at the Surrey Theatre, Blackfriars, last Sunday evening.

The use of dramatic art for the purposes of propaganda is always open to criticism. It certainly seems that very much can be said for the generally accepted view that a play with an obvious moral, in which all other interests are subordinated to the one central theme (in this case the horrors of war) does sacrifice something of artistic merit. But as a propaganda play, "The Liberators" is extraordinarily powerful and effective. Few of those who were privileged to be present will forget the poignant scene of the feeding of the refugees during the bombardment of Sofia. The scene of the play is Bulgaria, in those days of 1913 which saw the outbreak of the second Balkan War, when the allies of the previous year had become enemies.

With the skill of a great realist, Tucic strips the tinsel from war. The heroes, the liberators of Bul-

garia are there, but wounded, crippled, disillusioned. The screams of the starving refugees drown the song of the old man driven insane by the death of his sons in the war, and the end comes with the arrival of the seriously injured heir of General Karastofanoff, and the last words are a dim hope for the future.

It is impossible to give too much praise to the earnestness and sincerity of the acting. All the caste did well. Miss Joan Rees had a long part as a Bulgarian girl, and acted with real freshness and charm. Miss Mowbray as Miladi gave a most sympathetic rendering of the part. Very fine, too, was Mr. Swinley, as a soldier who had sacrificed his arms in the previous war, while the part of the doddering old man (with his delusion that the cage he carried contained his dead sons reincarnated as birds) was portrayed with a skill that marks its actor as a master of his craft.

It should be said the play was received with great enthusiasm, the curtain being rung up again and again.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

MARBLE ARCH MEETINGS—We very much hope friends will take an opportunity of attending some of these meetings—if none are arranged in their own district. On Tuesday of last week Reginald Sorensen spoke to almost a thousand people and, although the sale of literature inside the park is prohibited, over two dozen people thought it worth while to go right outside the gates in order to buy from our seller his excellent little pamphlet "God and Bread."

OPEN AIR MISSION.—**FRIDAY, 2nd:**—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon, Dorothy Strevens; at 8 p.m., Walthamstow, Hoe Street: H. W. Green, R. W. Sorensen; at 8 p.m., Kilburn, The Grangeway: J. Newton Harris, Basil Tritton, Ivy Sheldon. **SATURDAY, 3rd:**—At 8 p.m., Ealing Broadway, corner of Offord Road: A. Cordell. **SUNDAY, 4th:**—At 12 noon, Leytonstone, The Green Man: C. Paul Gliddon; at 3.30, Hampstead, Jack Straw's Castle: Marjory Bonar, Alfred Cordell. **MONDAY, 5th:**—At 8 p.m., Leytonstone, The Green Man: C. Paul Gliddon. **TUESDAY, 6th:**—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon, Rev. R. W. Sorensen; at 8 p.m., Clapton, corner of Kenninghall Road and Upper Clapton Road: J. Newton Harris, Basil Tritton; at 8 p.m., Forest Gate, outside G.E.R. Station: Dorothy Strevens, A. White. **WEDNESDAY, 7th:**—Catford, outside station: Alfred Cordell. **THURSDAY, 8th:**—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch: H. W. Green, Dorothy Strevens; at 8 p.m., Kentish Town, corner of Leighton Road and Kentish Town Road: Alfred Cordell, J. Newton Harris, J. B. Lier; at 8 p.m., Whitechapel, corner of Sydney Street, and Whitechapel High Street: Rev. Frank Fincham, B. L. Sommer. **FRIDAY, 9th:**—at 6 p.m., Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon, Basil Tritton; at 8 p.m., Walthamstow, Hoe Street: C. Paul Gliddon; at 8 p.m., Kilburn, The Grangeway: Ivy Sheldon, Dorothy Strevens.

C. PAUL GLIDDON 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

OUR EXCHANGE.

Assorted, Class-bred Farmyard-Clutch, 5 pullets, 1 cockerel, on rail in cage, £5. Acceptable exchange: Belgium hares, milk-goats, turkeys, geese, beehives, netting, or any smallholding equipment.—Poultry Farm, Trefnant, North Wales, Geo. Sturgess.

J. R., The "Crusader," 23 Bride Lane, E.C.4, makes the following offers:—

Motor Cycle wanted, lightweight 2-stroke preferred; full particulars and price.

Gas Cooker, combined with gas fire in door; copper water tank at side with tap; £5, or exchange anything useful.

Set Iron Bedsteads—Couch upholstered in leather—4 small chairs—1 easy chair—suit working man's home; what offers?

Singer Sewing Machine, treadle, wants little attention; what offers in exchange?

House Painter and Paperhanger will give any advice and instructions by post, gratis, or practical help for out of pocket expenses, at convenient times.

For Sale, Army Bell Tent, in fair condition; any offer.

Are you Building a Bungalow? Do you want help or suggestions? Write me.

For Sale, full-size, hand-knitted, black **Sports Coat**; price, £3 3s.—Apply J.N.H., "Crusader" Office, 23 Bride Lane, E.C.4.

Miners and the Famine Children.

The Miners' Federation of Great Britain has sent a cheque for £2,955 to the Save the Children Fund to aid it in its task of rescuing the 13,000,000 starving children of the famine lands of Europe and Asia Minor.

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Christian Commonwealth Fellowship.

(LEAGUE OF CHUMS).



The Twig (annual subscription) which each Chum should bring to the Fire of the Central Camp, to keep it burning brightly, is 6d. Schools and groups in very poor districts may enrol through their Camp-Captain, who brings 1s. Branch to the Fire. Badges (like illustration) 6d. each. The Story Chum likes to have letters

sent him, c/o Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bridg Lane, E.C.4.

Bottoming.

This is a rather curious story. It is in four parts; and you can put the four parts together like a puzzle, and then you will see the story complete.

Part I. I have a pair of very favourite socks, pale grey with an embroidered clock—a sort of stitching, you know—up the side. For many weeks the grey socks have been in the mending basket and haven't been mended. I'm not complaining; but I must say I have longed for my grey socks and have hoped. . . . But there! the unmended socks are the end of the first part of my story.

Part II. On my desk there is a big pile of unanswered letters. I have known for weeks and weeks that they are there, waiting to be answered. I know deep in my heart I ought to tackle them; but the days have gone by. I have been so busy. I have tried to forget the letters. . . and this is the end of the second part of my story.

Part III. At Whitsuntide the housekeeper left. She had been very unfortunate and had broken most of the crockery. So she left early one morning; and we found an awful muddle to clear up, and such a nice note thanking us for our kindness and saying she had broken our last pot frying pan. It was all very confusing and difficult until Miss Emily came to clear us up. Miss Emily was amazed. She couldn't believe there was a house with so many lost and broken things and with so many things to clean. Miss Emily took us in hand. She scrubbed and polished and routed about. She was at it all the time. And when I said: "Hullo, Miss Emily! Still at it? Why, it's tea-time," Miss Emily said with a laugh: "Well, you see, I'm 'bottoming' it." And the things shone again; the brasses glittered; the silver cake basket (present from kind friends) sparkled. All the jobs which are disagreeable to do Miss Emily did, and she did them thoroughly, which is called in Yorkshire "bottoming" it. And I began to see that you aren't any good at all if you can't bottom things. So when Miss Emily had been with us three days, I got up at six o'clock in the morning and tackled my pile of unanswered letters. On and on I worked, and at breakfast time the Lady, to whom the mending basket belongs, looked into my room where I sat at the desk. "What **are** you doing?" she said. " 'Bottoming' it," I said solemnly.

Part IV. Next morning my favourite socks lay neatly folded and ready to be worn. "What have **you** been doing?" I cried, seizing them. "Bottoming," said the voice of the Lady of the mending basket. And, really, it is wonderful how happy you feel when you've "bottomed" things. You shove them away undone, and you think you're happy, but you aren't really. Of course, everybody hasn't a Miss Emily; but everybody has something to "bottom."

VIVIAN T. POMEROY

(The Story-Chum).

Chums and their Doings.

The Chums are boys and girls who want everybody to have room enough in which to be happy. Chums believe that nobody can be perfectly happy while even the littlest are hurt or sad. Chums want to make the whole world a Home of Chums. All Chums take this vow: "I will act fairly, stand up for the littlest, and look for a Chum in everybody." Since there are some people who have no friends, and quite a lot of children who do not know what a chummy world it is really, the Chums have set out on a Great Quest. They are to seek for the lonely, and the sad, and the cross, and the unhappy people, and find the Chum that is hidden away inside every one of them. There are Chums in every country, and writing letters is one way in which the spirit of Chumminess can be spread. Any Chums can write to any other Chums through the Christian Commonwealth Fellowship. The names of some who need letters are given below.

Sometimes Chums gather together in a Church, and their minister-Chum tells them a story, and there—as our Story-Chum said once—"they laugh and love and pray together." One of their prayers goes like this: "We praise Thee for one another: may we reverence and help one another, that we may bring joy to the earth."

And where there are two or three Chums together they often try to share their good things with other children who are not so happy. The Chums of the "Fairyland Camp" (Beaconsfield) a few weeks ago invited two little girls from the East End of London, Maggie and Daisy, to spend a long week-end, and to take part in a lovely May-time Festival. Other country chums send flowers or shells to city children who hardly ever see such things. Names and addresses will be gladly supplied to any living in the country who wish to share their joys in this way.

In Need of Chumminess.

Carlo Vitale (of Milan), who writes very good English, wishes to link with an English boy of about sixteen, who is studying literature, history, music, etc. He wishes to know about English life and social service, he says.

Sybil Myers (Willesden) says: "I have lost the first Chum I ever had to write to. I don't know why you gave me such a ripping Chum. I do want to write to another." Sybil is eighteen and is going to be a doctor. Who will write to her?

One of our dearest Big Chums (C.C.F. 525), who has written to many of you most lovely letters, has been ill for a long time and has not been allowed to read anything. Now she is better, and she writes: "I am quite in the dark as to the progress my Fellowship and League of Chums have made and I am longing to read all they have been doing while I have taken everything quietly." Won't someone write and cheer her up?

Received with Thanks.

Twigs (6d. each) have been received from Edna and Bernie Spencer (W. Ealing) and a Branch (2s. 6d.) from the "Jewel Camp" (Limerick).

SIDELIGHTS.

Pacifism on the Continent.

Rev. Humphrey Chalmers, M.A., who was one of the British delegates to the General Assembly at Bâle, Switzerland, of the International Union of Peace Societies, has given a very frank statement of his impressions in the July number of his Church Magazine. He says:—

"The British delegation found the actual deliberations of the Assembly very disappointing. British thinking on war and peace has apparently gone further than that of other nations. I said apparently, because there is much to be said on the other side. The only British Peace organisations which have survived the war as effective bodies are those which took up a strongly pacifist position; whereas, on the Continent, the most enthusiastic supporters of the war captured and maintained the Peace societies, and the out-and-out pacifists either formed rival organisations which are not at present affiliated to the International Union, or joined some of the advanced Socialist groups which ignore the Union and its conferences on the ground that it was a "bourgeois" organisation. One of the chief representatives of French Pacifism, for instance, was, during the war, a manufacturer of guns on a large scale!

"The Swiss generally are quite naturally rather conceited about the fact that, with war all round them, they kept out of it. One Swiss—not a delegate—threw a good deal of light in conversation upon their national psychology in this connection. He said: "How can anyone doubt the providence of God after this? See how the wicked nations have been punished! The immoral French, look how they have suffered; and the Belgians, for their wickedness on the Congo; and the Germans—utterly ruined for their ruthless militarism; and the Austrians for their treachery, and the Italians for their cynical greed—yes, and you English, for your crimes against the Boers, the Indians, the Egyptians, and the Irish; while we have been preserved!" This rather Pharisaic attitude is, of course, fatal to any effective witness for peace, especially when the Swiss adds, as he generally does, "We have the best army in Europe. Both sides would have liked to march through Switzerland, as the Germans did through Belgium, but they did not dare!" Although the delegates did not express their thoughts as crudely as that, one could see that this was essentially what they were thinking.

"The French were obsessed by the almost hopeless financial position of their country, and the ancient fear, which is the dominant international sentiment on the Continent, prevented them from acknowledging the obvious fact that they can only be saved through a policy of reconciliation which will permit disarmament, thus freeing them from an intolerable burden. They avoided taking part in the Economic Section of the Conference, where their false ideas might have been exposed, and insisted simply on the exaction of the last penny from Germany in the way of indemnities.

"The Germans would have been an amusing party if their ridiculous attitude had not been tragic. The military collapse of Germany has apparently driven many of the Germans back to the old Germany of quaint, unpractical theorists. They took up much time urging that international law should be codified—as if they did not know that international law is a dead letter as soon as war breaks out, and that Germany herself was the most notable law-breaker of them all. To hear them prating on about economic theory and international law while Europe is steadily slipping down to a general collapse would have been comic if it had not been pathetic.

"The Austrian delegates seemed stunned and nerve shattered. Only one subject interested them—their starving children and how they were to be saved. One cannot blame them; and yet they appeared to be incapable of realising that all measures of relief for their children can only be temporary palliatives unless many far-reaching problems can be solved. Still, the starving parents of starving and dying children can scarcely be expected to take a philosophical or deeply scientific view of things."

The Real Terror.

While disputes are going on in the Press as to the exact number of victims of the Russian Red Terror, whether it is to be put at three thousand, eight thousand, or sixteen thousand, according to the different estimates, a Danish investigator has been publishing some statistics which have not attracted the same attention. They are the result of his researches into the fluctuations of population in certain countries arising out of the war. Taking the ten principal European belligerent countries, he comes to the conclusion that the total loss of population in these ten countries owing to the war amounts to thirty-five millions. Of these thirty-five millions, twenty millions represent the decline in births, and fifteen millions the loss through increased mortality above the normal rate, ten millions of the latter being the killed in war. Ten millions against ten thousand. If the whole of the Red Terror were put down to the cost of Socialism, it would not be more than .01 per cent. of the cost of Capitalism.

Women and War.

The Peace Union has for its principal object the organising of the women of the world for the purpose of fighting Militarism and establishing the reign of universal peace. Founded on the basis that "War is contrary to the spirit and teaching of Jesus Christ" it is endeavouring to link up all women's organisations for the purpose of being prepared to take immediate action should governments threaten at any time in the future to plunge their peoples into war; to save the children from the clutches of Militarism by counteracting the militarist teaching of our schools; if necessary, combining in taking united action against the still further militarising of the schools and the poisoning of the minds of the young with wrong ideals in order to supply future warmongers with the necessary cannon-fodder; and of effectively combating the many invidious ways in which the Militarist caste are now endeavouring to cultivate the military spirit in order to prepare the public mind to support them in their next war. A strenuous campaign is being waged amongst the women, and although it is by no means an easy task to arouse them on this subject, women's organisations in all parts of London have already affiliated to the Peace Union, Miss Clara C. Dinsell, the newly appointed secretary, will gladly supply fuller information upon application to her at 17 New Broad Street, London, E.C.2.

Cyprus.

We have been asked to draw attention to the fact that the Greek population of Cyprus, about four-fifths of the total inhabitants, have, since 1881, repeatedly appealed to our Government to hand the island over to Greece. The representatives of Cyprus are now strenuously urging this just claim for self-determination. Any willing to help in this cause by distributing literature etc., should send name and address to the Editor of the "Crusader."

Mary Pickford.

The papers devoted the following proportions of space to the proceedings of Miss Pickford:—

	Columns.
"Daily Chronicle"	2½
"Daily Mail"	2
"Daily Mirror"	1½
"The Times"	¾
"Daily Express"	1
"Daily Herald"	1
"Daily News"	2
"Morning Post"	8 lines.
"Daily Telegraph"	0
— "Sunday Observer."	

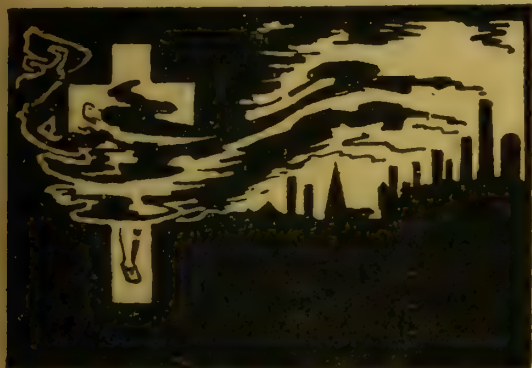
The Crusader

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Twopence.



The Outlook.

IRELAND is more than a geographical expression, and it is one thing to police the country from Cork to Derry with tanks and aeroplanes and another thing to bring under restraint the far-scattered Irish race. The mutiny of Irish troops in India and the feeling among Irish-Americans in the United States show that the conquest of the neighbour isle would not mean the conquest of the Irish.

IN the debate on Mesopotamia, Mr. Lloyd George stated that "the whole of the oil resources will belong to the Arab State that is to be set up subject to arrangements made, before the war, with Turkey." Those anxious to do justice to the much abused Government might be pardoned—if the Prime Minister's character were not known—or supposing that such a statement, made with the fullest publicity, really did indicate a desire to do justice. If they did suppose such a thing, that confidence was utterly misplaced. The interpretation of the conditional clause robs the statement of any value. For this is the state of things revealed by

an examination of the "arrangements made, before the war, with Turkey":—

1. The whole of the oil was conceded by the Sultan to a British company, the Turkish Petroleum Co., in March, 1914.
2. 75 per cent. of the capital of the company was British and 25 per cent. German.
3. Last year (in April, 1919, Mr. Walter Long being the Minister in charge of oil finance) the British Government offered to transfer the German share to France.
4. France, for certain reasons, was dissatisfied.
5. At the San Remo Conference France was squared, apparently by the concession of the German 25 per cent.

We quote this because it is typical of the kind of deceit by which the public confidence in ministerial declarations has been undermined.

* * *

Prussia's Victory.

OF all the many illusions with which the British people entered the war in 1914, perhaps the most widespread was the idea that "this war was unlike any other war in history." It is melancholy now to trace the way in which this idea was gradually dispelled, and to see the disillusionment of the workers brought about by the depravity of their own Governments. The latest example of Governmental submission to the Prussian system is the Official Secrets Bill, by which the precedents of the war emergency in the curtailment of liberty are continued as permanent law. Every attempt must be made to defeat this Bill, which, originating in the House of Lords, has yet to pass through the House of Commons. The Bill seems to be backed by the whole force of the bureaucracy, and for each of its clauses Ministers will be supplied with plausible reasons. But, practically every clause and certainly the Bill as a whole is one of the gravest invasions upon personal liberties that has occurred since the Peace of Versailles.

* * *

IS it true, as we have heard, that the munition dumps in France, which it was stated were being broken up and returned to this country, are, as a matter of fact, being sent to Poland?



The Fear of Goodness.

Most men would rather be called rogues than saints, and to tell them that they had a good spice of the devil in them would be regarded as a greater compliment than if you

described them as angelic. The majority of us have a wholesome fear of seeming to go beyond the ordinary moral standards. We apologise for our generosity and camouflage our religion. The self-consciousness which waits upon any act that is out of the ruts of ordinary conduct is too painful to be borne, and we rush to hide our ashamed selves in the friendly and conventional crowd. We cannot summon up courage to be pacifists, not because we do not believe in the pacifist ideal, but, just because we do believe in it and admire those who stand for it, but to adopt it for ourselves would be to make ourselves singular in the matter of "goodness." The springs of action are clogged by self-consciousness. The impulse looks like becoming a pose and we draw back. Preachers and moralists do not take sufficient account of this fear of goodness. They imagine that what we are afraid of are the material consequences of renunciation. But the psychology of war shows that when self-sacrifice is fashionable there is no limit to what we will endure or renounce. Only give us conditions which will stifle this self-consciousness of ours and you may command us. Nor is this fear altogether to be deprecated. On the whole it is a healthy instinct. Give me any day, in preference to the prig, the man who would rather "go to the devil" than become a pharisee.

But are these alternatives the only ones? Cannot saintliness and moral heroism escape the contamination of self-consciousness? The answer of course is that it is love which casteth out fear—the fear of goodness as every other kind of fear. Love is "beyond good and evil." For it the moral categories have ceased to exist. The reflection that it is making itself conspicuous is swallowed up in a flood of desire. In this consists the childlikeness of real goodness. Love cannot be conscious of virtue. Were it to become so, it would that instant cease to be love, that is to say it would cease to be self-forgetful. The fear of goodness is due to a misconception as to the character of goodness. If morality were interpreted in terms of love, and our love was strong enough to carry us forward on its mighty current, we should be untroubled in this respect.

Moreover, for all true saintliness there exists "a crowd of witnesses" in which self-consciousness is speedily lost. The saint realises that he belongs to a family governed by the same standards as those which he is endeavouring to follow. Like

the man who flies to conventionality as a refuge from the pose of pietism, he escapes into the crowd to which he belongs. He lives as the member of a community in which these things are fashionable. He is one with "saints, apostles, prophet martyrs." His eccentricity, from another angle of vision, is conventionality. Even when he shoulders his heaviest cross he does but follow One who traced out the path for him. Christ has made his most radiant virtues commonplace. No man can be proud or think himself remarkable, who has lived near Golgotha.

Christ has created a new tradition. The most startling thing we can do from the point of view of the present world order is but the traditional thing from the Christian point of view. Were we setting up new standards, creating new types of character, there would be some excuse for the fear of goodness. But the thing by which we are afraid to become conspicuous is the ordinary rule of life in the Kingdom of God. Our innovations are but an escape from the eccentricities of evil to the normal order of things established by the Master of this and every other world.

It is evil which must become self-conscious—aware that it has fallen out of the divine fashion. And this is just what happens in the awakening conscience. "Conviction of Sin," to use an old phrase, is the awareness which comes over us of the extra-ordinary character of our conduct. It makes our nakedness so conspicuous to ourselves that we imagine that everybody else can see it too. The heavenly order has invaded our world of value and reversed them. Suddenly we become aware that we are out of the fashion, and we blush at the thought of our unconventionality.

This is what a revival of religion will mean. We shall all feel like the countryman who, dressed in village clothes, wanders into the fashionable West End, and all at once sees himself in a new and painful light. The conventions of the village have become the sartorial heresies of the town. Imagine waking up in the Kingdom of God and find yourself clothed in khaki, or wearing the uniform of a superior "class," and carrying on your person wealth procured by exploiting your fellow men!

To lose self-consciousness we must become conventional. It is just a question which set of conventions we adopt—that of the present world order or that of the Kingdom of God.

THE TRAMP.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15. Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters" 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

LEYTONSTONE, Burghley Hall Fellowship, The High Road. The Service at 6.30 on Sunday 11th, will be conducted by C. Paul Gliddon. Subject of address: "THE SILENCE OF UGLINESS."

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

Looking through the religious papers, I observe deep satisfaction is expressed that the recent Conference at Scarborough voted heavily for the use of violence. I note that Labour's son is welcomed on the ground that Satan cannot cast out Satan and that no Christian would ask to try. We, who have all along believed—and that Satan cannot cast out Satan and that no man ought to ask him to try, hope that "The Der" may now be allowed to offer its congratulations to its contemporaries, who have at last reached its well-known position on this question of the use of violence.

* * *
We are afraid that Labour will not be content with the genuineness of a Press, that can call on working men not to use violence in social war, and yet can call upon working men, when occasion demands, to enlist in an army to defend or even extend Imperial conquests. Let Christian journals say of WAR, "Satan cannot cast out Satan and no Christian should seek such aid," and Labour will know that the conversion of a religious writer is not to be doubted, and that he speaks from no mere self-regarding or class-distinguishing principle when he protests against the employment of violence in an attempt to bring about better social and industrial conditions.

* * *
So that the "Church Times" refers approvingly to Major-General Sir George Younghusband's speech in the July number of the "New World," in the Amritsar affair. Sir George holds with the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Simla that General Dyer, acting as he did, saved India from unknown horrors of mutiny and outrage. People in India, says Sir George, know what the situation was and how it was dealt with by a few brave and determined soldiers, and are not prepared to take their word from a Secretary of State. It does not seem to me as being particularly brave to open fire on an unarmed crowd. But the "Church Times" is alarmed at the weakening effect of any criticism of General Dyer's decision to do so, and its comment on the real danger, it seems to us, is that men shrink from shouldering great responsibilities when facing great odds if they are denied a reasonable expectation of being upheld in their decision.

* * *
For this stone-blindness to what seems to us the elementary spirit of Christianity, the "Church Times" devotes twelve columns to an account of the Anglo-Catholic Congress in London. There is no word to say against the Congress, but when its promoters publish such pagan views on the use of violence, one wonders what all this Congress is for. I know it will be thought quite wrong and unreasonable to connect the two things, but when my eye read the brilliantly written account of the Congress, with its passionately sincere utterances of loyalty to our Lord, I could not banish

from my mind the distressing fact that the representative paper of this great Church movement is able to support and bless Dyerism, hideous with savagery, in the very same issue in which it supports and blesses the Congress, so solemnly naming the name of Christ, and saying from one of its pulpits, "There must be no mistake about our aim, the love of Jesus, and of what He loved."

* * *
We read that twelve hundred priests, marshalled in fours, and preceded by a great crucifix, made up the body of the procession. Says the "Church Times," "A brilliant scene it was as these richly-vested chief pastors made their way past the crowded side-walks of Gray's Inn-road." Then High Mass was celebrated at the historic church of St. Alban the Martyr, Holborn. Only clergy were admitted. "The Bishops occupied seats in the choir, and his Beatitude the Archbishop of Cyprus, in whose presence the Mass was sung, was conducted to a throne erected on the north side of the sanctuary." The comment of a Roman Catholic paper may perhaps interest my readers. His Beatitude, the Metropolitan of Cyprus, who headed the procession, is disrespectfully referred to as "a schismatical Greek walking down Holborn." Then the whole Anglo-Catholic movement is viewed as follows. "Its aim presents itself to the interested observer as a futile endeavour to have 'Popery' without having to submit to a Pope, the shell without the kernel, the wheel-tyre without its hub, the structure and all its upper embellishments without a foundation." Meanwhile the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Simla and the Anglo-Catholic "Church Times" can see fit to unite in support of Dyerism. It is all very marvellous to a man who has a copy of the Gospels in his possession.

* * *
Here are some of the remarks of the "Methodist Recorder" on the new slaughter just beginning. "Anything might happen before the Allies were able to provide reinforcements. In the time of need Greece volunteered the use of her army. It was on the spot, and would be none the worse, in many ways, for having something to do. Though the whole business is a little clouded, the Greeks have attacked, and the first part of the campaign is certainly being carried out very neatly." But (it is such a pity) "Greece has never been very good at organisation or endurance. We can only hope for the best. Greece will have all the supplies she needs and all the skilled assistance the Armies of Britain and France can lend. . . . If Greece fails, then the others must needs try their hand." So the Greek army will be "none the worse" for having something to do, and it has begun its campaign "very neatly." I wonder what the poor mangled conscripts would say to the man who wrote this—if they could get at him. At any rate, we may be quite sure that their language would not be fit to print in the pages of the "Methodist Recorder."

The Crusader

Friday, July 9th, 1920.

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C.M.G.

The Drift of Opinion.

We frequently say "The Tide has turned," and the remark, applied to the change during the last year or two in public opinion, is true to an amazing extent. There are all manner of Sauls among the prophets. Even our friend, Ben Tillett, has been making public profession of pacifist principles, though there is no record of sackcloth or of the dust and ashes of repentance in connection with the event. But the moral value of these conversions is a debatable point. It seems nothing more than drift—a natural and, in a sense, inevitable reaction. And those who are carried on the new currents of feeling and thought are moved as easily and with as little effort of their own as they were previously on the flood-tide of militarism. They sway to and fro on the tide without apparent volition, and the change from one set of ideas to their opposite gives no evidence of having been brought about at the cost of mental travail or as the result of real spiritual crises. Though the mass of opinion is increasingly opposed to the latest developments of Capitalist and Imperialist enterprise, it exerts, considering its numerical strength, remarkably little influence on the course of events. We may be pardoned for wondering whether it is capable of expressing itself in any arresting manner.

"For Better and for Worse."

Before we take an optimistic view of the future in this country, we should have more evidence than we possess that the leaders of opinion have not merely changed their views, but that they are nailing to the mast their newly-professed convictions, and committing themselves to the truths they have discovered "for better and for worse." This applies especially to the Churches, and once more we venture to appeal to those in authority that they shall leave no doubt in our minds that they not only mean now what they say, but that they would mean and say the same things were a counter-movement set up imperilling their positions and authority.

May We Hope?

We cannot forget, however much we desire to do so, the bitter disillusionment of 1914, when so many unsaid the teaching which they had previously given. We may be excused, in view of that experience, for desiring more than amiable sentiments concerning the grave moral evils of our time. This is the day for passionate sacrificial protest and spiritually creative power.

May we hope for these?

The man in the street is up against the fact fundamental truths have been camouflaged. wants to get beyond the wrappers to reality. wants to be sincere. So he stands aside and himself Agnostic. Before he will even look "Crusader," which stands for Revolutionary Christianity, I am pretty sure he asks, "What do these people mean by Christianity?" A vivid camouflage rises before him—sermons which soothe but cut no ice; efforts which aim at patching rather than removing causes—and he passes to the other side.

The problem is to get these people to read "Crusader," which, if given a chance, speaks for itself.

When I was invited to join the Crusader Committee, I enquired what work they were doing and various details, and I was told to come to meetings and see. I couldn't digest this all at once but I bow to the wisdom of it now. And I pass the advice to those who want to know what we are for. Read the paper and see.

This brings me to the capitals which head the column. Our C.M.G., however, has nothing to do with Chamberlain or Churchill. It just means our CIRCULATION MUST GROW. In various towns groups of people are doing what they can. We want all to help to get the "Crusader" in the air, to double or treble our circulation, and to thus make our paper self-supporting.

I wonder what percentage of our readers, having got so far, will feel relieved that we hope to be self-supporting some day, and will then leave the accomplishment to others?

When people set out to Pelmanise, I believe they take considerable trouble to fix certain things in their minds, and facts or phrases thus fixed suggest the next step. If Crusaders would write the letters to C.M.G. on a slip of paper and pin it up either on their washstand or over their calendar, the constant reminder that our C.M.G. would produce ideas, ways and means.

Our C.M.G. until we become self-supporting. Meanwhile we depend upon those who can help us financially. Some little time ago everything in that direction seemed to be left to those who could make big donations. But now the position is reversed and our wealthy friends, many of whom could help us substantially, seem to be holding back. We have not had a really big donation for ages. Perhaps this reminder may serve.

We acknowledge with many thanks anonymous donations of 1/10 and 5/-. Also 3/3 from Mr. Firth, of Kippax, and £1 from Mrs. Rolph, of Letchworth. Also 19/2 from Mr. Barnard, Helensburgh, New Zealand, who writes: "I should like to increase the circulation of the 'Crusader' in New Zealand and may write you on the subject again." Towards our special 2/6 Fund for sending free special copies, we have received 2/6 from Mr. Beavis, from Mr. Wharton, and 7/6 anonymously. Many thanks. The fund is still open.

THE PLOUGHMAN.

Philanthropy *versus* State Aid.

THE PLIGHT OF THE HOSPITALS.

crisis of a serious character has been reached in the history of our hospitals. The balance sheet for the last year shows a deficit of £220,000. Moreover, their existing accommodation is inadequate for the needs of the population. More hospitals are needed, and meanwhile what hospitals we have cannot afford to extend.

The first thing that strikes one on discovering the state of affairs is the parsimony, so far as this branch of philanthropy is concerned, of the class which has been of late making such huge profits. Whenever the sacred cause of private enterprise in money-making is threatened, a frenzied cry is raised.

When these indispensable institutions are crippled for lack of funds there is no corresponding effort on the part of those possessing wealth to manifest initiative in the matter of personal donations.

Capitalists have failed to seize the opportunity of imposing a voluntary tax upon themselves on behalf of institutions of recognised public service. They can scarcely complain if this throws one more burden on the State and thus increases the need of involuntary levy on Capital.

There can be little doubt that the result of the crisis will be a movement towards the abolition of the voluntary system on which the hospitals have hitherto depended. And there is much to be said for State aid. The principle adopted towards those disabled in war is applicable to those who, in the ordinary course, fall ill and require medical treatment and efficient nursing. The man who is serving the community in some peaceful avocation should, to say the least, be as eligible for public assistance as those whose function it is to cripple and destroy the lives of others. Not as a matter of charity" (in the ordinary meaning of that word), but as a recognised communal responsibility, those needing hospital care should be able to look for help from the whole community. The State has now assumed a measure of responsibility for the public health. It is but the logical outcome of present tendencies if it should make itself responsible, not only for preventive measures, but also for those needing medical treatment. At the same time we must confess that we shudder to think of what, under present conditions, a State hospital might become. Of all the various phases of national existence, sickness is the last that should be handed over to the tender mercies of a bureaucracy. Efficient medical science is not enough. Hospitals must be human institutions. The State as it is to-day is incapable of creating the kind of atmosphere suitable for those sick in body or in mind.

This is one of those concrete cases which illustrate the need of a combination of the ideals of personal service and social organisation. It is surely not impossible that there should be developed a type of institution embodying both these ideals. The abolition of class distinctions and the wretched patronage and servility associated with them would enable us

to advocate, without hesitation, the maintenance by the public at large of those of its members who have the misfortune to fall ill. A corporate sense of responsibility—the realisation, in relation to this particular problem, of the principle, "Each for all and all for each," would solve the difficulty.

Hospitals and similar institutions may, indeed, be said to be a test as to the character of the Society supporting them. According to our method of dealing with the weak and the diseased, may our social progress best be gauged. In the Capitalist Society of the past, private patronage has been the method employed. It looks as though the next experiment would be, as we have said, in the direction of State aid.

Perhaps we shall yet see a reversion to the time when the Church stood in the midst of the Community as the physician, not only of the souls, but also of the bodies of men. For the Church alone would be able to combine the two ideals described above.

And is there no likelihood that she will discover in herself resources of healing power the existence of which is at present but dimly realised? The age that has gone by scoffed at the healing miracles related in the New Testament. The present has become at least curious about them.

With the development of this neglected gift and the creation of a society which should make itself responsible for the ministry of physical as well as spiritual need, we shall at last arrive at some kind of incarnation of the Divine Physician.

THE CHURCH SOCIALIST MAGAZINE

Anglo-Catholic Congress Special Number

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THE REDEMPTION OF MAN—Bishop Gore's address to the May Meeting of the League.

BEER'S HISTORY OF BRITISH SOCIALISM—Maurice B. Reckitt.

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The Roman State successfully wrecked Christianity by nationalising it—i.e., it was brought under State supervision and was thus controlled. Thus Christianity, the religion of rebellious slaves, became State Christianity, the weapon of the ruling-class.—WILLIAM PAUL.

Our Humiliation.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

The simultaneous publication in the "Manchester Guardian," "Herald," and "Daily News," on Saturday last, of the astounding document brought back from Moscow by the journalists who accompanied the Labour delegation marks the crowning humiliation of the people of this country, and deals a most fatal blow at what little respect there was left for the dignity of Parliament and the integrity of statesmen. Since the armistice, the British public has tamely submitted to an orgy of political dishonesty unparalleled in the history of representative government; it had submitted to this largely because of its ignorance of its own affairs and its dependence upon a venal Press for its information. But surely the sensational exposure of last weekend will at last rouse our people to a sense of their responsibility, and compel them to take a little more interest in the affairs of their country, and a little less interest in the acrobatic feats of Mlle. Lenglen and the absurd advertising "stunts" of film stars.

Most readers of the "Crusader" will be aware of the sordid story of intrigue and deliberate lying contained in this document, but it may be well briefly to set out the main facts in what "A.G.G." truly describes as the most audacious and colossal act of treason in our annals. The story should begin with the following declaration made by Mr. Winston Churchill to the House of Commons on July 30th, 1919:—

"I defy anyone to show a single commitment or obligation which I have been personally responsible for creating, on behalf of this country, with regard to interference, intervention, or intercourse with Russia during the present period of war."

Nearly three months before that statement was made, Mr. Churchill had been in secret conference in London with the Tsarist General Golovin and other "White" Russian generals, and had made himself responsible for a series of commitments every one of which was a direct defiance of the expressed will of the people as expressed in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister. A report of the results of these conferences was drawn up by Lieut.-General Golovin on May 6th, 1919, and forwarded to M. Sazonoff, the late Tzar's Foreign Minister. It is this report which, after having been sent round to the various invading armies which were seeking to overthrow the Russian Republic, was captured by the Reds and stored in the archives of the Soviet Commissariat for Foreign Affairs at Moscow. The curious thing about the sensational affair is that none of the Soviet propagandists seem to have realised the full significance of the document until it was discovered by the journalists. But the exposure comes with even greater authority in the present circumstances, and whatever official explanations may be attempted, the authenticity of the report cannot be questioned.

General Golovin commences his report by complaining that owing to difficulties experienced at the Yudenitch front he "found it necessary to enter into direct relations with the War Secretary Churchill," but that tact had to be exercised in view of the fact that "Churchill was all the time very careful to avoid meeting Russian war representatives—being afraid of criticism on the part of the left elements and perhaps on the part of Mr. George." And so a memorandum was drawn up and presented to Sir Samuel Hoare who undertook to deliver it before Mr. Churchill. Eventually Mr. Churchill invited General Golovin to a personal interview which took place presumably on May 5th, 1919, during which conversations had taken place between the Russian general and prominent War Office officials, the result of which was that arrangements were made to "collect at once all the officers and soldiers willing to fight against the Bolsheviks" and to send them off to Archangel to Koltchak and Denikin. "All this could be done," adds the report, "under the cover of the Red Cross."

Mr. Churchill "displayed extreme kindness" to the writer of the report. He explained that "until now he was unable to meet the higher representatives of the Russian Army, for the sole reason that in the interests of the cause itself and owing to the political conditions of the moment, he had to keep secret of many things." The Russian general "earnestly asked" to "keep our relations and conversation in full and strict confidence." This was the following amazing statement:—

In his reply Churchill told me: (1) The question of giving armed support was, for him, the most difficult one; THE REASON FOR THIS WAS THE OPPOSITION OF THE BRITISH WORKING-CLASS TO ARMED INTERVENTION. But even in this matter without promising anything, he would try to help. HE HAD DECLARED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS THAT FRESH FORCES WERE NECESSARY FOR THE PURPOSE OF EVACUATING THE NORTH. HE WOULD SEND UNDER THIS PRETEXT, UP TO 10,000 VOLUNTEERS WHO WOULD REPLACE THE WORN-OUT UNITS, ESPECIALLY THE DEMORALISED AMERICAN AND FRENCH TROOPS. HE WOULD POSTPONE THE ACTUAL EVACUATION FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD BUT WILL NOT SPEAK ABOUT THIS. He agrees upon the help of the newly-arrived British troops being actively manifested. In case of further advance by Admiral Koltchak, he would be willing to give active support to the left flank; he does not reject the possibility of help to Yudenitch on the right flank. IN SHORT, HE WILL DO ALL HE CAN, BUT AGAIN HE ADDED THAT THE SUCCESS OF OUR COMMON CAUSE DEMANDED GREAT SECRECY."

In addition to this, Mr. Churchill promised to send 2,500 volunteers to Denikin "under cover of instructors and technical troops, and if these fight side by side with us against the Bolsheviks."

will, of course, be natural." Material support "to the fullest possible extent" was also guaranteed by Mr. Churchill. "For this he intends to ask for 24 million pounds sterling for the supply of all our fronts, and if the circumstances require it, he is willing to supply armaments and other materials for the Northern Army and for General Yudenitch for another £100,000. The dishonourable arrangement previously made by General Golovin to take advantage of the Red Cross was endorsed by Mr. Churchill. The last chapter in this wretched story is told in the following extract from the report:—

"The general impression which I received during this conversation exceeded all my expectations. In Churchill we have not only a man who sympathises with us but also an energetic and active friend . . . Churchill told me that in all Russian questions he recognised only Admiral Koltchak, that no measures are taken by him without his consent. AMONG OTHER STATEMENTS HE EXPRESSED HIMSELF THUS: 'I AM MYSELF CARRYING OUT KOLTCHAK'S ORDERS' . . ."

That is the indictment. I write before any official reply has been made; but whatever reply there may be, nothing can alter the fact that in spite of the fact that the Cabinet decided in February, 1919, to evacuate North Russia, it was not until the end of September, when all hope of crushing the Red Army had vanished, that Mr. Churchill carried out the instructions of the Government. "A.G.G." declares that Mr. Lloyd George had full knowledge of the whole intrigue. If that be true, then our humiliation is indeed complete.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

PUBLIC MEETING

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On the Investment of Money.

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Social-democracy does not represent a party, but humanity. The party of the disinherited is the party of the disinterested, is the party of impartial truth.—DIETZGEN.

What is Revolu

We are often asked the question which heads this article. And the question is difficult to answer, for the simple reason that Revolutionary Christianity is nothing new, but just the Christianity with which most of us are familiar.

Some people imagine they can make the teaching of the New Testament more impressive by leaving out all the really startling things and contenting themselves with a few moral sentiments.

Creeds and Sacraments.

Revolutionary Christianity is not a truncated Christianity. It is in those very things which many outside the Church have agreed to regard as non-essential that the volcanic energy lies.

You may or may not accept the dogma of the incarnation, but you can scarcely deny that it is a tremendous assertion which Christians have been making for 19 centuries that Jesus was God. It may seem incredible, but it can scarcely seem tame. The story of the crucifixion may remind you of heathen myths in which some victim was sacrificed for the tribe or nation. But at any rate it does not remind you of a sitting of the Church Congress or a Nonconformist tea meeting. And however impossible a fairy story may appear the narrative of the resurrection, it is, after all, more like a fairy story than a page of Hansard. And while you may not be moved by the prospect of a Judgment Day, you will grant that the idea is more exciting than the proceedings of the Police Court. For pure sensationalism it is impossible to beat the creeds.

And so with the whole sacramental system. Declare if you will that it lowers your conception of God to imagine that He is mediated to you by bread and wine, but you will at least grant that it raises your conception of bread and wine. Say if you like that it is superstitious to associate God specially with a certain building or a certain act of worship, but it cannot be denied that it is amazing that He should be associated with and His presence vouched for in any place or any act.

Revolutionary Christianity is Applied Christianity.

These things, I repeat, are not the bald uninteresting things which we imagine them to be. The reason why they fail to interest us is that we have not ventured to apply them. Revolutionary Christianity is simply the Christianity which has been preached so long applied to actual life, personal and social. It is "the faith once delivered to the saints" believed with fervent conviction and

brought into contact with the world as it is. We have regarded the matters with which the Church deals as archæological curiosities, and most of us are too busy these strenuous days to be interested in archæology. We want something alive, relevant, challenging. And the discovery is now made that the facts of the Christian revelation, if true, are the most damning indictment of the present world order that anyone could make, and that they contain directions for refashioning Society more daring than those of any party in existence.

Revolutionary Christianity is Uncompromising Christianity.

But when I speak of applied Christianity I must be understood to mean applied relentlessly, uncompromisingly. We can exempt no authority from the Challenge of the Faith. The church itself is not exempt. The Book of Revelation, which is also the Book of Revolution, describing the judgment of the world, opens with a series of indictments against the Church. We cannot spare even the institution which bears the name of Christ and of which we ourselves are members. Rather on us falls the first and sharpest blows.

The pretensions of the State have no weight with us. Revolutionary Christianity is seditious. It cannot help being so. It is openly out to subjugate every political association to itself. Monarchy, aristocracy, democracy must pass the bar of judgment. We frankly declare that our ultimate loyalty is not given to the State. The assertions so often made that military necessity or political requirements or economic laws demand courses which violate the principles of applied Christianity cannot be allowed to stand. The calculations made as to the terrible consequences which would follow the uncompromising application of those principles are not relevant. We are not concerned with consequences. That is His business who commands us. Especially are we concerned to apply our Christianity to the material conditions of life. That God became incarnate means for us that His Spirit must be embodied in the actual substance of our civilisation. We do not want a Christianity which puts a frill round ugliness and sordidness and destitution. We want that which will enter into the warp and woof of our everyday life.

The End of Exploitation.

That means, for one thing, the end of exploitation. Christ came, in God's name, to serve mankind. He claimed no special privileges. He asked

y Christianity?

nothing for Himself that He did not ask for all. To believe that is to be compelled to oppose the systematic robbery of the workers which goes on to-day. The wrong which is here noted is beyond the reach of philanthropy or of higher wages; it is a systematic wrong inherent in the very character of Capitalist society, and it cannot be remedied until we build up an order in which the means of life shall be vested in the whole community, and every individual life shall be revered as an end in itself.

That not only means that Capitalism must go; it means that Imperialism—which is the exploitation of weak nations by strong—must also go. That which is wrong in a single Capitalist living on the labours of others is not made right when the case becomes that of a whole nation growing rich at the expense of the weaker nations and races.

The Last Shall be First.

The resurrection and ascension of Jesus teach us that superior spiritual authority will assert itself and win its throne in spite of all the forces of militarism and the subtle diplomacy of ecclesiastics. We are willing to trust that law for securing order in social and international life. They that are last shall come to the front—not by self-assertion but by that will which ordains that he who would be first must be the servant of all. Supremacy that is won and maintained by force and not by the inherent qualities of those claiming it betrays its own lack of authority. This involves on our part a willingness to forego the right to self-assertion which the law might give us. It means that we must face a world, unprepared to receive our message, without bitterness, and without any attempt to vindicate ourselves by coercive measures. Our victory must be won by methods consistent with the utmost freedom—physical, intellectual, moral—of those we win.

Test the Faith!

That, in brief, is what we mean by Revolutionary Christianity. It is just the old Christianity uncompromisingly applied. We are willing to test the validity of our faith by putting it on trial. Christianity has so far failed because its amazing principles have never been more than timidly applied. The principles of self-interest materialistically interpreted seemed a better guarantee of happiness. Self-interest and materialism have now failed us. The fallacy of this world's wisdom is written in blood across the earth. Can anyone doubt that this failure invites us to try the neglected method of faith and love?

The Religion of Revolt.

Christianity has come to be regarded as the weapon of the exploiters. It has been employed to enforce the duty of submission. When the Holy Alliance held its secret congress in Vienna in 1822, the third article of their treaty read as follows:—"Convinced that the principles of religion (meaning Christianity) contribute most powerfully to keep nations in that state of passive obedience which they owe to their princes, the high contracting parties declare it their intention to sustain in their respective states those measures which the clergy may adopt with the aim of ameliorating their own interests, which are so intimately connected with the preservation of the authority of princes."

The Church and the Religious Press are being used deliberately for the same purpose to-day. In consequence, the responsibility of revolt has fallen to the lot of the unchurched. It is among them that is found the banner of militant idealism. It is they who are redeeming mankind from the crime of acquiescence and keeping alive the vision of the prophets. We have, therefore, to correct this misunderstanding of the Faith. Its association with plausible Timidity and unscrupulous policy must be broken. The Church must become again, what it once was, a body dangerous to the designs of reactionary statesmen. The chanting of its creeds must become the death-knell of Tyranny. Its altars must signal from city to city the message of revolt. Its hymns shall ring out as the battle songs of the marching proletariat. Men shall learn to sing the Magnificat as now they sing "The Red Flag." The Church itself shall seem as menacing to the hireling scribes of Mammon as does now the Third International. Only so can we justify, in an age such as this, our continued allegiance to the Nazarene. If He be not the Leader of Revolt, then it is true that His day is done, and the sectaries of revolution must carry on the struggle unaided by the message and inspiration of Christian faith. Better to perish with them in the last ditch of some forlorn hope of revolution than to rot in the pews of a servile Church!

As far back as history goes, society has always been divided into two great divisions, the Rulers and the Ruled. . . . If the Rulers know that the workers will not fight each other, no war will ever be declared.—KEIR HARDIE.

Work, the Redeemer.

The world's salvation, we are told, depends on increased production. The gospel of work is being preached with evangelical fervour, the gravity of the situation giving urgency to the message. "Europe and the world," said Mr. Hoover, "are actually in the face of one of the gravest dangers which has ever overtaken mankind."

The Labour movement, generally speaking, seems to view work as a necessary evil which we must use all our powers to decrease. Certain Socialists have also taken this view. "The Right to be Lazy," by Paul Lafargue, is written from this standpoint. Other Socialists have been more far-seeing. Says Dietzgen:

"Work is the name of the new Redeemer. Christ made a great number of proselytes long before the Church was established, so did in many centuries the new redeemer. Work, before he could in our present age think to ascend the throne and to take the sceptre into his hand. Now he is endowed with the attributes of the Godhead, with power and knowledge. He did not come to his glory in an immaculate and miraculous way. He is born in pains, and grown up in struggle and affliction and sorrow. Although it is he who civilises man and cares for him and comes with the promise to fully release him from the bonds of slavery and actually shows him the longed-for new land from afar, yet the crown of thorns is on his brow and the cross of contempt on his shoulders."

Labour is pictured on the one hand as a tyrant sapping the strength of men, and on the other hand as the Deliverer to whom we are to look for the renewing of the world.

Both these views are correct.

Work is to-day the dread enemy of all that is finest in human nature. It blunts the mental powers, robs us of self-expression, exhausts our physical powers, crucifies our bodies. The sight of a crowd of factory-hands in one of our large manufacturing towns is a damning indictment of work under present conditions.

On the other hand, work is capable, not only of relieving the world's urgent material means, but, at the same time, of becoming the means of man's spiritual deliverance.

The increased production demanded is not to be obtained by an increase in the number of hours of labour. The law of diminishing returns forbids that. Beyond a certain point, an increase of hours means a decrease of production. In order to bring about improvement, both as regards quality and quantity, the motive of work must be changed. It is this motive power that Capitalism has neglected, and, in neglecting, landed us in a cul-de-sac.

To get the best out of men you must give responsibility and invite initiative. Wage-slavery denies this. It treats Labour as a commodity and men as "hands," with the result that the personality

of the workers is depressed. They cannot put their hearts and minds into their labour. Economic necessity fails to tap the deeper sources of human power. Only a system which respects the personality of those engaged will do that. You can buy the worker's muscle, and you may even purchase his brain-power, but no money ever coined will put you into possession of his good-will, and it is his good-will which is the real driving-force of industry.

Moreover, you must give him some assurance as to the social value of his labour. "Wot's the good of 'urryin' when you aint going nowhere?" asked the recruit who was being marched up and down the parade-ground. To supply the luxuries of the rich, to be engaged in work made necessary by bad organisation, work that duplicates the labour of others; to be engaged on forging or transporting weapons of destruction is not an inspiring task. A great deal of work at present goes nowhere and effects no real social good. Change this and you will awaken new powers, physical and mental.

Thus the demand for increased production followed up to its logical conclusions involves a complete change in our social and economic system. And industry organised on these lines would not only supply that for lack of which Europe dies of starvation, but also becomes Man's Deliverer from Fear and Futility. Work as it may become will afford opportunity for the creative instinct. It will restore self-respect. It will keep us in contact with actualities, save us from academic vanities. It will even save us from war. For, as Miss Willcocks says:

"The man who wrests a livelihood in the darkness of a mine, or among the power-driven engines feels that his day's work supplies sufficient calls upon his courage and endurance to keep him manly. He feels, too, in his consciousness of class unity a sense of brotherhood which though less showy, is quite as real and even more generous than the camaraderie of a regiment. If he lives at grips with real life in times of peace the prospect of exhilarating work and watching in the trenches will leave a soldier cold."

Let me quote Dietzgen again:

"What authorises the people to believe in salvation from the long ages of torture—nay, not only to believe in but to see it, and actively to strive for, is the fairy-like productive power, the prodigious fertility of human labour."

Capitalism has interpreted Labour in terms of mechanism only, and it has, therefore, failed to fulfil the hopes of which Dietzgen speaks. When we learn that it is not mere blind production for any thing, for anyone, or under any conditions, which is required, but that man's spiritual nature must be respected in industry, we shall discover that in work is our Redeemer from physical, mental, and moral damnation. Before work can become the Redeemer it must itself be redeemed from the curse of Capitalism.

The Communist Spirit in New Zealand.

By J. R. SULLIVAN.

Quite recently Rev. J. W. Burton, M.A., at present in Victoria, and formerly of New Zealand and Fiji, visited this country. All Socialists should read his books, "The Call of the Pacific" and "The Fiji of To-day," both rich contributions to the social history of Australasia. Burton's work for the emancipation of the indentured Hindus of Fiji stamps him as a determined enemy of exploitation. He is more than that. His passion to destroy capitalism springs from the fact that he is a serious disciple of the Greatest Revolutionist, Jesus the Nazarene.

While in England, he was asked his opinion of conditions here. He replied, "A bomb of Bolshevism would do a world of good." Now this apparently terrorist statement is thoroughly colonial and quite consistent with the sentiments of the average colonial.

In his youth he was trained in Communism, for in no country—save, of course, Russia—has the "Bolshevist" spirit (meaning by that the Communist spirit), so firm a grip as in New Zealand. It is quite true that the term "Bolshevist" is abhorrent to the well-off in New Zealand, nevertheless New Zealand is a "Bolshevist" land.

Her early history is soaked in Communism. When the rude Hawaiian discoverers and founders of the colony made "Aotea Roa" their island home they established the commune—the pā—as the very centre of their crude economic life and government. And so cleverly adapted to the natural surroundings was the economic life of the Maoris, that many of the first settlers who lived amongst them became champions of the social order which found room for them and which used them. The scattered tribes, all more or less independent, were forced to concentrate within the larger area all efforts necessary for their separate existence. This tribal rivalry ceased, as, gradually, white men, settling amongst the various tribes, brought about friendly relations. The general result was that the white race eventually accepted the same social organisation. Even to-day, wherever in New Zealand one goes, the spirit of Communist division and collective activity is everywhere apparent. All over the country are co-operative producing societies, co-operative cheese, butter and dried milk factories, co-operative stores—the very existence of which is made necessary by the fact that, from its savage beginning to its present cultural standard, New Zealand has followed the lead of the early "pakeha" settlers who had learned of the native pioneer.

The basic laws of the country are communistic in spirit and application. The growth of city life is giving, unfortunately, the dominance to financial interests, so, specially during the war, the legislation of the country has been very reactionary. Toryism has ruled the country. But this rule can be only temporary, for side by side with the communistic spirit of the small farmer-producer there is the growing spirit of Socialism among the town workers. The mutual hatred of trusts and rings has made inevitable the union between this native Communism and Socialism. This is shown by the fact that in several of the farming electorates men who are called moderate labour men are representatives in the Assembly.

Men like Henry Holland and Robert Semple (who was, however, defeated at the last election) represent some of the city constituencies. Holland and Semple are noted rebels; men who have been loyal all their thinking days to

the International spirit. It is they, who, like Lenin, will use the peasant organisations and harmonise the ideals of the worker and of the farmer in one organisation—an entirely different thing from the present Parliamentary system which in New Zealand has entirely lost its efficiency.

A superficial knowledge of the country may lead one to conclude that the people are still satisfied with the existing order of society; but to those of us who know both the worker and the farmer, and understand their economic interdependence, the future of New Zealand is entirely bound up with the establishment of the Communist or "Bolshevist" state.

The Advances to Settlers Act, the working idea of Sir Joseph Ward (himself no Socialist) has resulted in the forming of a peasant proprietorship. Like Lenin, the Revolutionary leaders in New Zealand regard this system of tenure as the best possible until the farmers themselves are persuaded that Socialism is better.

New Zealand has railways, mines, and thousands of acres of land—all administered by the State. Some of the best virgin land is held by the State and cannot be acquired by landholders. A graduated land tax holds in check the aggregation of large estates. Still by the "State," as at present organised in New Zealand, is meant something vastly different from the Communist State. New Zealand is a Capitalist State, controlling, in the interests of the few and not for the people, the natural resources of the country. But the transition from State Socialism to Communism is manifestly simple, and although the present Government may violate the laws and dispose—as it did during the war—of some of the Crown lands, yet the showing thus of the hand of Capitalism stimulates the spirit of revolt and therefore determines the new order of Communism. State Socialism has failed miserably in New Zealand; as it must fail everywhere. Only Revolution which gives control and administration to the people can establish, for the nation's good, all industries, sources of production, and natural wealth. Communism is the next social development in New Zealand, and she cannot but accept it. Let those who talk so much of State enterprise on reformist lines, reflect that in New Zealand which is specially favoured for social experiments, State control has completely failed to benefit the masses. Rather has it been a splendid tool in the hands of capitalism. No real good comes from compromise. Only the revolution which completely destroys capitalism can clear the way, and create the conditions in which Socialism according to the Bolshevik school can be established. New Zealand is sick of reformist government. For twenty years it has tried it; and the people are oppressed with heavy taxation and exploited by big interests. She looks to-day to the social revolution—the inevitable outcome of which will be a State on Russian Bolshevik or Communist lines.

You can materially assist us if you will arrange for the sale of the "Crusader" at any Conferences, Congresses, or large public meetings in your locality.

History stands still because she gathers force for a great catastrophe.—DIETZGEN.

Bookland. Sermons in Stones.

There are other books than novels which one is tempted to begin by turning to the last pages. "Man and His Buildings" by T. S. Atlee, A.R.I.B.A. (Swarthmore Press, 6s. net), is one of them. Mr. Atlee's earlier chapters are on Egyptian, Greek, and Roman architecture. The next section deals with Gothic, following which he has something to say concerning the classic revival. The general readers' interest in the buildings of the past will, however, be greatly quickened when he has read what Mr. Atlee has to say about those which he passes every day. "From the known to the unknown." We can trace the connection between a slave society and a certain type of architecture better after our author has pointed out why Capitalism builds in such and such a way. And so, at the risk of being howled down, I would say, to anyone not particularly excited about architecture but thrillingly alive to the ugliness and meanness of modern civilisation, begin at the end of this book. A passage like this will make you think about brick and mortar in terms of social and moral values.

Villadom.

"The purpose of the shop is not primarily housing or warehousing, just as the purpose of the newspaper is not primarily the giving of news; in each case it is advertisement."

"Now in pre-capitalist times men's buildings taught indeed and insisted and beckoned, but not to proclaim men's own proficiencies; and their theme was prophecy, not profits. It is the difference between the preacher and the cheap-jack—the theme is everything, the test sincerity."

"In domestic architecture the same character is apparent, but in a less pronounced degree. In suburban dwellings snobbery is the principal motive. Here are rows and rows of villas at £60 trying to look like their betters at £80—not unsuccessfully till you see their backs from the railway. In each there is a front room with walnut suite of furniture, photogravures after Maud Goodman, Elsley, Blair Leighton. Not only the outsides are identical, the insides are similar—in none is there any aim apparent but that of making the best possible show, an exhibition of "substitutes" scarcely distinguishable (it is hoped) from the real article. In all the best room by far is the kitchen. There utility is the guiding motive—making a show is of less importance than making a pudding. Things there are made to be used, furniture, utensils, fittings have been chosen because they were useful, and as a result the impression that is made is an impression of satisfaction, of interest and comfort—here is action, not acting. Scarcely anywhere else in the house do the needs and preferences of the inhabitants come out; the little houses are expressionless. But it would be a grave error to suppose that because these little pads of bricks do not express the personality of their occupier, there is no personality to express. Every dweller all down the street has his unique point of view, his pet projects, his ideas of himself, and of his neighbours—grotesque, fantastic, appealing, at any rate supremely interesting; but he cannot express them through his surroundings."

Still better as an illustration of the author's method of tracing a connection between a style of architecture, and the economic conditions under which it is produced take this contrast between

The Sky-scraper and the Cathedral!

"The distinctive feature of modern civilisation is the emphasis that it lays on production, and above all produc-

tion for profit. As in the past in any view of the town the cathedral dominated it and expressed the prevailing influence of religion, so to-day the sky-scraper dominates the new town and proclaims the supremacy of industry (compare Amiens or Beauvais with New York or Chicago). In an industrial town the dwellings of the workers who support and vitalise the huge factories lie round about these factories, just as the old houses clustered round the churches which their owners had raised and beautified and in which they worshipped."

Having digested these criticisms of modern building, the appetite is whetted for exploring the working out of the same connection in the dim recesses of the past. And turning back the pages we discover why in Ancient Egypt the Pyramids assumed this shape, why the interiors of Egyptian temples were dark, why those of Greece, on the contrary, were open to the light and the sweep of the winds. The perfection within certain limits of Greek art is explained by reference to the social conditions prevailing. Rome's militarism and Rome's buildings are shown to be related. The spiritual significance of Gothic is interpreted, and in many other ways we are enabled to read those sermons in stones which every generation has preached to its successors.

Art and Social Conditions.

Mr. Atlee goes so far as to say that before we can get good art we must revolutionise society. "It is a hard lesson" he says,

"For the architect to learn that if he is to recover beauty he must turn his face from it; that those who are creating it are not students of art, but students of sociology; that it follows the achievement of social righteousness and follows nothing else; that if he runs a boys' club in the evening, or fags at local government, or even shouts at street corner meetings, he is doing more to advance his calling than all he attains in his hours at the drawing-board; finally that if he serves the Labour movement, he is effecting more than if he employs any number of labourers. For one of the essential conditions of beauty in architecture is Freedom, and until the worker is free the very best work that is done must be second best."

As Mr. Atlee points out, Ruskin and Morris realised this and the latter "turned from the handicraft he loved to the agitation and organisation he hated, to the stupidity of crowds, the irritability of revolutionaries, all the inevitable meannesses that make the best causes hard to stick to, and that test their adherents more than the most ferocious persecution." It will be seen that the author of this volume can write. Fortunately his pages are not loaded with technical terms and those unversed in the mysteries of architecture can enjoy the book in spite of their ignorance. The freshness of the theme and the style of the writer should ensure a wide public for this particular issue of "The Christian Revolution Series."

Any person under the age of thirty who, having any knowledge of the existing social order, is not a revolutionist, is an inferior.—BERNARD SHAW.

Correspondence.

"THE DOMESTIC REVOLUTION."

Dear Editor,

June 23, 1920.

I have read with a very great measure of interest the article by "Peter the Hermit" in your issue of June 18th, entitled "The Domestic Revolution," and I am constrained to ask you if this letter, in which I have written views upon the question of the development of relations between men and women which have lain in my mind for a long time, but which I have, excusably enough perhaps in view of the prejudice existing in the minds of most people on such a question, refrained from expressing, may be published in your columns? Peter the Hermit encourages one to pursue a discussion, and I feel that to remain silent on a matter which is of very great interest, not only to me as one woman, but to all women, would be cowardly.

I followed Peter the Hermit's article right through to the point where he (or she?) ventured to expound what might be the Christian line of development of domestic relations between men and women with every disposition to agree. It is, however, where the analogy is drawn of Christ the Bridegroom that I diverge. That analogy has reference to Christ and His Church; but Peter the Hermit assumes that the application of the analogy to human affairs is to be found in the relation of the husband to his wife. Such an application would appear to be somewhat arbitrarily drawn. True, Christ declared Himself the Bridegroom of the Church, but of the Church as a whole. He would not be spoken of as the Bridegroom of St. Paul's Cathedral, for instance, or any other single church. Correspondingly, therefore, the application of the analogy should, it seems to me, be sought rather in the relation of man to woman as a whole, and not to the relation of an individual man to one wife. For it would seem that, in our present society, in which women greatly out-number men, this wider application of the sacramental aspect of the marriage relation is not only permissible, or probably the right one; but that it is actually the inevitably essential and unmistakably right one. At present our monogamous system of marriage denies to at least half our women the right of marriage at all. It is as if the Bridegroom cut off half the churches of Christendom, and declared that they could have no part in union with Him. So much for the basis of the application of the analogy of Christ the Bridegroom, and the plane, as it were, of the sacramental relationship between men and women in marriage upon which Peter the Hermit founds his theory of the line of Christian development of marriage.

But one may perhaps introduce the moral issue as having an important bearing upon the Christian theory of marriage: an issue which has a claim to be considered in the interests of the health and wholesomeness of social life, if not in the interests of the happiness and contentment and welfare of the units of society. The ruling factor in the situation is the fact that women out-number men by at least two to one, and our monogamous system of marriage therefore creates a condition in which men are sought after by women with quite unhealthy zest. All women have an equal right to aspire to marry, and they in fact exercise this right with such energy that society is cursed by the excessive degree in which women cultivate and practise the arts of competition. Such abnormality amounts to nothing less than a social disease morally and spiritually, and when one reflects upon the prevalence of illicit love, the inevitable result of the denial to large numbers of women of participation in marriage, one recognises the danger physically as well. We have no right to expect one woman more than another to forego her ambition to marry and become a mother of men. Making all allowance for certain women who do not desire marriage, the majority do desire it, and as economic conditions alter, will increasingly desire it.

Now, Peter the Hermit hints that the antithesis of monogamy is lust, but surely it will not seriously be maintained that this is necessarily so. Whether the alternative be polygamy or free love, neither can be said to be necessarily lust. And in any case, the protagonists of monogamy have no right to cast that stone, for I would assert that monogamy cannot claim to be a safeguard of morality. How many people

would honestly deny that men and women under the cloak of marriage are living in a state of extreme immorality, indulging in altogether unrestrained licence? I would even further challenge the morality of monogamy on the ground that when the love that brought two together ceases to exist, continued association of the two becomes immoral; and that, love being the sanction for marriage, to deny it whenever and between whomsoever it exists is equally immoral.

Peter the Hermit suggests also that regard for the welfare of the children is the final issue which demands the life-time association of one man and woman, the parents of those children. There is nothing in polygamy or free love which need part the father or the mother from his or her children, or diminish their care for them. Young children will always need the mother most; and the school demands the older child for the greater part of its life. The only danger to the welfare of the children is the selfishness of the parents, and that has nothing to do with the particular type of domestic establishment that is set up.

On the other hand, does monogamy provide a faultless safeguard for the interests of the children? Are not excessive licence, illicit love, mothers overburdened with too many children, all conditions of monogamic marriage, very serious menaces to the welfare of children, both physically and morally? One might say much more, if one did not fear to protract this letter to too great length. But I feel that an open discussion of this question might perhaps be most helpful in ventilating a very uncomfortable and distressing state of affairs, and also in removing from our minds any serious error in thought. I trust therefore that you, dear Editor, will either allow this letter to appear in your columns, or perhaps invite a discussion on the subject through your paper.—Yours sincerely, Dora M. Henwood.

[The writer of this letter in regarding as "the ruling factor in the situation" the fact that "women out-number men by at least two to one" is basing her argument on conditions that are not natural but have been created by war and other social evils. As a matter of fact, as many male as female children are born. To allow conditions thus created to change the relation of the sexes is as if we made murder an excuse for cannibalism. Would it not be better for men and women to unite to abolish those evils which have placed women in the position in which they are to-day?—Ed.]

"TO ABOLISH WAR."

Rev. Thomas Phillips, B.A., of Bloomsbury Central Church, writes:—

"With the best intentions in the world you are wrong. The chief thing that attracted many of us who are of your view is that we demanded full disarmament of all nations. The international police is only in Mr. Stead's view a means towards that, or rather a substitute for it until all the world becomes pacifist. His passion for peace is as great as yours. Read his book and you will see. Of course, I protested to him against the police. But he wanted to do something and as far as I know we were the first to approach the Government—and I think prayer was answered. I have determined to hit for peace wherever I can, whether I can swallow the programme of my allies or not. I eat the bread and fling away the grit. To make England sober I would back up everything from Public House Reform to Prohibition, and to abolish the curse of war I would back everybody from Herbert Stead to Theodora Wilson Wilson. But the curse of it all is that so few do anything and I could not fail to back up an appeal for complete disarmament. God bless you."

Conscious, systematic organisation of social labour is the redeemer of modern times.—DIETZGEN.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

TO PROVINCIAL SPEAKERS.—If any speakers not living in London would be willing to give help in our propaganda work for even a few days during the next three months, we should be very grateful. The secretary has been asked to give help in other parts of the country, but that can only be arranged if additional assistance can be obtained in London. We should gladly provide hospitality for any speakers who are willing to aid us in our work. We are glad to say that Mrs. Stevens, of Dovercourt, is already speaking for us.

OPEN AIR MISSION. One or two changes have been made in the times and places of meetings, as will be seen in the following list:—**FRIDAY**, July 9th:—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch: Marjory Bonar, Basil Tritton; at 8 p.m., Walthamstow, Hoe Street: C. Paul Gliddon; at 8 p.m., Kilburn, The Grangeway: Ivy Sheldon, Dorothy Stevens. **SATURDAY**, 10th:—At 8 p.m., Ealing Broadway, corner of Offord Road: Alfred Cordell. **SUNDAY**, 11th:—At noon, Leytonstone, The Green Man: C. Paul Gliddon; at 3.30 p.m., Hampstead, outside Jack Straw's Castle: Marjory Bonar, Dorothy Stevens; at 8.15 p.m., Tottenham, outside the Friends' Meeting House: H. W. Green. **MONDAY**, 12th:—At 8 p.m., Leytonstone, outside The Green Man: C. Paul Gliddon. **TUESDAY**, 13th:—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch: Alfred Cordell, Dorothy Stevens; at 8 p.m., Forest Gate: C. Paul Gliddon, A. White; at 8 p.m., Clapton, corner of Kenninghall Road and Upper Clapton Road: H. W. Green, E. Alcock Rush. **WEDNESDAY**, 14th:—Catford, near Town Hall: Horace Fuller, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. **THURSDAY**, 15th:—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon; Kentish Town: corner of Leighton Road and Kentish Town Road: Rev. R. W. Sorensen; Whitechapel, corner of Sydney Street and Whitechapel High Street: Rev. Frank Fincham. **FRIDAY**, 16th:—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch: Rev. H. Chalmers, Alfred Cordell; at 8 p.m., Walthamstow, Hoe Street: Rev. R. W. Sorensen; at 8 p.m., Kilburn, The Grangeway: Ivy Sheldon, C. Paul Gliddon.

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The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

Our League of Prayer.

It is quite evident that the call to share together in the Fellowship of Prayer has awakened a response in many hearts in the C.C.F. There is a strong wind of desire blowing through the Fellowship, a breath that will carry us into new and daring adventures; this is no journey for the cautious, but a venture in which we may well expect to be led we know not whither, and to find ourselves facing tasks and duties of which we never dreamed. As 850 (Skegness) writes:—"God is blessing the Fellowship, and you will see greater things. One longs to understand more of the spiritual laws." May we not do this as we share our experiences?

Thinking Together.

We of the C.C.F. have always to remember that there are many types of mind among us and that the phraseology used will differ accordingly. The beauty of Fellowship is that, though it is many-sided and many-coloured, like a prism, yet it is one, and irradiated by the one Sun. Thus we have by us a letter from a miner in Newcastle (C.C.F. 829) who says:—"I have so little time at present; we are so very busy and it is late before I get home at nights. But our prayers are for every success to the paper with its glad tidings of the Fatherhood of God, and of the true fellowship of all." And beside it one from a home-keeper in the heart of Devonshire (C.C.F. 817) who adds to her letter accepting the responsibility of making a centre of Fellowship in her district, this:—"I am a great believer in silent prayer, an out-and-out New Thoughtist, firmly of opinion that Co-operative Thought of every kind will help bring in the Kingdom of Heaven on this beautiful earth." 5119 (Nottingham) believes that "Christian Fellowship is the only means of attaining that ideal to which the world is striving, and the ultimate Kingdom of Heaven will arrive only by that means. If I can therefore do anything," he says, "to further the cause, or be of assistance to any Fellow, I shall only be too glad to offer my help and experience."

Some Difficulties.

How clearly 2796 (Mansfield) echoes our thoughts when he says: "In the distractions of everyday life one gets 'out of tune.' I know that a short time for meditation each day would tend to restore one's poise, and get one more in tune with things spiritual; the desire is there, but the will to perform is not always exercised as it should be." While 2395 (New South Wales) wrote us: "The prayer circle appeals very persistently, but I fear to commit myself, because I find it extremely difficult to get time and opportunity for the meditative hour. Whenever possible I retire to my room for an hour after lunch, but an attempt to fix my mind on any subject for meditation sends me to sleep." Again, 1299 (Behar), who has done splendid work in India, says of the League of Prayer: "I don't care to join it. I cannot perhaps tell you just why; the spirit of it I am in perfect sympathy with, and indeed I have been trying to act and live in accordance with it for over twenty-five years. I find that forms are rather a bondage than a help now, though there was a time when I felt differently. It is a purely individual matter and I think we all pass through various phases, each of which has its own most appropriate method. It does not make the least difference to my feelings of sympathy with all who do belong to the League of Prayer and at heart I am entirely with you, though not in form."

Stir into Flame.

There is a smouldering fire in the heart of the C.C.F. Its presence has already done great things. Who shall say what will happen when it leaps into flame?

"Stir me, Oh! stir me, Lord—I care not how,
But stir my heart in passion for the world;
Stir me to give, to go, but **most to pray.**

"Stir me, Oh! stir me, Lord, till all my heart
Is filled with strong compassion for these souls,
Till Thy compelling 'must' drives me to pray.

Till Thy constraining Love reach to the poles
Far North and South, in burning, deep desire,
Till East and West are caught in Love's great fire.

"Stir me, Oh! stir me, Lord, for I can see
Thy glorious triumph day begin to break;
The dawn already gilds the Eastern sky;

Oh, watching ones, arise, awake! awake!
Oh! stir us, Lord, 'as heralds of the day,
For night is past—our King is on His way."

Further particulars of the League of Prayer will be gladly sent to anyone interested, on receipt of a stamped addressed envelope.

Introductions.

5413 (Birch Island, B.C.), who has been in Canada 16 years, describes himself as a "common dub," "no scholar, but scholarly subjects interest me." He is a stationmaster, "interested in everything except mechanics and mathematics." He hopes to be able to cheer some lonely person.

Fellowship Wanted.

Will 354 (Cheltenham) link with 850 (Skegness) who is much interested in all forms of handwork.

5337 (London), aged 26, wishes to link with a young lady who would like to join a Christian Communal Colony. He is a C.O.

5109 (Canterbury) asks if any Fellow could allow him the use of a tent or hut for two or three weeks in August or September, for a moderate sum.

Holidays.

850 (Skegness) will be glad to welcome Fellows from the Midlands and elsewhere to her cottage for a restful holiday, if terms can be arranged.

4001 (Wargrave-on-Thames) offers exchange of holidays with Fellows by the sea; her home is close to the river and station.

4379 and 4380 (Codicote, Herts) would be glad to welcome vegetarians to their cottage for holidays or week-ends. A lovely district for cyclists and ramblers. They hope to provide for camping out also.

Annual Subscriptions and New Members.

We acknowledge, with thanks, the following annual subscriptions:—J.W. (Birmingham, 2s. 6d.); E.B.H. (Blackburn, 1s. 6d.); L.B.P. (Codicote, 2s. 6d.); L.M.M. (Codicote, 2s. 6d.); A.B. (Balham, 2s. 6d.); E.R. (Cheltenham, 3s.); E.M.G. (Exeter, 1s. 6d.); A.W. (Bradford, 2s. 6d.); M.F.C. (Knebworth, 1s. 6d.); D.T. (E. Dulwich, 2s. 6d.); S.J.W. (Bexhill, 2s.); M.P. and Q.P. (Bowes Park, 1s. each); J.B. (Herne Bay, 2s.); A.J.P. (Northallerton, 1s. 6d.); M.A.M. (Hackney, 2s. 6d.); E.McG. (Glasgow, 5s.); A.L. (Dormantstown, 2s.); C.S.E. (Hornsey, 2s. 6d.); R.B. (Skegness, 5s.); E.S. (Chalk Farm, 2s. 6d.); J.H.A. (Barnhead, 2s.); E.M.C. (Wargrave, 1s. 6d.).

We welcome the following new members:—G.P. (Gloucester, 5409, 2s. 6d.); C.K. (Aberdeen, 5411, 1s. 6d.).

We acknowledge, with thanks, the following donations to our Literature and Stamp Fund:—A.M.H. (Bilthoven, £1); E.B.H. (Blackburn, 1s. 6d.); A.W. (Bradford, 1s.); W.G.F. (Paignton, 3d.); H.A.C. (Marlborough, 2s. 6d.); R.H. (Fremantle, 3s. 6d.); E.B. (Manchester, 1s.); W.F.L. (Mansfield, 3s.); A.C. (Woolwich, 2s. 6d.); L.R. (Ilfracombe, £1); E.M.D. (Grimsby, 1s.).

SIDELIGHTS.

Our Guest from Vienna.

Miss Edith Crohn sends us the following account of one of the children recently arrived in this country from Austria:—

"She was very tired when she arrived, very hungry and a little tearful. It was not surprising, for she had had a long, hot journey from Sandwich, a hasty meal at St. Martin's-in-the-Field Church Rooms, and then another hour's journey through London. But after she had had a good tea, she recovered with remarkable rapidity, investigated every corner of the house and played ball for an hour in the garden.

"Since then, Helen has shed no more tears, except just a few when she gave us a note from her mother in which she thanked the unknown foster parents in particular and the English in general for their kindness to the children of Vienna.

"It is obvious that Helen's mother has done her very best for her children. There is a little sister of four at home who, Helen proudly tells us, has straight legs, and not rickets like the majority of young Viennese children. "But she won't be any fatter when I go home, like I shall be," Helen explained.

"One fears this is only too true, for the only milk they have is condensed, and that is a ruinous price. The only meat they get is corned beef on Sundays, not every Sunday as it is too expensive. For breakfast they have coffee substitute and black bread—which Helen declares is made with sand—margarine, of course, is out of the question. Mid-day dinner on week days is usually soup and bread and is eaten at one of the relief centres with some hundreds of other children. The last meal of the day is generally something that 'mother has left over from her own dinner.'

"It is little wonder then, that there is still a novelty in being able to eat as much as one wants, or rather as much as is considered good for one. 'For dinner we had fried fish and it tasted lovely (schmeckte prachtvoll); I have also had an egg, which was lovely too,' Helen wrote home to her mother. She wishes her parents could have fish as well as she, but there is none in Vienna, of course.

"Clothes come second in interest. 'They have given me a lovely white nightdress that comes almost to my feet,' wrote Helen, whose wardrobe had not previously contained a nightdress, and who was not overburdened with luggage. When we bought her a hat in place of the very shabby, very ugly one she wore, she embraced and kissed us in the shop. She would have liked to have taken the hat to bed with her that night. Any one who has read of the clothes difficulty in Vienna or has seen how some of the children were dressed on their arrival here, will understand the child's delight.

"To Helen, England is a lovely place; everyone is so kind, she says. She never thought it would be quite so nice. One is glad to know that there are some 500 other children, like Helen, who have received a kindly welcome in England, and that there are others still to come. Now that the first great venture has been made, it is hoped that there will be a ready response to the appeal for more homes, more money and more help. And is it too much to hope that even German children may also learn that there are kind people in England?"

The Church a Receiver of Stolen Property.

The "Statist," a leading financial journal, suggests that in order to pay off the national debts church lands might be confiscated:—

"The real way to recover our standing in the world is very different from that adumbrated by Mr. Chamberlain. We can pay our debts. In this journal we have pointed out frequently several ways in which the debt could be paid off. We content ourselves at present with reminding our readers that there are two great incomes nominally owned by the Church of England and the Church of Scotland; that

these two incomes are held by the two Churches merely on trust from the nation; that we have a perfect right to take up those great incomes and to use them in paying off our debts. . . . Our clear duty is to sell that great property and to deliver ourselves from debt without a moment's delay. The point never to be forgotten is that the whole land of this country belongs to the people of the country; that it was seized in the past by victorious conquerors; that the owners of much of the land were expelled from their territories; and that some of the land was given to the Churches, while other land was given to provide adventurers who enabled the conquerors to bring the United Kingdom under their heels. . . . There is nothing sacred in the ownership of these lands. The persons who granted the lands probably had no real right to the lands. Whether they had or not, they were unscrupulous adventurers and plunderers, and grants made by them hundreds or thousands of years ago have no sanctity and are not binding."

What Would Jesus Do?

We remember during the great revivalist boom some years ago a book tremendously popular in this country was called "In His Steps; or What Would Jesus Do?" The author was the Yankee revivalist Sheldon. According to a Kansas newspaper, Mr. Sheldon was recently asked to "intervene" in the miners' strike. The report contains this tit-bit:—

"Mr. Sheldon approached the leader of the striking miners and asked him if he loved Jesus. The miners' president said, 'Yes.' 'And do you love the governor of the State?' (who had sent troops against the strikers) asked Mr. Sheldon. 'No,' said the miners' president. 'But Jesus teaches you to love your enemies,' persisted Mr. Sheldon. 'That's all right, parson,' said the miners' representative, 'you take that stuff to the governor and see if he'll swallow it and love me.'"

Let us pay our tribute to an honest religionist. Mr. Sheldon saw the point and refused to intervene further.—"The Worker" (Glasgow).

The Irish Women Workers' Union.

The above Union is sending to the British Trade Congress the following resolutions:—

1. The Irish Women Workers' Union believes that the refusal of Irish workers to handle arms and ammunition sent over by the British Government to Ireland involves the whole principle of the workers' right as responsible human beings to refuse any task which they conscientiously believe it to be wrong for them to perform, and that the recognition of this principle is essential to the freedom of the workers everywhere.

This Union asserts the determination of Irish women to stand by the men in the present conflict, and calls upon the British Trade Union Congress to give expression to its faith in democracy and the solidarity of labour by instructing its members to refuse to handle the aforesaid munitions of war.

2. The Irish Women Workers' Union further calls upon the British Trade Union Congress to demand at once that the British Government withdraw the Army of Occupation and offer no further resistance to the establishment of a form of Government in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the Irish people.

How to Tackle the Housing Problem.

The Rhymney Valley Building Guild (S. Wales) has completed arrangements for the erection of 4,000 houses for local authorities and colliery companies. The whole of the schemes represent an estimated expenditure of about £3,600,000.

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The Outlook.

THE fact that General Dyer's methods have been officially condemned does not surprise us so much as the fact that one hundred and twenty-nine members of the House of Commons voted against the condemnation. An examination of the voting list would reveal the fact, we have no doubt, that those who refuse to censure the "hero" of Amritsar were loudest in their condemnation of Prussianism and strongest in their desire to punish German generals for similar excesses. Does the British flag sanctify any deed done under its auspices?

OUR sympathy goes out to General Dyer. He has been made a scapegoat by men whose policy elsewhere is modelled on the same lines as his own. Mr. Churchill, in the course of the debate on Amritsar, remarked: "The British Empire does not need the assistance of such methods. . . . Our rule in India stands on surer foundations." And Ireland—is that true also of Ireland?

IN international matters the policy of procrastination still holds the field. Unable to formulate any boldly constructive scheme for the rehabilitation of Europe, the Allies have resort to

indefinite postponement. M. Krassin has returned home carrying a document which, while superficially conciliatory, is said to contain a number of "snags"—or occasions for still further holding up the question of trade with Russia. At Spa the controversy with Germany is continued along the old lines of bullying and huckstering. Insincerity and the incapacity for anything more than interminable discussion are bringing nearer the entire eclipse of European life.

* * *

THE ingenuity of the Government has found a new plea for holding up recognition of Russia in the statement that Poland, being a member of the League of Nations, will have the support of the Allies in case of invasion. Invasion, in the present uncertainty as to Poland's boundaries, is a term of the vagueness of which full advantage will be taken. But ingenuity and deception have their limits. The determined spirit and the straightforward opposition of the Special Trades Union Congress, if maintained, will effectively counter this move. The General Strike, whatever may be the objection against it, is a cleaner weapon than the art of diplomatic lying, and a more effective one.

* * *

THE Government's Mines Bill, with its proposals to create different wage standards in the various mining areas, has aroused the hostility of the miners. It is not merely foolish; it appears to be unworkable. Perhaps it was not meant to be put into practice. One suspects it may be simply another attempt at postponing issues that sooner or later must be faced.

* * *

A MORE direct attack on Labour is that of the Unemployment Insurance Bill, the object of which is to hand over to capitalist companies the administration of unemployment benefit. A little more legislation of this kind and we shall be back at the period of the Combination Laws, when association of workers was declared illegal,



Tools.

"Man," said Carlyle, "is a tool-using animal. Weak in himself and small of stature, he stands on a basis, at most for the flattest-soled, of some half-square foot,

insecurely enough; he has to straddle out his legs lest the very wind supplants him. Feeblest of bipeds; three quintals are a crushing load for him; the steer of the meadow tosses him aloft like a waste rag. Nevertheless, he can use tools, can make tools. With these the granite mountains melt into light dust before him; he kneads glowing iron as if it were soft paste; seas are his smooth highways; winds and fires his unwearying steeds. Nowhere do we find him without tools; without tools he is nothing; with tools he is all."

The significance of this lies, it would seem, in the fact that in the tool Nature's guns are turned against herself. The ship is wrought out of the forest or the ironstone of the hills. It is upborne by the very element that it is conquering. The spade that turns the soil is wrought out of material supplied by the soil. Man conquers Nature not by destroying her, but by winning her over to his side. If he had but his empty hands and unprotected body he would be beaten; by this method of harnessing the very forces that threaten his puny life, he becomes the master of creation.

It was by the same method that the early Christian community overcame the Roman Empire. In its naked simplicity it would have been crushed out of existence. Without tools it would have been unable to live. It was wise enough to see, however, that effective conquest is not a negative but a positive thing. It does not consist in destroying, but in employing the forces opposed to you. And so when the Christians of that early age found themselves being borne down by the weight of pagan temples, and heathen feasts, and superstitious rites, they took over as much of these as was consistent with their purpose, and by these means eclipsed the glory of the ancient religions. For in their hands the materials of paganism acquired a new beauty. As the wild flower becomes, under the discipline of the gardener, what it would never have been in the wilderness, so brutal and sensual things, informed by the new spirit of humility and love, shone with a glory they had never possessed in their original forms.

Let me not be thought to ignore the necessity of the Christian spirit. Tools, after all, are nothing more than tools. The most ingenious of them will never be able to run themselves. The directing mind, the guiding hand must still be there. But the Christian Spirit, apart from all agencies (if such

a thing be conceivable), would be as impotent as a naked man in the midst of the untamed ferocities of the natural world. Indeed, I should be inclined to define spirituality in terms of our capacity to use the various agencies with which the world supplies us. The greater our spirituality, the greater the diversity of earthly powers we shall be able to employ. The religious life of the future will be able to take over and transform all that now makes up the life of the world. It will conquer the world by making the world unnecessary.

Spirituality is manifested not by "going without," but by impressing oneself upon the material supplied by the present order of things. It is not the power by which we denude ourselves, but that by which we compel the flesh to express the things of the spirit. The tool is a manufactured article. The ape can tear the branch from a tree and brandish it against his foe. The man, on the contrary, transforms it into a bow, sharpens it for a spear, plants it in the ground as a support for his dwelling. He stamps his purpose upon it.

The Church, seeing that it must employ the weapons of the world, forgets this. It merely tacks secular agencies on to its religious life. Its social organisations—literary societies, gymnastic clubs, etc.—do not differ from those outside except in being less efficient. Its press is only distinguished from the papers representing political parties by being more ignorant of public affairs. Its use of art consists in employing the more sentimental or tradition-bound artists to illustrate religious themes. Its hymns are doggerel.

When the prodigal son returned home he was welcomed with feasting and singing and dancing—the very things that had been, in all probability, his undoing. It was a dangerous course to pursue. There was a possibility that it might revive appetites that were on the point of extinction. But the safety of the method lay in the fact that the singing and dancing were in a different key. They revealed what singing and dancing could become. There was the stamp of fatherly affection upon them, and thus the World of Home was able to outshine the Far Country and beat it with its own weapons.

Christian men and women must not only be politicians and political economists, but they must create a new type of politics and of political economy. They must not only be artists; they must bring about an artistic renaissance that shall redeem art. They must not only include in their domain the sphere of education, but, under their inspiration, a type of education must emerge possessing moral and psychological truth as yet all but unknown. They must recognise their responsibility for a healing ministry, but at the same time realise that that responsibility cannot be discharged by endowing hospitals, for they have their own healing powers and medical methods. They must employ pageantry, not by using the second-hand properties of theatrical agencies, but by giving sacramental values to the every-day acts of friendship and homage.

THE TRAMP.

Will the British Junkers Win?

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Given a statesman big enough to do great things and dare those who would keep the world in its present bondage to fear, the Spa Conference might well mark the beginning of a new life for the peoples of Europe. The German delegates have accepted the Allies' terms on the question of disarmament, and have agreed to use every endeavour to effect a reduction in the German armed forces to be limit of 100,000 men and to abolish conscription during the next six months. The "Manchester Guardian's" comment on the situation accurately describes what should be the attitude of the Allied statesmen towards this question: "What the Allied Governments presumably want is to effect the pacification of Europe as quickly as possible. If they want anything else they are traitors both to the dead and to the living. The disarmament of Germany is a necessary preliminary, for until that is accomplished or in a fair way to accomplishment, we cannot set about the disarming of Europe."

However some of us may disagree with the last sentence of that quotation, it is, I think, a perfectly reasonable point of view to be put forward by those who still believe that German militarism was the sole menace to the world in 1914, and that until that militarism is finally destroyed it would be folly for other nations to think about disarming. The reply to that point of view is obvious; but I am not here concerned with the pros and cons of the relative degree of guilt to be attached to the various nations lately engaged in the task of "destroying" each other's militarism. What I am concerned with is to show that, even granting to the full the contention that German militarism was all the Allies said it was, the result of the Spa meeting is to remove that menace finally from the people of Europe. And I want to know from our fearful friends who were pacifists before August 4th, 1914, and whose sole justification for throwing over their pacifism was the "final overthrow of Prussianism," "the war to end war," and the similar catch-phrases that lured so many millions in all lands to the slaughter—I want to know what they are going to do now in order to ensure that the Allied statesmen shall not be "traitors both to the dead and the living."

For it cannot be too emphatically stated that so far as our own statesmen are concerned—and, after all, they are the people who hold the fate of Europe in their hands—there is not the slightest evidence to show that they are particularly anxious for the disarming of that part of Europe over which they happen to exercise complete control. "Low," the brilliant cartoonist of the London "Star," hit off the situation ruthlessly in his cartoon in the issue of that paper for July 8th. He depicts the British Premier sitting at the conference table opposite a German Junker who is crouching on his knees before the muzzle of an enormous Allied gun which occupies most of the picture. Behind Lloyd George stand French and British Junkers with drawn swords held behind their backs. "Off with the spiked hel-

met!" shouts David to the miserable little German. "What d'you think we fought for if not to abolish militarism?"

While Mr. Lloyd George was thumping the conference table at Spa, the hoardings of Great Britain were covered with alluring posters urging the youth of the country to "join the army and see the world," and after a "war to end war" the expenditure on the army, navy, and air force for 1920-21 amounts to the enormous total of £230,000,000. Nor is that the worst. Just a year ago I warned "Crusader" readers that the campaign begun by Earl Haig in his appalling speech at the Guildhall (June 12th, 1919), in which he declared that "only by adequate preparation for war can peace in any way be guaranteed," would be followed up by the British Junkers, whose sole concern is to maintain the military and naval supremacy of this country. This British "preparedness" campaign has been carried on exactly as I anticipated in my article. We have had, and are still having speeches by British Junkers which are all on the lines of the speech of Earl Haig. Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, Chief of the General Staff, has bluntly told us that all the talk about the "war to end war" is so much clap-trap and that our young men should hold themselves in readiness for "the next war."

Now it is not exaggerating the position to say that unless the people of this country awake to their peril and take some very drastic action to put a stop to this campaign, the British Junkers are going to win, and we shall be rushing headlong towards the next "inevitable" war, compared to which the last will be a mere skirmish. Labour is beginning to express itself in no uncertain terms; railwaymen, miners, dockers, and seamen are talking about "direct action" as an antidote to militarism; Labour leaders who were out-and-out jingoes during the war are now openly advocating personal resistance to military service. But what are the Churches doing? What do they propose to do now that Germany has been forced to accept a drastic though incomplete measure of disarmament? Why are they not leading the way in a great nation-wide campaign for complete disarmament?

I have endeavoured to show elsewhere* that there is a sufficient nucleus of public opinion in favour of complete disarmament in this and other countries to lift the question out of the "impracticable" stage. All that is needed is a clear and definite lead from men and women whose names count for much in the estimation of the public. Once that lead were given, I believe the common people of Europe would respond in such a manner that the timid statesmen and blatant Junkers would be powerless to resist the demand that the disarmament of Germany should be followed by the disarmament of the Allies, and that in each case that disarmament should be complete.

There is no other way to peace.

* "Public Opinion on Disarmament," 1½d. post free, from the office of "The Crusader."

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23, BRIDE LANE, FLEET ST.,
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Your Vote is Wanted!

Putting your cross on a Parliamentary ballot paper is only one way of voting. It is not even the most effective way.

There is a discussion of the issues of the day outside Westminster which has a greater influence on the course of events than the debates in Parliament. The real Parliament is in the Press. And every time we support a certain paper we vote that its voice be heard and its counsels taken. Should we not be careful to see that we sent to this Parliament of the Press a member able to voice our convictions? Are we not to blame if, through lack of such support, those convictions remain unexpressed in the arena of journalism, and, therefore, unheard and unconsidered?

Both the number and the quality of journals devoted to the advocacy of social ideals is increasing.

The Last Word.

But do any of them or all of them together convey the great message which it is the function of the "Crusader" to express?

We believe that only religion can supply the supreme authority for the recreation of society. We hold that until the social movement achieves adequate religious expression it must lack the dignity and force necessary to secure its triumph.

In Christ we find the divine authentication of our ideals—the Last Word in the world-wide controversy now proceeding.

Many there are who would gladly say the things said in the "Crusader" if they could. But all cannot undertake this work. They can, however, see to it that their representative in the Parliament of the Press has a hearing.

We ask for your vote! Make the Sign of the Cross against the name of the "Crusader"!

To be good only, is to be
As God or else a Pharisee.

—BLAKE.

* * *
Have faith. If that which rules the universe were alien to your soul, then nothing could mend your state—there were nothing left but to fold your hands and be damned everlastingly. But since it is not so—why what can you wish for more?—all things are given into your hands.

—EDWARD CARPENTER.

DO YOU THINK WE'RE BRAVE, MOTHER?

Deuce! Van In! Game and set! The tennis courts were bubbling over with life.

In this part of the world, ardent young people throng the courts at 6 a.m. and are at it again as soon as office hours are over. Now and again in the evening the buoyant spirits and joyous laughter from the courts attract the attention of the middle-aged men who sedately go through their games of bowls. These latter never get excited; they play deliberately and walk casually across the green. They have the exasperated calmness and cultivated indifference of middle age. As they glance across at the courts opposite, one can almost hear them murmur "Love's young dream," and their expression becomes cynical or sympathetic, according to their individual experience.

But youth and middle age do not monopolise the whole of the park. The tennis courts and bowling green are bordered by the play-fields of the children. The roses and the syringa fill the air with perfume. The delphiniums nod gently to the lupins. The tall white tiger lilies look down with dignity at the careless gaily-coloured snapdragons.

The air is rent with a mighty noise. Bang! Bang! Bang! Come on, boys! Stick it, boys! We've nearly killed them all! We're winning! We've won!

Four little boys came dashing across to a lady, who looked up from her book to greet them. The leader was a snub-nosed, thick-set little chap—being in print he should, of course, be beautiful—he probably was to his mother, but the uncivilised delight which he took in his mock killing game made him almost repulsive to the ordinary observer.

Flushed with victory, he marched up to claim applause. "Only four of us left and we've killed a hundred Germans. We charged and killed 'em every one. We've won—four against a hundred! Do you think we're brave, mother?"

Immediately one had a vision of a hundred waiting wives and hundreds of fatherless children. If only we could make those four potential warriors see that vision. What a responsibility for mother! Did she feel that? Apparently not, for she replied: "Do I think you're brave? My word! I shall have a big brave man to be proud of some day."

The "Crusader" point of view would do much to influence many of the men and women who are blindly sowing the seeds of future wars. Children absorb with marvellous rapidity the point of view of the grown-ups with whom they come in contact. If YOU introduce the "Crusader" into one home, it may be read and discussed, and its point of view may be a revelation to a whole family. Will YOU help? Our 2/6 fund for sending out specimen copies is still open.

THE PLOUGHMAN.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

I am glad that the "British Weekly" gives three columns to that amazing series of letters sent to the Tsar by his wife during 1915. The Tsar was away from home visiting the Russian headquarters. The letters, about 150 in number, are now in possession of the Soviet Government, and their contents are a revelation of the greatest importance to all who want to understand the real character of the Tsar and the Russian Court. It should be stated that the first account of this highly illuminating correspondence appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" of July 1st. The letters show the Tsar (the Autocrat of All the Russias) as a poor little nonentity, hot and cold by fits and starts, and chivvied about hither and thither under the influence of stronger wills, especially that of the Tsaritsa. And she in her turn is a victim of the will of Rasputin, the evil priest. This Rasputin could do anything he pleased. As the article in the "British Weekly" puts it: "By playing on her fears for the autocracy, or for himself, he could summon or prorogue the Duma, could make or unmake Ministers, could and did dismiss the Commander-in-Chief, could send the Tsar to receive applause for a "spontaneous" visit to the troops, or could recall him to Petrograd." And this creature, Rasputin, was an illiterate, guilty of extravagant debauchery and eaten up with sensuality! Yet, to the Tsaritsa, he was "the Man of God," and throughout her letters he is always given a capital letter before "His" or "Him," as if he were indeed divine.

The writer in the "British Weekly" sums up in this concluding comment:—"The terrible thing is that a hysterical woman, whose weakness was almost madness, should have had such power over not only the destinies of the Russian race, but of the human race." And I feel it is necessary to add that we shall now do well to reflect that it was to this sort of thing we were officially allied during the late war, which the "British Weekly," in common with nearly every other religious journal, hailed as a war for human liberation, and for a great advance towards the establishment of the Kingdom of Christ.

Our friend, the "Former Berlin Correspondent" of the "Christian World," is still occupied with his King Charles's head—repentance on the part of Germany. His article deals with the Conference then about to be held at Spa. He does not see Spa as a place where greedy and revengeful victors will try to screw all they can out of their hopelessly defeated foe. Not at all. Such a view is only that of ordinarily intelligent people who have observed the conduct of the Allies ever since the Armistice. On the contrary, to the "Former Berlin Correspondent," Spa appears as a great spiritual court of law arranged by the righteous conquerors of Germany for the moral proving and unmasking, once more, of their enemy, born in sin. I quote from this astonishing writer: "It is here (at Spa) that they are being tested as to the depth of their sincerity, of

their desire to secure for their country what is just and righteous. It is at this Conference that they will show whether a change of heart has begun to influence them and the people they represent." Poor Germany doubtless has plenty to answer for, but some sense of our own terrible share in all this evil which has lately cursed the world would well become a Christian man.

I notice that that part of the Religious Press which once saw fit to support the Polish attack on Russia has become very silent on the subject. Those ardent writers have now had time to review the situation, during the retreat of the Polish army. I wonder if they have come to the conclusion of the "Manchester Guardian," which has just expressed itself as follows: "It was a disaster that Poland, with a score of problems menacing her life at home, embarked on her mad invasion. It would have been a much greater disaster if she had succeeded. Her collapse means, we hope, that the partisans of endless war against Soviet Russia have shot their last bolt."

A letter in the "Challenge" supplies me with the basis agreed upon by a new body, the Catholic Friends, a group of Clergy and Laity who find themselves unable to adopt the official attitude of the Church towards war. I am sure that many people, troubled by the refusal of the Church to face up to the war-issue, will welcome this important statement of faith by certain Clergy and Laity in the Church of England. It is under four heads as follows:—(1) I regard the teaching of the Lord Christ, as expressed in the Sermon on the Mount, as the Perfect Wisdom and embodying a practical social and political policy. (2) I pledge myself to exercise my membership of the Body of Christ in a sincere endeavour to oppose the will to war by the will to peace, both by personal example and by whatever influence I can bring to bear upon public opinion. (3) I pledge myself to use the Sacramental Life of the Church in such a way that will witness to the real fellowship and equality of all men in the Body of Christ. (4) I see these resolutions implied in my membership of the Holy Catholic Church.

The Catholic Friends, keenly conscious of the troublous times through which the world is passing, further state that their aim is, at all costs, to safeguard Christian principle, and to reinforce those of any class who stand for Christian principle as opposed to the faithless attitude of the military mind, so much in evidence at the present moment. Anyone wanting to learn more of the movement should write to the Rev. A. J. Bott, Vicar of St. John the Baptist, Stockton-on-Tees. I am sure I may express the good wishes of the "Crusader."

Nobody can be surprised that there are those not resident in this country who look upon us as a nation of hypocrites.—MR. JUSTICE DARLING.

A New Era in Propaganda.

During the war the Cinema was largely used for the purposes of Government propaganda. And although the direct and avowed connection between the Government and the Cinema business is not what it was, our observations go to show that Whitehall, and in particular Sir Basil Thompson, is not entirely without influence in the production of such anti-Bolshevik films as "The Land of Mystery."

The Possibilities of the Cinema.

It is an open secret that reactionary bodies are everywhere waking up to the potentialities of the Cinema as a propagandist agency. Associations of employers, organisations claiming to be patriotic, (but, as a matter of fact, representing large capitalist interests), and, specially active in this respect, anti-prohibition movements, are taking practical steps to put their views before the public by means of the "movies." Seven films of the kind indicated are now in course of preparation. Admiral Sir Reginald Hall is specially interesting himself in this development. The Church has, too, commenced to utilise the cinema screen. Rev. J. Cartmel-Robinson, of Bedford Park, Chiswick, has experimented successfully in the use of pictures representing biblical scenes.

A Fresh Development.

A new invention seems likely to extend the usefulness of the Cinema for educational and propaganda purposes. In a chat, the other day, with one of the managing directors of the Oxford Educational Film Supplies Co., I learned something of the nature of this development. One of the hindrances to the use of the Cinema in the past has been the cost of the apparatus. Another obstacle has been the inconvenience attaching to the display of propaganda films at the ordinary Cinema. And a third and really serious difficulty is that of obtaining an apparatus which would allow of the occasional stop in the running of the reel necessary in the case of an accompanying explanatory or hortatory lecture. All these difficulties, I was informed, had been overcome. An apparatus is now on the market which allows the operator to "hold-up" the picture whenever he pleases. Its size and cost permit of its being used in quite small halls or even in rooms. The usefulness of this apparatus is further enhanced by the fact that it can be used, by the employment of a specially constructed screen, in the open daylight. A projector and screen suitable for use in small halls can be purchased for something under £70. The question of film production is, of course, another matter. But here again the difficulties are not insuperable, and by proper organisation, the cost, being shared by a number of localities, could be considerably reduced.

Labour and the Cinema.

One of my first questions was as to whether the Labour organisations of the country were using this

means of propaganda. The answer was disappointing. The miners considered the matter in connection with their nationalisation campaign, and experiments were conducted at the recent Labour Party Conference at Scarborough. But the apparatus chosen for experimentation, I was told, lacked some of the essential characteristics of the type to which I have referred, and the experiments were not considered satisfactory. And there, for the present, the matter rests. But the possibilities are too great to be neglected long. Sooner or later Labour bodies throughout the country will be possessing their own projectors and producing their own films. Where the propagandist lecture has failed, the "moving picture" will succeed. The vivid presentation before crowded audiences of scenes in the workers' lives, or of dramas illustrating the gospel of Labour, will, I have no doubt, take the place, to some extent, of the propagandist address, useful and necessary as this has been and is.

Why Not?

And if Labour launches out on this new path why not other bodies devoted to the teaching of social idealism? Here is a chance for enterprise and organising ability and capital to render an invaluable service to the cause of popular enlightenment. There seems no reason why, among bodies allied in outlook and purpose, there should not be a measure of co-operation which would enable them to utilise in common this method of conveying the message. And where this is impossible or inadvisable, it would be practicable for a single operator accompanied by a lecturer, or himself lecturing to tour the country. The inspiring message of the "Crusader" might thus be conveyed to thousands who would never dream of attending the usual propagandist meeting.

That must be a dull and unimaginative mind that does not see the possibilities which lie in this direction. We may be sure that reactionary agencies with their vast resources of capital, will leave no stone unturned to utilise to the full the advantage which those resources give them in the use of the Cinema for the manufacture of public opinion. We may not be able to emulate them in the extent of their expenditure, any more than we can imitate their possession and control of the daily Press. But it is not foolhardy or extravagant to suggest that we take a leaf out of our opponents' book and employ, in the interests of social righteousness, the means too long devoted exclusively to entertainment.

The "Morning Post" is endeavouring, apparently, to inaugurate an anti-Semitic campaign. It is publishing a series of articles designed to show that "there has long existed, like a canker at the heart of our civilisation, a secret revolutionary seed mainly of Judaic origin, bent on the destruction of all Christian empires, altars, and thrones."

Pacifist Policy.

III.—INDIVIDUAL ACTION. By WILFRED WELLOCK.

Finally, there is only one way to abolish war, viz., by producing the mind which is alien to war, social as well as international. Only an idealism which negates the strife for personal possession among individuals, as well as the passion of imperialism among nations, is of any real value. The trouble at present is that so many people have pacifist sentiments who yet fail to grasp the meaning of pacifism, its spiritual, social, and economic implications, and thus make no attempt to bring their lives and conduct into harmony with their professions. Many of these, e.g., are capitalists, who would be shocked to hear that their capitalism was the denial of their pacifism, and that their own chance of serving the pacifist cause was in throwing over capitalism, and with it the anti-social institutions and relations it had been responsible for creating—so far as it lay in their power to do so.

It cannot be too often repeated that because capitalism means privilege, it involves slavery and, finally, force. And because capitalism is the denial of freedom, it is the enemy of spirit and true development; for freedom is the essence of pacifism. To be a pacifist is to live towards one's fellows as towards brethren, not in the relationship of slave and slave-driver. Amassed wealth in private hands is always a scourge, the sting of whose oppression is felt by many. To overthrow privilege is to increase spiritual opportunity, that is, it is to enable more people to grow to the full stature of manhood. And because pacifism involves the establishment of spiritual relationships between men, and thus the abolition of privilege, its extension ought to be undertaken with great seriousness. It is the duty of all pacifists to demonstrate the meaning and social implications of their faith by word and by deed—or else to eschew the term altogether and stand before the world for what they are—capitalists, supporters of carnage, of strife, of classes, irreconcilable antagonisms.

(1) By Word. There is urgent need for a great deal of theoretical teaching, especially in regard to life's deeper spiritual laws, social realities and values. In spite of the almost universal desire for permanent peace, for instance, mankind is still very ignorant of the conditions of peace—including the majority of pacifists. Men mostly think of peace as something to be settled by diplomatic conferences, and of disarmament as an arrangement. Whereas peace is a social condition, a condition of freedom, in which the rich are saved from the oppression of dead and burdensome things, and the poor from the oppression of want; in which all may live fully, having reasonable opportunities of self-expression, the law of benefits being the soul's needs and merits. Thus the same process which transforms useless, soul-destroying matter into a means of life, transforms dwarfed, half-dead souls into beautiful living ones. For a world of possessors and non-possessors, in which affluence is the cardinal virtue and poverty the chief vice, the pacifist

ideal presupposes a society in which self-expression is the chief aim, the condition of culture and development, of fellowship, and true enjoyment. It is true, spiritually, that those who do not work do not eat; but not many realise this; they judge from appearances. Did they realise it, they would abandon war, riches, and capitalism to-morrow, and would henceforward regard all those institutions (such as private property) which divide men into classes and put the means of life out of use, or into bad use, by divorcing it from aspiring souls, who alone have the right to it, as the creation of the devil.

It is the special duty of pacifists to permeate society with these fundamental spiritual truths, and so take the only means of avoiding the social crisis, the clash of arms between the classes, which must come when the work of political socialisation commences.

(2) By Deed. If the pacifist mind is to be extended, it cannot be done by words alone; adventurous deeds of daring and sacrifice will be necessary. Pacifism has either got to be applied by the individual or abandoned by the community. In other words, we must either practise pacifism or give up preaching it until capitalism, the greatest external enemy to practical pacifism, has been removed—as argue the Communists. But do let us be consistent and only condemn the method of Marx when we have the courage to adopt that of Christ.

Practical pacifism is needed as an example to the few and as a demonstration to the many. The rich must realise their responsibility and their opportunity, and the poor their need—and only too few of the latter are conscious that their need is fundamentally spiritual, notwithstanding that it is also material. We need some demonstrations in true Socialism, in Communalism; examples of life founded on the spiritual, where matter is the hand-maiden of the spirit, serves, not rules. These would help us to see the real meaning of Socialism, what to strive for and what to avoid. And this is important, for especially if the social revolution is the outcome of force, the tendency will be towards bureaucracy, mechanicalism, and materialism.

I admit that it is not easy for the poor to do much in this direction, but many could do something, especially with a little help from those in better circumstances. Besides spending money on propaganda, the latter might help to found all manner of co-operative communities, always carefully selecting their groups and insisting upon their paying their way, once the necessary training and initial expenses have been arranged. Pacifists with large businesses might experiment in the direction of co-operating factory labour with work on the land or other secondary occupations.

But I do not wish to imply that this form of action will obviate all kinds of corporate revolutionary action; indeed, I hold the latter to be imperative. But this we must consider in a further article.

FAITH—FREE

The watchwords which stirred the blood of the eighteenth century were "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." But it was not long before their insufficiency was recognised. Mazzini inscribed upon the banner of Young Italy the motto, "For God and the People," and wrote passionately of the need of Faith.

The words which head this article constitute the revised version of the battle-cry under which were rallied the forces of political democracy. A century's experience has taught us some lessons. Tutored by that experience, we venture to rewrite the revolutionary motto.

The three words we have chosen do not stand for three separate ideals. There is an organic relation between them. They cannot be understood except by tracing that relationship. To do that is the object of the present article.

The Craving for Fellowship.

A violent reaction has set in against the individualistic laissez-faire philosophy of the last century. "The sacredness of private property" is assailed at every point. The claim of capitalists to exploit, in the interests of profit, the wage-earners and their dependents, is challenged by the growing body of the proletariat. On the surface this is nothing more than a change in political economy. But underneath the materialistic crust are strong surgings of conscience and passion.

The use of the word conscience here is not a mistake. The place of the social conscience among the forces making for change is recognised by those calling themselves materialists. In last week's issue of "The Worker" occurs this passage:—

The thing that makes a man stop spitting on the sidewalk, or leads him to push a banana peel off into the gutter, or to refrain from smoking in a meeting, or to drive his auto out of the way in order to avoid a crowded street—that thing is social conscience. You can multiply instances for yourself.

It not only causes a person to consider the rights of others in little things, but it causes him to consider the welfare of the whole people in great things.

For instance, a man with a social conscience would not lead a nation into war, in order that he and his clique might make money out of it. He would not vote for policies that result in the enrichment of the few, in poverty for the many, and in a reign of crime, graft, and distress. His devotion to the common welfare would not permit him to do these things, even though it might be money in his own pocket to do them.

A working man, contemplating a strike, would consider how much suffering it would bring to other men and their families, as well as the benefit that might accrue to himself and his family.

Behind this recognition of the rights of the community, behind these warnings of the social conscience is the social passion. Fellowship is recognised as one of the necessities of life. It shares

this position with bread. These two things cannot be separated. There must be fellowship in the common things of life—a fellowship which overleaps barriers of class and race. The movement thus indicated is not based on a theory. It is not a cult. At bottom it is just as much a primitive passion as physical hunger or the sex instinct. Our need of one another is asserting itself with challenging force. Here and there one may note phenomena which seem to indicate a renewed demand for individual freedom as in the separatist claims of Ireland or the agitation of Labour for the right of self-expression in industry. But more closely examined it will be seen that the demand for freedom is subordinate to the need of Fellowship.

Freedom and Fellowship.

Let us look at this somewhat closer! In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, freedom was regarded as an end in itself. To-day we are asking not for freedom from certain conditions but freedom for the privilege of association. We are protesting against the barriers which divide us into classes and nations. The old demand for equal opportunities for individual ambition has no force behind it. The man of special abilities born into the workers' class instead of carving out a career for himself becomes a leader in a movement for the emancipation of his class. The conscientious objector's refusal to bear arms was based, generally speaking, not on an individual dislike for militarism as a profession, but on a positive belief in internationalism and the brotherhood of man. His claim to liberty was based on his belief in and desire for fellowship. In the religious world the old agitation, on the part of the Free Churches, for the freedom of religion from State control has all but died away. It was too negative. Freedom is sought to-day in the interests of Catholic unity.

Economic Necessity.

The great barrier to personal freedom is economic necessity. The character of our servitude is indicated in the words "A man must live." Capitalism has the whip hand. It pays the piper and can call the tune. Were they free to write according to their convictions, how different would be the sentiments of our journalists! With what enthusiasm would many of them throw themselves into the social movement! Similarly in thrall are the various artistic professions. They must, for the most part, paint, act, sing in accordance with the wishes of rich patrons. The Church is in no better case. State control is a small grievance compared with the control of plutocracy, of which it is only one symptom. The spectacle is both ludicrous and tragic of a "Free" Church minister fulminating against the fact that a secular Parliament orders

FELLOWSHIP

ecclesiastical affairs while, on his own diaconate or in the assembly of his denomination, the policy of the organisation is dictated by those who can contribute the largest subscriptions. In the industrial world the social agitator is too often a marked man in the employers' black list. Listen to the stories they will tell you in Scotland, Lancashire, Yorkshire, the Midlands, of the systematic persecution of those known to take a leading part in the Socialist movement! These repeat in another form the petty tyrannies of "the Squire" in country districts. There is no profession or trade or section of labour free from this menace.

Economic necessity is to-day the great slave-driver. It reduces us all to submission. The crack of its whip becomes our nightmare. It is almost idle for rich pacifists to protest against the use of force. They are part and parcel of a system which is exerting without intermission the most terrible kind of force on the bodies and souls of millions. The dictatorship of Capitalism is a fact which enters into the lives of us all.

By what means can this tyranny be broken? Are we to accept economic necessity as a final veto upon our desire for freedom and fellowship?

The Conscientious Objector Again.

As a matter of fact, there are large numbers of men and women who have refused to do so. To their honour and to the honour of humanity, be it said that every social and international movement has had its martyrs. It would be easy to multiply stories of those who turned a deaf ear to the warnings of employers and foremen and continued their active support of revolutionary bodies in the face of almost certain poverty for themselves and those dependent on them. Nor are these pioneers confined to one section of the community. Adventures of this kind have been undertaken in every walk of life. Men and women who would not sell their pens, their voices, their artistic conscience—they are to be found everywhere. They are the unconquerable barricade that sets a limit to the tyranny of Mammon. Their unbribed souls are the refuge and strength of the less courageous.

A Strange Experience.

Some of them have a strange experience to relate—an experience which forms one of the brightest stars of hope in the firmament. Let us try to translate it into words.

Friends counselled them in their hour of trial to submit for the sake of future usefulness. "Remain," they were told, "and permeate. Give way to-day that you may stand out with greater hopes of success to-morrow." They refused. Not knowing whither they went, they abandoned hopes of security and comfort. The result surprised them. For the evi-

dences of their sincerity wrought more for the cause than would any amount of "permeation" tainted by compromise. Their names became spiritual forces.

But they had an even stranger experience than that. It was an experience which, agnostics and materialists as some of them were, led them to believe in what men have called Providence. Their personalities, reinforced by the dangers into which they had flung themselves, seemed to acquire control over events. Assistance came from unexpected quarters. They discovered that what they had regarded as economic necessity was a bogey. There are laws and forces, they found, not marked in the charts of Expediency, which come to the help of Pioneers. The Venture of Faith—for such it had been—was justified. They had sought first the Kingdom of Social Righteousness, and their material needs had not been overlooked. It had been a struggle, but not a hopeless or unsuccessful one.

The Venture of Faith.

I have called it a Venture of Faith. The men and women of whom I have written might dispute the term. But there is no other word that will serve. They had challenged the Seen in the name of the Unseen. They had defied Expediency in the name of Conviction. They had committed themselves to the unverified laws of the universe.

To us of the Christian Faith it is all plain. The Man familiar with the poor homes of peasants and fishermen is on the Throne. The Leader who dared to call men from their avocations to be wandering preachers of the Kingdom is God. Through faith in Him we may defy the bogey that Fear calls Economic Necessity. And when that bogey is laid there is nothing between us and our Freedom, and that Freedom we purpose to use for the winning of the Kingdom of Fellowship.

Through Faith to Freedom—from Freedom to Fellowship—that is our programme.

PETER THE HERMIT.

DISCIPLINE.

The long bondage of the spirit, the distrustful constraint in the communicability of ideas, the discipline which the thinker imposed on himself to think in accordance with the rules of a Church, or a Court, or conformable to Aristotelian premises, the persistent spiritual will to interpret everything that happened according to a Christian scheme, and in every occurrence to rediscover and justify the Christian God—all this violence, arbitrariness, severity, dreadfulness, and unreasonableness, has proved itself the disciplinary means whereby the European spirit has attained its strength, its remorseless curiosity and subtle mobility.—NIETZSCHE.

Bookland. A Miscellany.

From a pile, consisting of recently published books, we take this week a selection of four.

Books on Russia.

The number of books on Russia grows rapidly. For its size one of the most useful and interesting is S. Carlyle Potter's "Russia: Before and After the Revolution" (C. W. Daniel, Ltd., 1/-). Some indication of the contents is given by the titles of the various chapters:—Tzardom versus Russia. The Peasants. The Last Gamble of Tzardom. The New Order. The author enables us to see the revolution as the inevitable outcome of Russian history and social institutions. A very readable and well-informed volume.

George Lansbury's book, "What I Saw in Russia" (Leonard Parsons, Portugal Street, London, 4/6 net), should be sufficient by itself to counteract the flood of misrepresentations concerning the Soviet Republic. One of the most interesting passages to readers of the "Crusader" is that concerning the revolutionary movement within the Greek Church. Says Mr. Lansbury: "Like everywhere else, there is within the Russian Church a revolutionary movement which bids fair to undermine the theories of Lenin and his friends, that religion plays no part in the life of a people. The following statement shows that with the coming of the Socialist Republic the dry bones of theology have begun to stir and that once more the teachings of Jesus are going to have a chance. I have verified the truth of the report as I give it here, and can vouch for its accuracy. I may say it has been circulated throughout the whole of Russia, and as is usual in such cases, the Bishop of Penza and his followers have been excommunicated." And then he quotes as follows:

"An event which will lead to great consequences has occurred in the Russian Church. A conference of Russian priests took place some months ago at Penza, which was presided over by Bishop Vladimir. At this conference the priests decided to break with the Greek Orthodox Church and establish a new Church on lines as Bishop Vladimir expressed it, that would more closely approach the purity of the primitive church and abolish the pomp and glory of the great princes of the modern church. The significance of this event is that it proves that the revolution is finally rooted in the soil of Russia. The structure of the Church, like the whole superstructure of society, as Karl Marx taught, is based upon the economic foundations of a given society. The development of commerce, which was later to lead to capitalism, was accompanied by a revolt against the Church. One might say that Protestantism is the religious expression of liberalism and commercialism. It is significant, therefore, to observe that what appears to be the beginning of a 'Reformation' in Russia aims at the primitive Christian Church, which, as is known, preached Communism. Communism has come to stay in Russia, and will be expressed in the religious beliefs of the Russian people."

Theology.

"The writings of Frederick Denison Maurice and the Christian Socialists were an abundant inspiration, and, later on, modernists, like Father Tyrrell, opened up possibilities of a rejuvenated and triumphant Catholicism. To these men, and to many

others, I owe much—my pages are, indeed, a reflection of their thoughts, though these have been so assimilated by me that they have become part of myself. My religion is fundamentally, as theirs was, CATHOLICISM. It is Sacramental, it is Social, and it is part and parcel of man and of his development here on earth."

The quotation is from the introduction to Rev. Samuel Proudfoot's "All Too Human?" (A. Brown and Sons, Ltd., 5, Farringdon Avenue, E.C., 4/6 net).

The last and longest chapter of a book that deals with "The Church and Humanity," "the Sacraments," "Sin and Humanity," "The Law of Prayer," and other similar themes, is devoted to "The Union of the Churches," and on this topic Mr. Proudfoot has some wise and helpful things to say—things that are helpful by reason of the wisdom with which he points out the difficulties of the problem. But it is not encouraging to find an author, in treating the subject of reunion, seeking a parallel in the coalition of political forces represented by the present Government.

"The obliteration of party land-marks has been the work of a mighty tide of human sympathy, a sympathy which desires the Nation to be as brethren dwelling together in unity. Gratitude to the men who guided our forces to victory, a belief in their stronger determination to punish the German, admiration for the energetic and inspiring character of Lloyd George, all played a part in the achievement of a political union without parallel. And how stands the matter with regard to the Churches? Unity is in the air; nay, it is in the early stages of actuality. Theologians of all the Churches have at last recognised the scandal and cruelty and dangers of division."

Would the author have the Churches emulate the politicians and form a Coalition in which the villainies of all sections shall be amalgamated, a Coalition formed on the basis of a common determination to maintain the institutions of Capitalism and militarism? If he doesn't mean that, he comes dangerously near misrepresenting himself. If he does mean it—well, for our part, a thousand times better than such a reunion would be the continuance of our present divisions.

Poetry.

How is it that a collection of poems written during the war, and including in the list of authors some of our best known writers of verse, should contain as small a proportion of dignified poetry as does "The Paths of Glory," an anthology published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.? The best name for this volume would be "The Poetry of Disillusionment." The writers protest in various forms against the cruelty of war. But there is little evidence that their pens were guided by the spirit of goodwill. Resentment never inspired great writing, and it certainly has not done so in this case. Most of the verse here quoted could easily be transposed into smart and biting newspaper articles.

Government ?

By A. SCOT.

To the N.U.R. deputation, headed by J. H. Thomas, on June 5th, the Premier made a great point of the fact that direct action, if successful, would paralyse all government. Let us consider the meaning of the word "government."

There are two kinds of government, benevolent and oppressive. The former kind has no existence at the present time except in the minds of idealists, since it is not based on Force, but rests securely on the consent of the governed. This is only possible in a free democracy where perfect liberty and genuine fraternity prevail, and where the elected representatives of the nation legislate for the benefit of the whole community and not of one section—including themselves.

The other kind of government which prevails today may be defined as "the exploitation of the community for the benefit of a clique." But whenever one section seeks to aggrandise itself at the expense of other sections, or to repress liberty of action or self-assertion, then the use of armed force becomes necessary. If the armed force at the disposal of tyrants is insufficient for the aim in view, such as the theft of another country (which is called "annexation"), then other methods are adopted—bribery, treachery, or making treaties and promises which are not meant to be kept.

When either the natives of a state thus stolen, or the oppressed sections of the home population begin to demand justice or greater liberty, then the armed forces are turned loose to pillage and slaughter under the pretence of maintaining LAW AND ORDER; which phrase, when spelt in capitals, is a synonym for tyranny, hypocrisy, and corruption—even for military sabotage. Witness the wrecking of Fermoy.

The British people foolishly imagine that their system of government is purely democratic. Actually it is nothing of the kind. It is in practice a Venetian Council of Ten, or the nearest possible modern approach to it, as Disraeli pointed out long ago; and this system has existed since the reign of George I., varied by occasional interference from George III., or Queen Victoria. The specious argument that the democracy has the power to govern itself by means of the ballot box and polling booth is a fallacy; it can merely substitute one set of tyrants for another. It cannot alter the fundamental and common policy of the governing class, whether the section in temporary power call itself Radical or Tory. A Labour Government has not yet been tried, but most Labour members become more or less hypnotised by the atmosphere of Westminster after a few months.

The reason for all this is that the backbone of the forces of reaction is formed by the large mass of apathetic electors who never think politically for themselves, but allow themselves to be misled by the newspapers which, being mostly controlled by the reactionary machine, feed them up only with the

versions which they are intended to swallow. Therefore, all important reforms, like women's suffrage, have been carried through by the determined insistence of a minority who have eventually either converted a section of their opponents or overcome them by persistence.

But to revert to the Premier's phrase. Mr. Thomas evidently did not apply mental analysis to the statement that all government would be impossible for any ministry if the N.U.R. supported the Irish workers, or he would have seen that its real meaning was that all government, **ALONG THE PRESENT TYRANNICAL LINES**, would become impossible, and our Venetian oligarchy, masquerading as democracy, would topple to the ground with a crash.

The question for the thinkers and workers of this country to consider is whether that would not be an advantage rather than the calamity the Premier bluffed Mr. Thomas into believing.

Every system of government, if it is to be stable and not oppressive, must be based on the foundations of Justice and Equity. If those foundations become eaten up by the dry rot of tyranny, injustice, inefficiency, and self-interest, the whole structure must inevitably collapse. Our present system has reached a state which produces merely wasteful extravagance and idiotic inefficiency in domestic, and selfish greed and cruel tyranny in external affairs. The result is seen in over-taxation and universal discontent in Great Britain, and rebellion in the conquered territories of Ireland, Egypt, and the East. But when a system of government becomes so rotten and effete that it cannot be cured by the medicine it has itself provided—in this case the ballot—the natural law of cause and effect will inevitably bring about a remedy by more violent methods which are put into effect by human agents.

A democracy can only successfully govern itself when the large majority of citizens take an interest in the things which matter and which affect other people besides themselves. But even if they abdicate their civil rights through indolence they are still morally responsible for the crimes committed in their name by the persons returned to power through their ignorance or apathy. Therefore the British are responsible for the atrocities perpetrated in Ireland and elsewhere, and will continue to be until they have disowned them and insisted on their discontinuance.

Everywhere parliamentary systems are moribund. They have proved fatal to democracy because so large a mass of working-class voters are unfit to elect any more important a candidate than their shop steward. Less than one per cent. of voters belong to any Socialist party. These are facts, which every thinking person must realise—and they are the root cause of the failure of the parliamentary system to secure Liberty, Fraternity, and real democratic government. What system is to replace it is a problem which will require the co-operation of the wisest and most unselfish people to solve.

The Children's Camp.

Nestling in the midst of low-lying pasture is the camp, once the scene of military activity, and now the first English home of our little friends from the Famine area.

In place of the heavy tread of the soldiers and the roar of the sergeants' orders, is the patter of children's feet and the sound of their merry voices.

Life in the camp begins at 6 a.m. with ablutions and then breakfast.

The children sleep in huts, each containing 25 beds, with a hut mother for the girls and a hut father for the boys. Their meals are taken in a large hut, each contingent having its own table and its hut parent to wait on it. Play is the order of the day, and, fortunately, the weather was perfect. And so the days glided on. Now and again the rhythm is broken. The Mayor of Sandwich, with a party of helpers, entertained the children one afternoon with a tea party on the grass, and games—just the same old games—oranges and lemons, blind man's buff, etc., thus forming a natural international link. Another day, happy youngsters were packed in motor lorries and taken to a neighbouring country house for a strawberry tea party, and came home the proud possessors of an English penny.

As the end of quarantine period drew near close, anxious faces peeped in the office door, where workers were busy fitting the little folk into suitable homes. Very worried were some of these bairns as to what awaited them.

Allocation is not the easiest of jobs. All the wee children of five, six, and seven were quickly arranged for, and one had to ask, "Will a little girl of nine or ten do; she only looks seven?" Nearly everyone wanted a little girl of six or seven. So few asked for little boys, and one wanted a home as big as one's heart felt to take in the unwanted boys. There are little couples, too, brothers and sisters, who must not be separated, little friends who want to go together; their parents are friends in Vienna. One little girl, a Jewess, was very emphatic that she should become a Christian and go to a Protestant home. Her wish was granted.

About half a mile from the camp lies the hospital, white and cool, overlooking a salt lake. Fortunately, the little folk did not have occasion to make very much use of it.

The first party to depart were 50 children for the Liverpool hostel. Twenty-five of these came from an orphanage in Vienna. Later in the day a party left for Newcastle. Following them came the big London party, which was taken to St. Martin's Church and entertained there by the Vicar and his helpers. This left a big gap in our party. Then came the long-journey parties, Scotland, Manchester, Derby, Leicester, York, Lowestoft, Norwich and Yarmouth, Wales, Bristol, Exeter and Truro Land's End (Marazion).

The night before departure, coloured labels bearing the child's name and destination were served out. In the morning little groups assembled according to colour and were

packed into lorries under charge of an escort, who was responsible for delivering the child and obtaining a receipt for it. As the lorries filled up and went snorting off, we cheered and waved our handkerchiefs until they were seen no longer, and truly wished them "God speed." As the escort returned, one heard of the wonderful reception given to the children on arrival. At one place the Mayor and townfolk were there and gave them a royal reception.

The last company to go were the very weakest—little Fritz, four years, but just the size of a two years-old baby. He could not walk when he arrived but loving care and good food really set little Fritz on his feet, and although he could only just toddle with help when he left,

still he was a credit to the camp.

Now a word for the next company of children. Owing to illness in the camp, these are not expected to arrive until September 1st. These children will be Hungarians, and up to the present the Central Committee has only received 130 offers of homes. Who will help, either by offering a home or by contributing maintenance for the upkeep of a child in a home? One "Crusader" group is already maintaining a child.

Offers of homes, maintenance, clothes, toys, etc. will be gratefully received by the F.O.R. Hospitality Committee, 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

A man does not care for applause or recognition except when he is not sure that he is working on the right lines.—DEAN INGE.

THE TRIUMPH OF CHRIST.

God met man in a narrow place,
And they scanned each other face to face.

God spoke first: "What ails you, man,
That you should look so pale and wan?"

Quoth man: "You bade me conquer harm
With no strength but this weak right arm.

"I would ride to war with a glad consent
Were I, as You, omnipotent."

God said: "You show but little sense;
What triumph is there for omnipotence?"

Said man: "If You think it well to be
Such a thing as I, make trial and see."

God answered him: "And if I do,
I'll prove Me a better man than you."

God conquered man with His naked hands,
And bound him fast in iron bands.

—From "Catholic Tales,"

By Dorothy L. Sayers.

The Anglo-Catholic Congress.

SOME POST-IMPRESSIONS.

This Congress was a really wonderful and hopeful thing. I write that as a Crusader who was there all the time. It needs to be stated—if only to correct the impression conveyed by the "Church Times" report. Our comrade Seaward Beddow referred to the "Church Times" (in his notes last week) as the representative paper of the Anglo-Catholic movement—all I can say is—God forbid. We are rather inarticulate to the world in general because we have no representative paper. The divergence of spirit between his movement and the "Church Times" is exemplified in that paper's report of the first afternoon's session. Much was made of two papers which were after its own heart—medious and academical—but which rather tried the patience of most of us. The Bishop of Zululand, who expressed our abhorrence of the "Establishment" and gave us a lecture on practical Christianity, is given some sort of mention, but the most noteworthy paper is entirely ignored. Father Horton's subject was "The Kingdom of God" but it might have been called "Revolutionary Christianity." He expressed exactly our Crusader principles, and though a large section of the audience was obviously brought face to face, for the first time, with the true social aspect of the Christian religion, the sense of the meeting was entirely sympathetic. And that note ran right through the Congress. Again and again the moral, social and international obligations of the Catholic Faith were brought clearly before the members, and few, I think, went away without realising that the application of the Faith to life means Revolution in the truest sense. The appeal of the Bishop of

Zanzibar was magnificent, and the silence that followed it was eloquent of consciences pricked and stirred.

"Where," he asked, "where, in this London of ours, the home of thousands of Catholics, with numbers of churches and congregations exulting in the name of Catholic, where am I to take my African brother to see the Catholic life being lived—the life of fellowship, of com-unity, of brotherhood, with all class distinctions swept away because all are members of the one family—where?" This is far from the spirit of respectable conventional Church-of-Englandism—which spirit was mercifully conspicuous by its absence from the whole congress. It is impossible in these short notes to give reports of speeches, but many times, and in many ways, the message of **love in action** was given and received. Notably Bishop Gore and Comrade A. Moore of the Silver-town Rubber-workers' Union left little doubt of the meaning of Christian Revolution.

I am not going to pretend that the Anglo-Catholic movement has a conscious grasp of revolutionary principles, or that the people in that movement are all becoming Crusaders in a hurry, but this, at least, is true; that we, who have been ploughing lonely furrows, and working, in the face of official opposition and persecution, for the building of the Kingdom, have left the Congress heartened and filled with hope for the struggle that lies before us.

Wherefore, Crusaders, to your knees!

Give thanks—and pray.

STEPHEN FRANCIS.

An Open Letter to Rev. J. E. Rattenbury.

Dear Mr. Rattenbury,—I was glad that I came to Kingsway Hall on Sunday evening to hear your address on "One Year of Peace."

"Come, behold the works of the Lord, what desolations He hath made in the earth. He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; He breaketh bow and cutteth the spear in sunder; He burneth the chariot in the fire. Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen; I will be exalted in the earth."

Your appeal to men to stop and think, although at the wrong end of the war, was forceful. Your drawing of the present parlous state of Europe was true. But was your emphasis on what desolations He hath made in the earth a right application of the psalmist's words to the present day? With all reverence, is it quite fair to God? The man who puts a match to a powder magazine must not blame God because it blows up.

Your denunciation of war was strong. "Contrary to the will of God. Contrary to the principles of the New Testament." You showed the folly of war: "as a whole, force settles nothing." The plea that war has evoked the noblest instincts was effectively met by your pointing out that heroic conduct

and sacrifice of life entailed thereby does not make shipwreck a good thing.

The attempt to stir up hatred with America was touched upon. Your comment that American Independence was, on this 4th July, acknowledged to be a good thing, ought to have led to a comment on Ireland, but that might have been dangerous. How timid we are of controversy! The policy of the Churches seems to be "safety first"! That was again seen in your political remedy, when you said that the only hope of to-day lay in the "League of Nations."

If, as you say, "moral and spiritual force is never going to be generated except in the Christian Churches," it will have to be by stronger and clearer leading than this.—Yours sincerely,

J.D.H.

RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

The Golden Rule Addresses.—By Rev. Walter Walsh, D.D. C. W. Daniel, Ltd. 3s. 6d. net.

Karl Marx.—By Achille Loria, translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, W.C.1. 2s. 6d. net.

The Forerunners.—By Romain Rolland, author of "Above the Battle." George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 8s. 6d. net.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

OPEN AIR MISSION.—The unfavourable weather gave a welcome rest to certain parched pacifist throats during the past week, though a certain number of quite successful meetings were held. The following are arranged:—**FRIDAY**, July 16th.—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch: Rev. Humphrey Chalmers, C. Paul Gliddon; at 8 p.m., Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Rev. R. W. Sorensen; at 8 p.m., Kilburn, The Grangeway: Alfred Cordell, Ivy Sheldon. **SATURDAY**, 17th.—At 8 p.m., Ealing Broadway, corner of Offord Road: Dorothy Stevens. **SUNDAY**, 18th.—At noon, Leytonstone, The Green Man: Alfred Cordell; at 3.30 p.m., Hampstead, Jack Straw's Castle: Marjory Bonar, Dorothy Stevens. **MONDAY**, 19th.—At 8 p.m., Leytonstone, The Green Man: Rev. R. W. Sorensen. **TUESDAY**, 20th.—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch: Rev. Frank Fincham; at 8 p.m., Clapton, corner of Kenninghall Road and Upper Clapton Road: H. W. Green, E. Alcock Rush. **WEDNESDAY**, 21st.—At 8 p.m., Catford, near Town Hall: Horace Fuller, Dorothy Stevens. **THURSDAY**, 22nd.—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch: Rev. Frank Fincham, H. W. Hancock; at 8 p.m., Kentish Town, corner of Leighton Road and Kentish Town Road: J. B. Lief, E. Oakes. **FRIDAY**, 23rd.—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch: Horace Fuller, E. Alcock Rush; at 8 p.m., Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Dorothy Stevens; at 8 p.m., Kilburn, The Grangeway: Marjory Bonar, E. Oakes, Ivy Sheldon.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1

OUR EXCHANGE.

J. R., The "Crusader," 23 Bride Lane, E.C.4, makes the following offers:—

Motor Cycle wanted, lightweight 2-stroke preferred; full particulars and price.

Gas Cooker, combined with gas fire in door; copper water tank at side with tap; £5, or exchange anything useful.

Set Iron Bedsteads—Couch upholstered in leather—4 small chairs—1 easy chair—suit working man's home; what offers?

Singer Sewing Machine, treadle, wants little attention; what offers in exchange?

House Painter and Paperhanger will give any advice and instructions by post, gratis, or practical help for out of pocket expenses, at convenient times.

Are you Building a Bungalow? Do you want help or suggestions? Write me.

Gardener wanted, understanding market gardening. About 2 acres, with grass. Must be capable and experienced, preference being given to pacifist, other qualifications being equal. Write, with references to T.A.L. "Crusader," 23 Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

Wanted, a Lady Organiser of work among women and children in mission station in Central London. Reply with full particulars of past experience to Reginald A. Slader, The Bedford Institute, Quaker Street, Spitalfields, London, E.1.

Experiences of a "Crusader" Seller

In making myself conspicuous by selling "Crusaders" every day of the week, I get a good chance of studying human nature, and I find the life very interesting and quite exciting. One day, after watching the way I sold them for some time at the Park gates, a gentleman of the turf came up and tried his very best to persuade me, by every means in his power to give up my present occupation and be employed by him instead, with a wage of £20 a week (this is not a printer's error), and all exps. paid. All I should have to do would be to sell racing tips on the racecourses, and among other things he told me I should "see a different place every day and be in the open-air all the time and always travel first-class, and live always at the best hotels, and to crown all, be able to drink champagne every night." (I—a keen Prohibitionist!). He spent quite a good while trying to get me to say yes, and in the end would not take no; he would leave me to think it over and see me again, which a few days afterwards he did, but I had not changed my mind.

Of course, I come up against plenty of discouragements in the way people take our little paper, or rather the way they sometimes spurn it, but here and there I find a few very encouraging signs. One lately was the case of a confirmed Atheist friend of mine, whom I once persuaded to take a copy of our little paper, and then the next time we met he said "Yes, I like that kind of religion," and took another. The next time we met he became a keen weekly subscriber, having found just what he wanted in our little paper. I find great difficulty in persuading Atheists that our sort of religion is the true teaching of the Carpenter of Nazareth, and not at all the sort of watered down stuff that they get in the churches of the different sects. If only they would try just **one** copy and read it with an unbiassed mind I feel sure they would like it as my friend did. As the evening draws into night I get more and more enthused with the spirit and fun of the venture, and can hardly refrain from singing as I go along the miles of busy road home in the dark. As I traverse the streets near home, groups of young men at different corners cheer and shout "Good-night, Bolshi," "Stick it, Rebel," and I cheer and wave good-night to them. The groups of girls also join in, and the 'bus drivers also laugh all along the route till I draw up at my own house, still whistling and ready for bed, at 11 p.m.

ORDER FORM.

The Secretary,

*The Crusader, 23 Bride Lane, Fleet Street,
London, E.C.4.*

Please send "THE CRUSADER" weekly to:—

Name.....

for which I enclose £

yearly subscription (payable in advance) 10/10 pos
free; half yearly 5/5; quarterly 2/9; or from your
News Agent 2d. per week.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters" 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr Martin Shaw.

LEYTONSTONE, Burghley Hall, High Road.—The service on Sunday, 18th, at 6.30, will be conducted by C. Paul Gliddon. Address at 7 p.m. on "Why we Lost the War."

It is provided in the essence of things that from any fruition of success, no matter what, shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary.—WALT WHITMAN.

Christian Commonwealth Fellowship.



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscriptions for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, emblems, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Postage 2d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

The Golden Tether.

"Blest be the sacred tie that binds
In friendship's golden tether.
In every nation, every clime,
The hearts of men together;
The tie we feel and humbly own
While round God's throne we gather.
That rich and poor, and bond and free,
Are children of one Father."

A little over six years ago the members of the C.C.F. who were able to do so met in conference in London, and a wonderful time of Fellowship they had; they have not ceased talking of it yet. From the first moment, when the first Fellow arrived with a bunch of flowers from Essex, to add to the beauty of the hall, and the words, "Can I help?" on his lips, to the last, when the mass meeting sang wholeheartedly the Fellowship Doxology (given above), was one great feast of friendship, a flowing forth of soul to meet soul. And why? Because for some time life had been a lonely thing; they had never dreamed that they could share their best treasures this way, and find others who so fully understood. One of them confessed: "I used to be so cross and disagreeable before I knew the Fellowship. . . . I need an opportunity to give . . . it's all there." They may belong to a dozen organisations with great ideals; one may fill one's time with meetings and propaganda and committees, and so forth; and yet one may miss the very thing for which one's heart most craves—the opportunity to give, to pour out one's love to individuals, and to receive in return the best they have to give. It is the opportunity of Fellowship that we need; Fellowship in a common cause, a common interest, cause or aim, a common draw, loss or disappointment, a common search, a common need, a common failure. And three parts of the human beings who are born into this world go through life and pass out of it never having found this pearl of great price.

The Fellowship Method—

The C.C.F. aims at bringing kindred spirits into touch with each other where they themselves desire. New members tell us about themselves—their interests and wishes; they are "introduced" in this way; they are welcomed by older members; they are linked up with those who need them and whom they need.

We have an increasing number of local corresponding secretaries (or "centres of Fellowship," as we love to call them), and our aim is to have one in every town and village throughout the world. We

want to link up the ends of the earth, so that no one who knows of the C.C.F. can go lonely to a new spot on the globe. We want to bridge classes, so that misunderstanding and patronage may be done to death by the greatest force in the universe—the power of Love. We want to give opportunity to the "shut-in" ones, and those who have missed some of this world's best things, to live fuller lives and to share in the good things of other folks.

—In Operation.

Listen to the testimonies of those who know. 1435 (Bruce Rock, Western Australia) writes us, after a long silence: "I must confess how impressed I was, four years ago, by the beauty—mental and moral—of the correspondence I received for some time, in answer to your call for cheering help for lonely men and women. In their orisons may I still be remembered, as they are in mine." (Will members link up with him?) From 4617 (Renfrew) comes the following: "I have found one of the best friends in the world since I joined. This lady was the first to offer me friendship when I needed it most. We corresponded regularly for a year, then she asked me to spend my holidays at her home, which I did, enjoying to the full the joys of life. We still write to each other every week. You will understand what the C.C.F. has been to me. To pass love on to one another works wonders." And 5089 (Brixton) hopes we shall grow in helpfulness and serviceableness. "The C.C.F. has made me feel much less lonely in London," she says. "I have found two friends whom it has been a joy to know."

Another Conference.

As we pass Midsummer and begin to look towards Fellowship Day (October 4th), the date of our foundation, we feel that we want to gather you all together. Since you are spread to the four corners of the earth we cannot do this in actuality. But may we not share something together? We want to hear from you all before Fellowship Day (or if you are too far away, before Christmas). Though severed far by miles of land and ocean, all who read the "Crusader" are one family. They are bound together by ties that distance cannot sunder, ties stronger often than those of blood, or race, or country, the subtle, silken threads of sympathy. From all therefore who desire personal Fellowship, and all who are in sympathy with the aims of the C.C.F. we should like a greeting. Further particulars of the Fellowship will be gladly sent on receipt of a stamped envelope.

Introductions.

5415 (Golders Green) is a law-student interested in many things, but chiefly in the re-union of, or co-operation between, the churches, the reconsideration of formal hindrances to ordinary intercourse, and attempts to secure a less commercial theatre. "Was I wrong in enlisting?" he asks.

5417 (Cambridge) would like to meet local Fellows; he is a student of biology, agriculture and genetics.

2951 (Amsterdam) asks if any London Fellows will receive a Dutch girl from Groningen, from August 16 to September 14, if satisfactory arrangements can be made. Kindly reply direct to 2951.

Treasurer's Warning.

The Treasurer of the C.C.F. tells us that the Fellowship is really in danger; an organisation needs money, however simple its machinery. And ours is in urgent need.

SIDELIGHTS.

Wingless Victory.

A poem with the above title by Lawrence Binyon in last Sunday's "Observer" contained the following lines:—

"Worms feed upon the bodies of the brave
Who bled for us: but we bewildered see
Viler worms gnaw the things they died to save.
Vast clouds of weariness and doubt oppress.
Happy the dead, we cry, not now to be
In the day of this dissolving littleness!

"O you dear dead, pardon! For not resigned
We see, though humbled, half our purpose bent,
And the issue blurred, like men in banishment.
Maimed giants, stumbling through a chaos blind.
The nations grope. And old greeds unconfined
Possess men, sick at blood in battle spent
And all that cost, yet righteously content
To wage war, safe and secret, on their kind.

"If all were simple as the way of hate!
But we must reap where others sowed their seed,
In time long past, of folly and pride and greed:
Confused with names, idols, and politics;
Though over all earth, where we think a State,
There are but men and women; only these."

Bertrand Russell on Puritan Russia.

The first of a series of articles by Bertrand Russell on Russia, which he visited in the company of the Labour delegation, appears in last week's "Nation." The writer draws this interesting parallel:—

In a very novel society, it is natural to seek for historical parallels. The baser side of the present Russian Government is most nearly paralleled by the Directoire in France, but on its better side it is closely analogous to the rule of Cromwell. The sincere Communists (and all the older members of the party have proved their sincerity by years of persecution) are not unlike the Puritan soldiers in their stern politico-moral purpose. Cromwell's dealings with Parliament are not unlike Lenin's with the Constituent Assembly. Both, starting from a combination of democracy and religious faith, were driven to sacrifice democracy to religion enforced by military dictatorship. Both tried to compel their countries to live at a higher level of morality and effort than the population found tolerable. Life in modern Russia, as in Puritan England, is in many ways contrary to instinct. And if the Bolsheviks ultimately fall, it will be for the reason for which the Puritans fell: because there comes a point at which men feel that amusement and ease are worth more than all other goods put together.

Germany's Hope.

Mrs. Snowden on her return from Russia passed through Berlin. While there she met and interviewed one of the Junker class. The interview is given in "Common Sense." The following is an extract from it:—

"If there is any gleam of hope for Germany to be found anywhere it lies in religion. No, no," he said, noting my glance of inquiry, "I do not mean the churches, although there must be churches to give form and substance to the thing. The churches must remain, but they must be reformed, and reformed from within. By religion I mean that looking and striving upwards for better things, without which the world perishes. If my unhappy people can lay hold again of that and keep it, there may be a little hope for them. For my country is utterly destroyed. There is nothing left to live for, unless—"—and here a new and fiercer light came into his eyes—"unless after all the Communists are pointing the way. It may be so."

He was quiet for a moment, and then came his final word:—

"If our enemies refuse to give us hope for the future, and if the Communists of Russia have shown us the only

way to throw off the intolerable burden of insult and oppression, I go with them. And there are many like me in Germany."

New Town.

There is something a little piquant in the arrangements made by the promoters of the "New Town" to hold their summer conference in the old town of Oxford. This New Town scheme was carefully and quietly prepared during the closing year of the war and is now being energetically pressed towards accomplishment. It is a fascinating proposal to use the experience of co-operators, town-planners, civic administrators, trades unionists, and educationists in a joint attempt to found a garden city in which private profit-making shall be replaced by public service as the basis of all social life and activity. One gets somewhat tired of hearing and reading analysis after analysis of what is wrong with our society, and it is refreshing to discover a strong body of people determined to set to work in a voluntary scheme (the English way) rather than await the legislation—or the revolution—that will tackle the same problems on the national scale. The "New Town" council is a body of sober enthusiasts, and we advise anyone who is interested in their work to send to the Secretary (27 Chancery Lane W.C.2) for particulars of the Oxford Meeting, August 24-25.

Economic Causes of War.

Scott Nearing, the American Socialist professor, is quoted in the Glasgow "Forward" as follows:—

Henry Cabot Lodge addressed the Senate of the United States, on 7th January, 1901. The Bill to increase the size of the Army was under consideration, and Senator Lodge was explaining why a larger Army was necessary.

"If anyone will take the trouble to look into the history of modern times," said he, "he will see how many of the wars came originally, never ostensibly, but actually from economic causes."

Beginning with this generalisation concerning the economic basis for war, Senator Lodge moved rapidly to the conclusion of his argument—"that the United States as a great factor in the world's economic affairs, must prepare for war!"

This is the way in which he put the matter—"We occupy a great position economically. We are marching on to a still greater one. You may impede it; you may check it; but you cannot stop the advance of the United States. The American people and the economic force which underlie all are carrying us forward to the economic supremacy of the world."

That argument was made at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War, while the issue of Imperialism was still fresh in the minds of the American people. It was made to explain the necessity for an extensive military establishment. It was made to convince his constituents that more millions must go into the murder-mill.

Had Senator Lodge been an economist and a prophet he could not have spoken a more accurate prediction of the fate that lay in store for the American people. They are destined, by the present masters of public life, to win the supremacy of the world—and to pay the necessary price in treasure and blood.

The Menace of Disease.

Russia, Poland, Austria and the new States created as a result of the war, are near enough to be a severe menace to the health of Europe in the immediate future. In Russia 1,600,000 cases of typhus were reported in 1919, while in Poland 230,000 cases were registered in the same year. 50,000 being added during January and February of this year. In Czechoslovakia there were 8,666 registered cases of small-pox and 9,332 cases of typhus in 1919.—Dorothy Katharine Furse, in the "Daily News," June 29th, 1920.

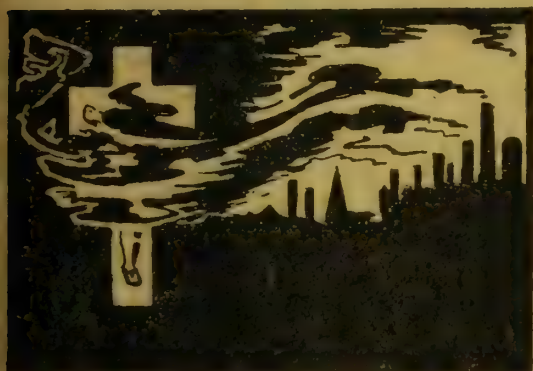
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The Outlook.

THE Spa Conference is ended. It is difficult to say precisely what results have been achieved. One thing seems very evident. The proceedings have moved wholly on the plane of undignified squabble between rival bargainers, with force in the background as the ultimate argument of the Allies. "Regrettable as it was," remarks the "Observer," "to lay the sword on the conference table, it was considered necessary. Day after day the negotiations had dragged along, and there seemed no escape from the deadlock except by peremptory movement." It is held in law that promises made under a threat of violence cannot be forced. It must not be wondered at if the agreements arrived at under the conditions of the Spa Conference have little moral binding force on the conquered peoples.

* * *

THIS is the trend of A.G.G.'s article in Saturday's "Daily News" on "The Failure of the Sword." Mr. Gardiner, however, entirely validates his argument by the insertion of fatal "but." "The sword settles nothing,"

he says. And then he proceeds to declare that it was necessary as a means to a preliminary settlement. But if it be used in order to gain a hearing for reason it remains as the foundation of any "peace" arrived at, and of necessity reappears at any crisis in the negotiations. It is this fatal "but" that robs the counsels of such as A.G.G. of any really powerful appeal they might otherwise possess.

* * *

THE decision of the Ministry of Transport to raise railway fares just as the holiday season is in full swing has caused loud protest. Not all the exactions of the Peace, nor the attempts to impose our rule on an unwilling Ireland, nor the disturbance in the East, owing to the ultimatum issued to Turkey, nor any other of the outrages committed on civilisation, has succeeded in raising such a unanimous storm of protest. We wish with all our hearts it were possible for all to enjoy the privileges of travel and recreation, but that happy state of affairs will not be reached till we learn to take larger views than seem possible as yet.

* * *

THE agitation to retain the City Churches as buildings of archæological interest makes little appeal to the modern utilitarian mind. But is not the fact that these edifices (around which, for six days out of seven, swarms the population of the biggest city in the world) are counted as useless a sign of the times? If we realised more than we do the need of an intimate connection between religion and our daily commercial and industrial life, we should declare that these places of worship were situated at strategic points, and should hasten to make the best use of them for Christianising the processes of making and spending money.

* * *

THE Australian Federation of Seamen's Unions has called an international conference of seamen to discuss the taking of action to prevent future wars. The circular issued to all the countries, including Germany, declares that without the consent and co-operation of the seamen the calamity of war cannot fall upon the world again.



THE NEW CATECHISM

One of the most striking sayings in the New Testament, and one of the most far-reaching in its implications, is that which declares that man was not made for the Sabbath but the Sabbath for man.

In that declaration you have the Charter of Emancipation from the tyranny of Religious Institutions. For what is true of the Sabbath is true of churches, creeds, sacraments. They are to be regarded as servants, not masters. Their claim does not extend beyond human nature's need of them. No one has the right to impose them upon us, even for what they may consider our own good, unless we ourselves are conscious of our need of their ministry.

But Jesus went beyond this. He said, in effect, Man does not exist for the sake of God, but God for the sake of Man. He declared that He came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. He was described afterwards as having come "in the form of a servant."

That is to reverse entirely the conventional view. That view is, in the words of the old catechism, that man's chief end is to glorify God. In practice, that has meant the subordination of human instinct to the alleged will of God. It has resulted in a conception of Deity which represented Him as an oriental monarch living upon the flattery and slavish labours of his courtiers. It has meant the enslavement of the human will and mind to religious institutions and officials. It is the source of the persecutions that have disgraced the Church.

Jesus put Man first, and God, as represented by His own person, as second—Man the lord, God the servant. The vision of God which He gave us is that of One who became obedient unto Man even unto the point of suffering death. The new catechism which He taught us runs:—"The chief end of God is the glory of Man."

The attitude of reverence for human nature which characterised Jesus is reflected in His Church in Her best moments. She has stood by impetuous Man as a mother by Her growing son, knitting Her holy brows to understand the vagaries and needs of the wild young rebel. She has been marvellously acute in interpreting the demands of our inarticulate being. Her ministries have adapted themselves with wonderful self-abnegation to our instincts and clamorous requirements. She has remembered that we are both body and soul, that we need both social fellowship and individual attention, that the call to heroic service would be more welcome than a flatter-

ing invitation to ease and honour, that we possess a conscience which somehow must be eased of its burden.

All this knowledge and adaptability is stored in Her archives, and in Her best periods has characterised Her treatment of us. She has been a mother whose love has transformed Her into a servant, this capacity to understand and willingness to meet our needs She won our hearts. Because She taken the form of a servant She was exalted in affections, and Her dominion over us established the solid foundations of Humility. Because service was found indispensable She acquire power over us that no Autocrat has ever obtained. Her knowledge of our souls, and Her ability to forestall our needs gave Her the sovereignty She surrendered. But of late there has crept into tones a note of patronage. She views our latest demands with something like a smile of condescension. We have grown serious in our concern about ourselves and the world we have made. The toys which we amused ourselves—the armies we marched across the world and back again, the factories erected, the cities we built, no longer please. There has arisen in our minds and hearts a consciousness that the system of things that we construct does not satisfy the best in our human nature. She does not appear to understand us, and talk to us from a height of superior wisdom and longer experience. The servant has disappeared in admonitress. She warns Labour of this and that, suggests that we are merely querulous. What we feel is that She does not understand us. She tastes rather than serves. Her adaptability is gone, and She has hardened. No longer, it is to be feared, does She exploit us in the name of God, sacrifice our human claims to those of an imaginary Deity, but She has allied Herself to human and very human despots, and bids us sacrifice ourselves for States and Plutocrats. The Present Order of Society, would have us believe, must be maintained, matter at what cost to human happiness and welfare. To the Monsters whom She sanctioned have sacrificed our years and our strength, and are rebelling.

Mother, we have caught sight again of the you once showed us. It is the face of One who might have been Autocrat of All the Heavens, who took the form of a servant. We have not forgotten it. In our rebellion against our human plotters it has visited us, bringing strength and inspiration, and giving religious sanction to our revolt. If God refuses to exploit the least of His children, even for His own high honour and glory we cannot believe that the puppets of earth have any claim upon us. If the Lord of Heaven listens with breathless interest to the wild palpitation of our heart to learn our secret, and girded Himself with a towel to serve us on His knees, we can no longer credit the legend that we were created to serve some bloody monster called Imperialism or Capitalism.

THE TRAM

Facts about Russia.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

I have carefully followed the various statements made by members of the British Labour delegation to Russia since their return, and have been impressed by the absence of really instructive matter in those statements. (I do not, of course, include the very informing articles now appearing in the "Nation" from the pen of Bertrand Russell, who was an independent investigator.) I suppose that the reason why so little has come out in these Press statements is that they were in the main hurriedly dictated before definite conclusions and deductions had been made.

On Saturday last I had the good fortune to spend several hours with Dick Wallhead, the popular Chairman of the I.L.P., who was one of the Labour delegates sent to Russia, and I heard more from him in a couple of hours' talk about actual conditions in Russia than I have learnt from most of the literature I have read during the past few months. And I must confess that I was startled by many things I was able to glean from my informant. I have frequently pointed out that Lenin and his colleagues were by no means the dogmatic, uncompromising fanatics that some of their critics (and friends) would have us believe them to be; but I was not quite prepared for the revelations made by Dick Wallhead in reply to my queries with regard to such vital matters as workshop control and the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The plain, unvarnished truth about the much-vaunted workshop control of industry by the Russian workers is that it does not exist. I was shown authentic translations of the decrees issued by the Communist Party Congress in April last, which absolutely abolished the whole system of control of industry by committees of workmen, and reverted to the system of one-man management. The Bolshevik organisers of industry have been compelled to throw over committee control for the quite simple reason that it did not work. They are now conducting an educational campaign among the workers in order to convince them of the impossibility of the workers controlling their own industry in the present stage of development without the aid of "bourgeois" experts and organisers. Dick Wallhead told me of a large waterway concern which had been under committee control for a long time without success. In this case the Bolshevik commissary in charge of the area had "sacked" the committee and placed an ex-officer in the Tsar's army (who happened also to be a clever organiser and expert in this particular industry) in sole charge of the vast system. Faced with the terribly urgent need of securing the last ounce of production from every Russian worker in order to build up a new social structure on the ruins of the old corrupt system, which collapsed because of its sheer rottenness, the realists in the Bolshevik Government are not able to risk failure by a too rigid adherence to theories which do not fit in with present conditions in Russia.

Another fact which will come as a shock to many who are advocating a slavish imitation of Russian methods, irrespective of their efficacy, is that the Soviet system has not brought democracy, and that as Dick Wallhead remarked, "the number of proletariat who dictate in Russia to-day is very few indeed." There is no question about the dictatorship, but it is not the Trade Unions, nor is it the Soviets, who do the dictating: it is the Communist Party—the political section of the community, who are a mere handful out of a population of 150 millions—who issue decrees which are binding on the workers. Much of this has, of course, been frankly admitted by the Bolsheviks themselves, and justified on the ground of necessity. I do not quarrel with that plea. I share the view of Dick Wallhead that, much as he disagreed with the present methods of the Bolsheviks, if he were in Russia he would be bound to support the Soviet Government because there is at present no alternative Government in sight. Short of armed violence, I too would render the Bolshevik Government every possible assistance in their magnificent attempt to build up a Socialist Commonwealth. But I think we should be doing a disservice to the Russian people and to the cause of the Co-operative Commonwealth if we ignored the plain facts of the present position in Russia and refused to profit by the experiences and mistakes of the leaders of the Russian revolution.

Dick Wallhead was enthusiastic about the great measure of success which the Bolsheviks have achieved in social schemes. In spite of the fact that the Soviet Government has definitely repudiated organised religion, he found the sacred ikons in every workshop, and everywhere the people were free to worship as they chose. "What are you going to do with the churches?" he asked a prominent Bolshevik official. "Nothing," was the prompt reply. "Why should we? If the people want religion they will have it." But religion or no religion, the Bolshevik Government is the only Government in the world that places children and invalids first in their concern. Children and invalids have first claim on the resources of the country. Expectant mothers come next: no expectant mother is allowed to work for eight weeks before and after childbirth, and they are placed on the highest ration for the whole period. In 1917, 88 per cent. of the Russian people were illiterate; next year the Bolshevik Government will insist upon written signatures on all documents in place of the usual mark of the illiterate. These and a hundred and one other signs of real progress are a great tribute to the organising capacity of the leaders of the Russian revolution. But the lesson we have to learn from Russia is that there is no royal road to the Co-operative Commonwealth, and that the psychology of the common people of all lands must play a bigger part in revolutions than some of our cast-iron theorists are prepared to admit.

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Wilfred Wellock Returns.

Wilfred Wellock, our International Editor, has returned from the Continent, and although his experiences have left their physical effects, he hopes soon to be in his usual health.

There is no need to tell our readers how varied and instructive have been the scenes among which he has been living during the past months. He has touched innumerable points in the seething life of Germany and Austria, making an especial study of the groups of the Left Wing. His experiences have included not only the public assemblies of the various bodies in which he has interested himself, but, in addition, an intimate acquaintance with the home life of the people. It will be remembered that he was in Berlin throughout the period of the "Putsch," and witnessed some of the street fighting that then took place.

His Future Work for the Crusade.

We are glad to say that arrangements are being made which will enable Wilfred Wellock to visit different parts of the country and address meetings. He will welcome any opportunity which can be given him of speaking, from the "Crusader" standpoint, on the conclusions to which he has come. He has important things to say to the Social Movement and to all who are interested in the cause of Internationalism in this country.

Applications should be made to Mr. Wellock personally at the "Crusader" Office.

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THE STRENGTH OF JOY.

It is said that the world loves those who make laugh.

Well—apt-to-be-depressed-Crusaders, there is great danger in our losing grip of one of the most powerful influences in the bringing about of the Kingdom of God to-day. We get so overwhelmed with our "problem" that we lose sight of the "ordinary person," and we tend to forget that we do actually possess "good news," and that this good news must be told not only in word, but in fact, and in the very way we walk and move—we are, in fact, to be "good news" ourselves.

A doctor "does good" often by his very manner and the more critical the case, the more careful he is to reassure by his own attitude.

It is useless to go to the world to-day with a message of love, if we ourselves grump along "unlovely."

While recognising that Jesus found Himself overwhelmed with the tragedy of the opposition to His Message, we are confident that He was not a depressing person. He did not let down the temperature to that degree in which hopelessness and doubt drown even the desire for effort. Even in His solemnest moments when He revealed to His disciples the tremendous tragedy of what was to come, "good cheer" was still His call—His command. What about that disconcerting moment, when the Samaritans refused Him a night's shelter? I fancy that as that little group walked on to the next village, that it was the disciples who grumped and the Master who did the cheering up.

The fact is that Jesus knew that He was absolutely bound to win. For the "Joy set before Him," He endured and "despised the shame." It is the doubt that really kills. If we are sure, as He was and sure, then we shall discover and express the true order of the spiritual life.

Love—Joy—Peace.

I have come to the conclusion that we shall overturn the present social order quicker by showing how "silly" it is than by depressingly criticising it. At any rate we shall not have used all the honourable weapons in our armoury until we have tried the weapon of laughter.

T.W.W.

Henceforth I ask not good fortune, I myself am good fortune. Henceforth I whimper no more, postpone no more, need nothing, done with indolence of complaints, libraries, querulous criticisms, strong and content I travel the open road.—WAL WHITMAN.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

My remarks on the recent Anglo-Catholic Congress have moved a correspondent to write pointing out that although, as I said, only clergy were admitted to the High Mass at St. Alban's, eight other churches were open for similar use by the laity. My kindly critic further says that the "Church Times" must not be held to represent all Anglo-Catholics when it writes as it does in support of the horrible deeds of Dyerism in India, for many would utterly dissociate themselves from the views of that paper on that subject. I am very happy to give publicity to the statement.

* * *

So the miners are "for it" again! They have looked out of the corner of their eye, once more, at "Direct Action." Religious papers are shocked at them. It is agreed that these men may withdraw their labour quite rightfully in an attempt to get more money for themselves. But they must not withdraw their labour in the name of a great moral deal—such as Peace with Russia, or with Ireland. The workers may act for their own immediate advantage, but they are severely lectured and told that they are "selfish" when they summon up courage to risk all for their neighbour. It makes strange reading to me. But, it is urged, they can get all they seek if they will only work through Parliament. I can never understand how honest men can advance that argument. It is precisely the breakdown of the whole system of Parliamentary government that is causing the trouble.

* * *

Now I want to say something about the Wesleyan Methodist Conference at Hull. I welcome the bold utterance of its President, Dr. Stafford. But is his utterance quite bold enough? He frankly admitted that "our visions of what would happen after the war had not materialised." And then he is reported to have said: "We need to deal with prime causes. It is the Church's solemn duty to throttle militarism." And I notice that cheers greeted this remark. Then he continued as follows: "We must ensure against war. I distrust the party politician, but when an appeal is signed by Viscount Grey, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Robert Cecil, Admiral Beatty, and Mr. J. R. Clynes, it means something." Referring to the League of Nations, he said: "I do not think the League is either dead or dying. The movement may be postponed; it can never be abandoned. The principles involved are greater than politics." The speaker turned to the duty of the Church regarding war. "The Church," said he, "must help the world to rid itself of the hateful spirit which generates war. It must lay the axe at the root of the upas tree. I do not hesitate to say that the disarmament of Germany should be followed by the disarmament of every country in the world. (Cheers.) We are looking to our American cousins to sustain this great ideal."

But what are the facts, the cold facts? American cousins are building a big fleet, the League of Nations is under the control of men who believe in the old evil diplomacy; a Treaty of Peace, inspired by revenge and greed, holds the field, and is sowing dragons' teeth broadcast through the world; and the Church still believes in the idea of force as a means of bringing about the Kingdom of God. Such are the facts. And it is in view of this situation that I say again that the President of the Conference, with all his courage, failed to speak boldly enough. I want to hear the leaders in the Churches say that if war is so wrong that "the disarmament of Germany should be followed by the disarmament of every country in the world," then the Churches will have nothing to do with it. That would be "laying the axe at the root of the upas tree." And a good beginning of a highly practical and immediate kind could be made by a firm declaration repudiating the Treaty of Versailles.

* * *

Alluding to the industrial situation, Dr. Stafford remarked that during the war "the masters ran riot in prosperity whilst those whom they employed sat in purple and fine linen. (Laughter and cheers.) Now they were facing each other in hostile camps, and between the upper and nether millstones the professional class, especially the clergy and ministers, were being ground out. Strikes were the order of the day, and many of the blows were aimed at the existing fabric of society rather than at industrial tyranny. The workmen were now in a stronger position than ever. Employers had sometimes been tyrants, but he begged the workmen not to take such employers as their pattern, but to employ their own power with fairness. Wages and work must go hand in hand if the nation was to be saved from bankruptcy. If wages were high and production low, the end was not far off."

* * *

Here again, as it seems to me, is a failure to realise the deeper facts of the position. It is suggested that blows may legitimately be aimed at industrial tyranny, but not at "the existing fabric of society." But what if the chief cause of industrial tyranny, and consequently of industrial unrest, is found to be none other than "the existing fabric of society"? In that case the blows are being very well aimed. It may take a lot of doing, but I am convinced that the leaders of our Churches will yet have to declare that our only hope is a radical change in the existing social fabric so that more room may be found for Christian principles. Compromise between rival interests will never point the way out. When we talk fervently about the need for greater production, we must realise that when we had immense production we did not find ourselves better off. The fact was we were producing on wrong lines, and the whole system at last brought us into universal war,

Is it Slavery?

GRAVE ALLEGATIONS REGARDING BRITISH RULE IN EAST AFRICA.

In the "Times" of Thursday, July 15th, there was published the report of a debate in the House of Lords concerning certain circulars issued, in one case, by the Governor of East Africa, Sir Robert Northey, and, in another case, by Mr. Ainsworth, the Chief Native Commissioner. These circulars postulate for the first time, so far as is known, in British Colonies, administrative liability to provide labour for private interests. "Our policy," says the Governor, "should be to encourage voluntary work in the first place, but to provide power by legislation to prevent idleness. . . . We must assist and protect employers by a system of registration of natives universally, applied as early as possible."

The method to be adopted for pressing or forcing this labour is set forth in the circular issued by Mr. Ainsworth at the instruction of the Governor.

(1) All Government officials in charge of native areas must exercise every possible lawful influence to induce able-bodied male natives to go into the labour field. Where farms are situated in the vicinity of a native area, women and children should be encouraged to go out for such labour as they can perform.

(2) Native chiefs and elders must at all times render all possible lawful assistance on the foregoing lines. They should be repeatedly reminded that it is part of their duty to advise and encourage all unemployed young men in the areas under their jurisdiction to go out and work on plantations. They should be encouraged to visit plantations where their people are employed.

The Chiefs referred to, it should be said, are not, for the most part, hereditary Chiefs, but paid servants of the Government—locally called "puppet Chiefs"—and are thus under the control of the Government.

The Governor also proposes obtaining native labour from the adjacent conquered territory, a decision which seems to imply a violation of both spirit and letter of the League of Nations Covenant, which sets forth the doctrine of disinterested control as the main object of the Mandates.

Lord Milner, in the House of Lords, acknowledged that—

"To a very limited extent compulsory labour had been permitted in East Africa and Uganda as an exceptional measure by an Ordinance issued early in this year. That ordinance permitted it at State headquarters, for Government transport services, and for the construction or maintenance of railways or roads, provided that no person should be required to work under those provisions for more than 60 days in one year if he were fully employed in any other occupation."

The Archbishop of Canterbury.

In the debate referred to, the Archbishop of Canterbury took a prominent part. He is reported as saying:—

The circular to which attention had been called, dealt with native labour for non-native farms and private undertakings. If they allowed the principle of labour for private people it very soon became synonymous with slavery. No body of men who were anxious to become rich could be trusted to act justly by those upon whom their riches depended.

There was something almost humorous in the words in the circular which brought pressure upon the native chiefs to use their influence with the natives under them and to encourage them by all lawful means to work. That influence was likely to take the form of the jambok and the rope. That was done in German East Africa by the Germans. Another great danger was deportation to a distance of the labour thus enrolled. Their lordships knew what happened in German East Africa. There was the awful question of disease, and of the desertion of families. They wanted more security against these perils than the circular seemed to give. The danger of the interest of the native being subordinated to the private interests of individual landowners, however admirable might be the intention, could not be allowed to pass without the strongest possible protest, and he asked for some assurance from the Government on that matter.

Missionary Societies Protest.

The Missionary Societies at home, it is gratifying to find, have not been idle in the matter. On June 18th, representatives who are at the head of practically all the missionary organisations in Great Britain and Ireland, except those of the Roman Catholic Church, unitedly expressed their unqualified opposition to compulsory labour, in face of the recent memorandum and circular issued by the Government in British East Africa.

In the course of their letter they say:—

The members of the Conference desire to express their unqualified opposition to compulsory labour for private profit, which they believe to be morally wrong and fundamentally at variance with Christian conceptions of life and duty. They note with satisfaction that Colonel Amery, in reply to a question in the House of Commons on February 25th, stated that he deprecated the application of force or illegitimate pressure to make natives work for private employers, but they cannot see how the proposals contained in the circular can fail in practice to have this effect.

They will esteem it a favour if the Conference can be supplied with a copy of the further circular to be issued by the Governor to which Colonel Amery referred in the House of Commons on April 26th, and also with a copy of the Masters and Servants Ordinance mentioned in the same speech.

This last request, it should be said, has not yet been complied with. And no satisfactory assurance, beyond the usual non-committal plausible explanations, have been given that the full meaning of these circulars will not be taken advantage of by farmers in East Africa, and a species of slave labour introduced into the Colony.

Russia and East Africa.

The Conscription of Labour by the Russian Government has been used again and again as a warning to British workers not to adopt Bolshevik methods. But, apparently, there is no need to be a Bolshevik in order to use forced Labour. And there is this important distinction between the conscription of Labour in Russia and the policy of the Governor of East Africa. In the former case the work for which Labour is conscripted is urgent national work, whereas in the latter case it seems proposed to give the privilege of using compulsory native labour to private employers.

Pacifist Policy.

IV.—ORGANISED ACTION. BY WILFRED WELLOCK.

Perhaps the supreme defect of the English temperament is its inherent antagonism to logic, its tendency to shrink from the deeper implications of cause or issue. We are fond of identifying ourselves with good causes, but deplorably afraid of investigating those causes to find out their ultimate consequences and demands. And to make the matter worse, we attempt to convert our laziness to a virtue by describing ourselves as a "practical" people; thereby adding hypocrisy to incompetency and rendering our service staggeringly ineffective. This defect is strikingly manifest in the pacifist and particularly the Christian pacifist) movement at the present time. Just as we are unwilling to consider the personal implications of pacifism with respect to capitalism, so are we afraid of discussing the methods whereby to defeat and overthrow capitalism and establish a new social order. We settle down to a harmless form of propaganda, and think we have done great things. Common sense ought to tell us that unless we find practical, demonstrable ways of establishing the Kingdom of God, we shall not injure our cause and our characters, and play into the hands of the reaction.

I have already dealt with this issue in so far as it affects personal action. We must now consider it with respect to corporate or organised action. And firstly, let us ask ourselves this question: Do we believe that the social order we desire can and will be brought about by preaching and practising love, and leaving it at that? Consider the business world at the present time, with its multifarious system of companies, trusts, and big interests, with their long lists of shareholders, Christians, and non-Christians, all jumbled up together, and ask yourselves if that world is likely to be transformed without some form of organised action? A handful of millionaires may control half a nation's industry, and thus, in a very real sense, the destinies of a large concourse of people; and yet, by reason of deep-seated materialism, be absolutely impervious to all spiritual appeals, providing it were possible to get near enough to them to make such. Has a nation to remain at a standstill, therefore, thousands of people to tolerate poverty and oppression indefinitely, until such men take it into their heads to "turn over a new leaf"? I contend that such inaction is positively iniquitous, and that by reason of it, it is possible for civilisation to degenerate beyond all hope of salvation. I will go further and say that our Western civilisation is to-day being hastened to its doom as a direct result of such a mental attitude, the forces that ought to be heaving the world, towards sanity being used to check thought and action that would probably do some good were it allowed a free course. Fear and over-caution have a good deal to answer for even in the advanced section of the Christian Church.

We have only to consider how hard it is for people within our own ranks to put themselves on a similar

economic level to the rest of us, to realise the need of some sort of organised action as a means of providing the necessary stimulus to revolutionary conduct. It was only the other day that a young pacifist burst on me with the remark: "Wellock, it's no use, these wealthy pacifists are driving me to despair. They profess to believe in the revolution, but the fact is they don't. They will give you money from the top of their pile, but they will not part with that which gives them caste, privilege, social standing, and influence. If I have much more to do with them I am sure I shall become a red revolutionary." And my friend has had ample experience of the people he was criticising.

Let me give a further illustration. We are all horrified and alarmed by the disastrous policy that our Government is at present pursuing and permitting to be pursued. If that policy is allowed to continue for 3½ years at the reckless pace traversed during the last eighteen months, I very seriously question if there will be sufficient spiritual force in the country to save our civilisation from utter destruction. If we intend to prevent that catastrophe we shall have to do something more than we are doing at present.

But what shall we do? Shall we fall back on legislation, put our trust in Parliaments? God forbid! We must kick from under our feet all our ancient prejudices concerning Votes, Democracy, Constitutionalism, and the like. The spirit of God is not tied down to any such machinery. And really, why should we worship such an idol as party politics, Parliamentaryism, when we see what an instrument of tyranny our materialist, fire-eating politicians have made of it? I do not for a moment deny the possibilities of Parliamentaryism in a society where democracy has some reality, but when Parliament is elected and controlled by a Press that serves the interests of the possessing class, it is the duty of every true democrat and friend of humanity to try and devise a more effective means of giving vent to the people's will. Thus, to my mind, some form of organised pacifist action is necessary to-day, just as the No-Conscription Fellowship was necessary during the war, which was nothing more nor less than organised anarchism.

We must keep in mind that we are at present in the grip of forces created or strengthened by the war, which are hurrying us to destruction at a stupendous rate. These forces must be arrested or we perish. And we cannot arrest them by means of Parliament, firstly because we cannot afford to wait 3½ years, and secondly, because even a new election, could that be secured, would be dominated by our unscrupulous capitalist Press.

Thus a higher mode of action must be adopted, viz., direct action, prompted and guided by spiritual motives and ends.

(To be continued.)

HOW

To begin my story I must go back to the years following the Great War. They were years of almost indescribable chaos. It was as though the currents of progress, finding their channel blocked, turned back upon themselves. On every hand there was reversion to barbarism. The utter confusion of affairs produced a mood of hopelessness and carelessness. Things were so bad, it seemed impossible to put them right.

A Labour Government.

The elections which took place in this country put in power by a small majority a Labour Government, reinforced by a number of those who had belonged to the Radical Wing of the Liberal Party. But matters had gone too far for them to effect anything. Belief in Parliamentary Government had been undermined, and although their victory was hailed with enthusiasm, the Government lacked the moral support of the community. No one really expected them to be able to do anything, and in that atmosphere it was impossible to keep alive long their own interest. Moreover, they were unacquainted with Parliamentary forms, and tripped up over the intricate rules governing life at St. Stephen's. Parliamentary government is the creation of bourgeois lawyers, and the workers found their environment alien and dispiriting. These strange surroundings did not add to their efficiency. It must be remembered, too, that they had been left a terrible legacy of financial chaos and international complications. There was need of bold action, large vision, determined purpose, and the willingness to risk all for the sake of great principles. These characteristics were lacking. When it came to the point of action, the leaders were found timid. They compromised again and again. The threat of armed resistance to their proposals on the part of the possessing class terrified them. It was not long before they were unseated. There followed a Reactionary Party, a sort of Capitalist Dictatorship, which out-Heroded Herod. A merciless crusade was organised against the Unions. The increasing demands of the workers were met with repressive measures. Feeling grew and became explosive.

The Explosion.

A conflict between troops which had been sent to "keep order" during a monster strike in the north and the strikers precipitated matters. Some of the military went over to the workers. A train-load of munitions on its way to the scene was overturned

and the munitions found used to arm the strikers. A sudden change was noticeable in the mentality of the general public. Everywhere there were signs of the revolutionary temper. It was like the breaking out of the war fever in 1914. For a while the workers seemed to have things all their own way. The Government was paralysed. Had it not been for the Minister for War, undoubtedly that would have been the end of Capitalism in this country. But he had been prepared for this crisis. And with a swiftness which amazed everyone he landed thousands of black troops. The appearance of this new factor, the prospect which it opened up of long and bloody conflict, and the remorselessness of the methods adopted, changed the aspect of affairs. The leaders of the revolution were seized and either shot or imprisoned. Many of the middle-class who had been prepared to make the best of a bad job and were ready to support the proletariat, now went back to their former alliances. The lack of organisations capable of dealing with the situation fatally crippled the workers, and with the disappearance of those possessed of initiative, the revolution fizzled out. Such determined spirits as remained were obliged to carry on their activities underground.

The World State.

During the succeeding years a state of things prevailed which could only be called helotry. The Capitalists, through the League of Nations, had become internationalised. An international police had been organised. A great Capitalist World State had come into existence. Armed conscript forces, recruited largely from the backward races, were moved speedily from one country to another as circumstances demanded. A mysterious spy agency with ramifications throughout the world, and headquarters in Paris, London, and New York, kept the Dictators in touch with all movements of the people. This vast organisation of Capital eliminated much waste, exploited new territory, and was able to abolish unemployment. The workers, comparatively speaking, were well paid and their physical welfare was carefully studied. The slave masters found it to their advantage to provide an abundance of amusement, and sport was encouraged in every possible way. The splendour of this new phase of Capitalism, the vastness of the World State, and the unlimited character of its resources, dazzled the imaginations of the people. All the arts of the stage manager were employed to enhance the importance of the officials and the grandeur of

OPENED.

those functions at which they presided. It seemed as though the world had entered on a new stage of its history.

The Under-World.

But the movement which had been so disastrously crushed was not dead. It survived beneath the surface. By means of secret meetings, under the guidance of leaders of a different character to those who had perished in the revolution, hope was kept alive. For very lack of the materials on which hope generally thrives, the eyes of these underground societies turned more and more to the realities of faith. Outwardly there seemed no prospect of realising the dream of the centuries. Yet they would not abandon their ideals. And now there began to be whispered among them words of strange prophecy. A new light was seen in the eyes of those who met in these assemblies. They spoke of the Kingdom of Man. Sometimes they called it the Kingdom of God. Their faith that a change was at hand took on a religious character. Among those who cherished these hopes there was much communal feeling and not a little practical communism. Their more confident bearing, and greater freedom of spirit, attracted attention. Though they had not, at this stage, entered upon any active propaganda, their numbers grew. Imperceptibly, the movement passed into a more active phase. It was said that they were organising themselves for taking over the control of the vast apparatus of the World State. Their audacity and faith knew no bounds.

The Church.

During these changes the Church had temporised or had become the tool of the Exploiters. Much was made, of course, of the international character of the new State. Some went so far as to say that the Kingdom of God had arrived. But a certain section refused to submit to the new Dictatorship. They declared that the claims of Christ and His Church were superior to that of any State. Around these rebels gathered the malcontents of every denomination, welded into a united body by a real spirit and unity, and bidding fair to make good its claim to be the Holy Catholic Church. With this body the remnant of the revolutionary party made common cause, and together they formed a movement of unparalleled spiritual significance.

The Blood of the Martyrs—

Obviously this could not long continue. Regarding them at first as harmless eccentrics, the authori-

ties at last realised their danger. The spy organisation was set to work with feverish earnestness. Meetings were visited and broken up, literature seized, leaders imprisoned. Strangely enough, this only quickened the movement. The Government became seriously alarmed. Those whom they had imprisoned were brought out and executed. A shudder seemed to run through the community, for these men had won the respect of all, and not a few regarded them as the divinely-appointed heralds of a New Order. As the persecutions increased, so did the adherents. The movement became more explicit. It attacked the moral foundations of the World State. The brutality, materialism, and irreligious character of this mammoth organisation were challenged. It seemed as though the people were awakening from a dream. They rubbed their eyes and looked again at this Thing that had so long exploited them. The fearlessness and large-heartedness of those who suffered seemed to inspire men with a new spirit. It looked as though the Christianity of the first century had come to life again. A union of spiritual and economic truth, a blending of the immaterial and the material was its characteristic. There were relics in this amazing movement of the Church and the old industrial organisations curiously intermingled. By virtue of the sheer spiritual value of its programme and the character of its members, the authorities found it impossible any longer to continue its persecutions. In increasing numbers the officers of the World State, sick of the inhumanity of the organisation under which they had served, joined the ranks of the new movement. It thus became equipped with the ability to carry on the affairs of the community.

The Kingdom of Man.

It was as though the Great Tyranny, as it came to be called, just faded away. When at last it vanished completely, there was left standing the skeleton, as it were, of the new structure.

The centralisation of power in a few hands had created a new proletariat, consisting of a State officialdom, a bureaucracy which had been robbed of its humanity, compelled to become slave-drivers, mere blind agents of a vast mechanical process. It was the revolt of this bureaucracy which finally turned the scale. Without the support of the underlings the World State vanished away, and in its place stood the Kingdom of Man, which is the Kingdom of God.

The Statesman's Catechism.

(WHICH HAS SUPERSEDED THE CHURCH CATECHISM FOR ALL ASPIRANTS TO MINISTERIAL RANK—IN UTOPIA.)

Q. What is the first duty of a statesman?

A. His duty to himself.

Q. What is his next duty?

A. His duty to the ruling-class to which he belongs.

Q. Does he not owe a duty to his party or his constituents?

A. The duty to his party is included in his duty to himself, because it is only while his party is in power that he can draw his salary. His constituents owe him a duty, that of re-electing him.

Q. How do you define the term Parliamentary Government?

A. It is a clever device to delude the masses into the belief that they are democratically governed by the will of the majority.

Q. What is the Party System?

A. A still more subtle scheme to enable the ruling class to retain permanent power.

Q. What is the duty of the ruling class?

A. To exploit the rest of the community for their own advantage.

Q. How does the ruling class manage this when the whole community are electors?

A. By keeping them in ignorance of the truth. A wise statesman once said that you can fool all the people some of the time and some of the people all the time.

Q. What methods are used for fooling them?

A. Two only, as generally necessary for safety, namely, the Capitalist Press and the Answers to Questions in the House.

Q. How does the Press fulfil this function?

A. Chiefly by printing ingeniously worded articles to "make the worse cause appear the better," as Plato described it; also by exaggerating statements which tend to justify the actions of the ruling class and suppressing those which incriminate them.

Q. But supposing, notwithstanding this excellent strategy, the real truth becomes known; what is the next line of defence?

A. The Statesman falls back on to the second method—that of Answers to Questions.

Q. How does he evade the truth then?

A. By terminological inexactitudes, by stating that his information is to the contrary, or by answering a different question to the one put.

Q. But what if a member can produce evidence signed by witnesses to the effect that a servant of the Government incited people to commit crime?

A. That is quite simple; the Minister will say that the servant in question was misunderstood and misreported, and that the signed evidence is, therefore, incorrect and worthless.

Q. But supposing the Minister's enemies move the adjournment of the House in order to argue the point?

A. Then he must fall back on the Speaker, who is a very present help in trouble.

Q. How do you define Imperialism?

A. The acquisition of territories belonging to weaker nations by means of force or treachery.

Q. What do you mean by treachery?

A. There are various kinds; one method is by bribing some of the influential men in the country, another is by making treaties and then breaking them, a third is by acquiring a mandate to promote LAW AND ORDER and introduce the blessings of capitalist civilisation.

Q. What method is used to enforce LAW AND ORDER in these benighted countries?

A. An Army of Occupation.

Q. What are the other functions of an Army of Occupation?

A. To protect the natives against themselves; in other words, to put them in prison to keep them safe from robbers.

Q. When is an Army of Occupation not an Army of Occupation?

A. When it is protecting an imaginary section of the population from non-existent atrocities.

Q. What do you mean by "non-existent atrocities"? How can a thing be, and yet be non-existent?

A. Non-existent atrocities are those which, having been committed either by common criminals or by paid spies, are attributed to a certain section of the natives.

Q. What is the correct course to pursue when the sympathy of that portion of the community which does not belong to the ruling class becomes excited in favour of the oppressed natives?

A. To issue an Official Statement.

Q. What is an Official Statement?

A. A document which reflects the actual truth in a distorted mirror, so that it is unrecognisable, and is calculated to soothe the refractory portion of the community.

Q. When a nation is on the verge of national bankruptcy, what is the obvious remedy?

A. To increase the expenditure by the maintenance of unnecessary departments containing a multitude of useless and highly paid officials, and by building costly and hideous statues or monuments.

Q. How should a rational Government deal with profiteering?

A. Participate in the game by State trading and an Excess Profits Duty; this will help to keep prices up, and the Government's share will go on increasing, and it will have more money to waste.

Q. But is not this hard on the community who have to pay the increased prices?

A. No; because the Government does not exist for the benefit of the community; the community exists for the benefit of the Government.

Q. How long will this delectable state of things last?

A. As long as the various sections of the community can be kept (by means of careful misrepresentations) from uniting against the ruling classes.

A SCOT.

Bookland. A New German Movement.

When I read Dr. Rudolf Steiner's new book, "The Threefold State: The True Aspect of the Social Question" (Geo. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 5/- net), I was reminded of the phrase: "Everything in its season."

Evolution is a fact, and there are certain social states it is impossible to pass into without first having passed through certain others; from which it follows that when the time is ripe for a new move forward, the lines of possible and of true development are perceived by many.

A Striking Parallel.

Dr. Steiner's starting point may be said to be the recognition of Marx's contention that the existing social order contains contradictions which must sooner or later cause it to snap asunder. The breaking point, indeed, lies not far ahead, the War, and then the Peace, having greatly accelerated its approach. But after that he differs widely from the Marxist, the line of cleavage being, if I might try to express it in a sentence, that whereas the Marxist believes that the disease of modern society is capitalism, pure and simple, Dr. Steiner would say that it is the outcome of economic factors being allowed to control spiritual factors, which may even be the case in a Socialist State. But if it is, he contends, the disease of modern society will not be cured.

Dr. Steiner's Cure.

The curse of modern society is that it is governed by financiers, i.e., by a desire for material gain. The soul of a nation is sacrificed to the God Profit, to the prosperity of the few. In a Socialist State, argues Dr. Steiner—and I think rightly—it will also be possible for the nation's soul to be in the hands of the economists, and, in the interests of material welfare, specific methods of production or economic control, to sacrifice the nation's soul, spiritual development. And it is no answer to this argument merely to say that all the nation would benefit materially by such a policy.

Thus, Dr. Steiner finds the road to salvation not so much in the overthrow of capitalism as in the abolition of the control of financiers—capitalists or socialists—over the entire domain of life. Let the economists control the economic matters, but leave questions of justice and equity, of education and the things of the spirit, to those who have devoted their lives to such questions. Above all things, take them out of the hands of the economists. For, perhaps more than others, economists have need of spiritual guidance, and certainly the work they do ought to be directed by those who have a clearer vision of the nation's spiritual possibilities and destiny than economists usually possess.

The Threefold State.

Hence it is that Dr. Steiner develops his theory of The Threefold State—the Economic State, the Equity State, and the Spiritual State. The first is

to concern itself with business, or work, the second with justice, and the third with education and religion, etc. The governing principle of the first State will be co-operation, that of the second equity, and that of the third freedom, representing the three watchwords of the French Revolution: Fraternity, Equality, Liberty.

Now it is impossible, affirms our author, to have a progressive or spiritually healthy State so long as all these functions are controlled by the same people; and the failure of modern Statecraft and the collapse of present-day civilisation is due to their being so controlled. The revolution that is needed, therefore, is to separate these functions: to leave business matters to those who understand them, but to place all such questions as the just distribution of wealth, the economic and other relations that ought to exist between individuals, as well as the question of education and the deciding of people's vocations, etc., in the hands of those fitted to deal with them.

The Retention of Capitalism.

As might be deduced from the foregoing, Dr. Steiner is not necessarily concerned about the overthrow of Capitalism. In fact, he prefers to retain it, but so rigorously and completely controlled by the Equity State and the Spiritual State, that it is no longer capitalism in the sense we know it. He would retain it because he believes there are men naturally and spiritually fitted to control capital, big business; and industry, even in a Socialist State, will have to be "controlled." But when all has been said and done, I think Dr. Steiner would have to admit that after his methods had been successfully applied for a considerable time, he would have destroyed capitalism as completely as the Guild Socialist would destroy it; for in the last analysis, control will be determined by talent, or fitness; and talent cannot be regulated by heredity. Once the right to appoint the controllers of industry or capital is handed over to the Spiritual State, capitalism has to all intents and purposes ceased to exist.

As a method of transition from the existing to a new social order, that outlined by Dr. Steiner might prove to be a practical one if the times still permitted of evolutionary development. For my part, I am unable to think they do. But that ought not to prevent us from seeing the force of Dr. Steiner's main contention, which, I hold, is also a cardinal principle in Guild Socialism, viz., that in any future State, be it Capitalist or Socialist, true development will depend upon such a division of functions as Dr. Steiner suggests, and particularly upon the Equity and Spiritual States being free in their own domain, absolutely unfettered by the Economic State.

We spiritual idealists must keep this fundamental fact in mind, for the way to freedom will not lie clearly before us, but will be to find, when capitalism has been overthrown and the reins of power are in the hands of the workers.

The Army as a School of Revolution.

By J. R. SULLIVAN (an ex-Chaplain, N.Z.E.F.)

The world was never more ready to receive Socialism than it is to-day. The war has forced men to see the need of change in the governance of nations. Ex-soldiers specially need the inspiration and guidance of the Socialist Revolutionary; they know the old world organisation is doomed; they are not quite clear as to what is destined to create the new order. There is a mass of revolutionary sentiment that must be organised, developed, and directed. And this revival of the proletarian spirit is due entirely to the Great War.

The Germs of Destruction.

These Capitalism has developed within itself for its own destruction. The war against the Central Powers has made Revolutionists, not only on the Continent but also in England. These revolutionists do not intend to fight again for the Capitalist class. They now see that that very class is their world-enemy. What then are the main factors causing the changed outlook of the vast majority of soldiers? Why do so many who served in the world-armies realise that the capitalist war organised humanity into two hostile camps—the ruling, propertied class, and the ruled, the proletarians?

World Conquest by Trade.

This was a bold conception long before 1914. During the war it was not openly proclaimed, yet it was faithfully kept in view. Several times attempts to stop the war were sabotaged by the trade captains. The entrance of Italy, and later of America, proved the existence of this one aim—conquest by trade—in the affairs of every belligerent. In other words there was a capitalist deadlock of markets in 1914. To break the deadlock the five years' war was necessary to give dominance to one power or to one group of powers. And to-day England is dominant in trade, and the means to defend that trade. Now to the soldier who yielded service and blood on the altar of Capitalism it was a staggering realisation to find that not for truth, nor for right, nor for Belgium did he fight, but for the rich man's gold and for priority of exploitation of the backward races. This gold and exploitation has the Peace of Paris guaranteed. There is no escape from the terms of that Peace save by Revolution. The League of Nations is a dumb show. The Peace of Paris is therefore a direct incitement to Revolution. The war, of which it is a fitting epitaph, showed the soldier that his patriotism was taken advantage of and that the enemy he fought was at home as well as abroad.

Private Ownership of Social Necessities a Crime.

This truth is subscribed to by millions to-day. We had not been long at war before we learned the truth that Capitalist society could not ensure the production of food, and of the munitions of war, nor transport facilities. A censorship of the people was maintained. A weak censorship it was; but still it partially controlled the selfishness of private ownership. Yet in spite of this control food was priced severely high. The soldier found to his horror, that those he left behind in England were unprotected from the social wolves and badly led by the State which he was serving in arms. Here indeed was the great betrayal of the soldier. He was conscript to his masters; and his kin out of their necessities fed fat these masters. This treachery of the patriots has left an indelible stain on what little honour Capitalism may have; it is a perpetual reminder that organised private ownership of the necessities of life is not merely unchristian; it is organised crime, and a necessary accompaniment to the whole structure of modern society. The vast conscript army taught this first lesson in Revolution to the soldier.

The Worship of Caste.

The first fortnight in the army placed a man in his military class. The first lesson he had to learn was the value of discipline, of blind obedience to all orders. By discipline is meant, in short, slavish obedience to the King's Regulations

(vide Mr. Churchill on the impeachment of General Dyer). And King's Regulations are the thousand-year-old decrees of a Ruling Caste. It would be unchivalrous to include in this caste the thousands of heroic subordinate officers who lived and died in the trenches. These alas! were but the tools of other hands. The red tab, the green tab, and the other tabs and the politician at home—these constituted the caste that King's Regulations insist upon as worthy of obedience. They live in a world unknown to the ordinary soldier. And by virtue of their caste they have been preserved from the wreckage, and to-day are planning future wars. At the front, caste meant life for a few and death for the many. The history of 1914–1916 will reveal who were the sufferers and who made the blunders. Every soldier knows we had more than one Gallipoli; our Gallipolis were the tragic blunders of a caste; not of the nation. He may have more than a shrewd idea that it was this very worship of the super-humanity of caste that caused the war. So he knows his side; he is prepared to submit no longer to the dominance of a privileged few. It is evident, therefore, that the army by emphasising social differences and insisting on obedience to a select few, drove the men to see their common interests and so has fixed their determination to destroy the autocracy of caste by Revolution.

The Class War.

Many a man before he joined the Forces doubted the reality of this. He was soon disillusioned. His masters preached at him in proclamation, in the Press, and at church parade, of the devilry of the Hun—of the Prussian class. And thus did they do humanity a service. We found the German soldier a decent fellow. We hated the devils who set him at us. And by so doing we pleased our masters, for Wilhelm represented commercial success. But the crusading spirit of the soldier, like the evangelical fire of the church, ended in 1915. What took its place? Stricter conscription, harsher court martials. Not a few of the vast army saw in this terrorism the minds and purposes of the Prussians of England and France. So the Prussian class was at home as well as in Berlin. The soldiers' class, whether it be in England or in Germany, was merely an international weapon, to be used for the capitalist purpose and then to be despised. Think of the unemployment of the ex-soldier, the treatment of the blind, the miserable pittance to widows and the disabled!

They Crucified Him.

In the early days of the war the Church held out the hope of spiritual revival. To-day we know how falsely the Church guided us. No matter how indulgent we may be we must feel deeply ashamed of organised Christianity. As soon as the Church took sides and supported a narrow nationalism to the exclusion of the Christ's internationalism, then did the Church lose its authority. It revealed itself as a supporter of capitalist society. Men like Dr. Orchard, it is true, protested against the tendency of the Church; but they were too few to have much influence. As the war was taught the soldier the curse of capitalism, so in the general contempt he has for modern society, he includes the Great Church. He accuses it of sacrificing Jesus to national pride, and to the greed for conquest. He argues that a truly Christian Church could have stopped the war in 1915. The world crucified the Christ, and for five years the Church stood by consenting unto His death. But the way of death is the way of life. So live forever the spirits of Jaurès, and Liebknecht. So Jesus of Nazareth will, because of the second crucifixion "draw all men unto Him."

The brutality of the training in the Army, the horrors of war, the faces of the dead, the betrayal of the great orthodox Christian religion, the cruel selfishness of one class to be found in all nations—these have turned our hopes towards the Social Revolution when wealth and war shall perish by the inevitable growth of Communism and Love.

The Crusade.

THE COMRADES OF THE CROSS.

It is a sure sign of health in any movement that there should arise within it groups and guilds which, while standing for something to which the whole movement cannot be committed, make their special witness without rivalry or schism, gratefully acknowledging to the parent body the debt they owe. One result of the Open-air Mission, organised by the London Union, has been such that a group has been formed by some of those who are sharing largely in the work, the group's formation being the result of a long felt desire for something approaching a Preachers' Guild.

The name chosen, "Comrades of the Cross," may help to indicate those vital ideas, so often held to be irreconcilable, for all of which the Comrades seek to stand. For it is our desire to stress the value of Catholic faith and practice, and yet to stand for freedom, to fight uncompromisingly for social revolution and equally uncompromisingly to oppose all appeals to violence and to hate. Because we believe in the cross we believe in comradeship, and because we believe in comradeship we recognise our total responsibility one for the other. And this we are trying to do alike in spiritual and in economic things, realising that in the society there must normally be found an authority and guidance no individual member can claim.

The guild is composed entirely of those actually engaged in public speaking, and it does not intend to appeal for members, but only to consider the admission of those who, from time to time, may desire to be so enrolled. It is our hope to arrange missions in London and in different parts of the country, but speakers would be sent in no individual capacity, but as members of the Guild, esteemed efficient by the Guild as a whole, to speak in its name. The Comrades of the Cross are not financed by anybody, nor do they desire to be, and speakers have therefore to depend upon the charity of those who may demand their services; but, as they are quite obscure and unimportant people, such demands are unlikely to be excessive. The Comrades have come together only that they may be the better able to serve and, if there are any who would care to ask their co-operation or to be associated with them, the matter will be brought before the next Chapter Meeting. It should be added that an act of common dedication was made before the Blessed Sacrament a few days ago, the five members of this first group being Alfred Cordell, the Rev. Frank Fincham, the Rev. Reginald Sorensen, Dorothy Strevens and C. Paul Gliddon, clerk.

Any communications should be addressed to 17, Red Lion Square, W.C. 1.

CORRESPONDENCE—The Domestic Revolution.

Dear Sir,—The letter published in July 9th's issue of "The Crusader," gave me, I frankly confess, what John Bull would describe as "summer shivers!" of the same variety that I had on reading Bertrand Russell's suggestions regarding the sex question, in his otherwise excellent "Principles of Social Reconstruction." Nevertheless, I feel grateful to the writer for having brought the matter forward for discussion in open daylight. I feel more grateful still that our editor has shown what a fatal and retrogressive step the one advocated would be, and how if we wish to cure the undoubtedly enormous evil of unbalanced numbers of men and women, we must attack the causes.

I certainly do not feel myself qualified to take part in a debate on the comparative virtues of monogamy and polygamy. I am content to say that to most of us polygamy seems as antiquated and impossible as polytheism. What I do want to contend is this. It's simply natural to a human being to long for a mate, and the want of one, is by human methods, incurable. I say by human methods, for it is here that Christianity comes in, and says Christ can compensate for every human need—not all but one. If Christianity fails here, it fails altogether. There are two kinds of person unmarried, and who are not tormented by the sex question. There is the kind that is so cold by nature that it knows nothing of the longings and temptations of others with more ardent natures. And there is the warm, passionate nature, which can never be humanly satisfied without what it instinctively knows to be earth's greatest happiness—but which accepts in faith the possibility that it may never be granted. It cries with passionate adoration to the great lover of its soul, finding in Him more than all—and says oh! not with martyr-like resignation, but with a joy born of suffering, "Christ shall suffice me"—and He does. Moreover, it is not miraculous that He does, but quite natural. Man is miserable while he wanders on his

self-chosen path, seeking what he believes to be his own good. But once unite him with God's purpose, and his restless nature finds its rest.

In a normal, right state of affairs, I suppose every adult person would marry, at least in this human stage of development, and marriage would not interfere with what he or she felt to be their "vocation." What need to go out into highways and byways to say, Know the Lord—for they would all know Him from the least to the greatest. But in these days of darkness and distress, many are called to lives that make married life an impossibility. They sacrifice much—but they receive in this life a hundred fold for all they lose, and in the world to come life everlasting. It's perfectly true, as others besides the writer of that article, point out, that repression is a dangerous thing. But what about transmutation? What of a love that has risen to the heights of spiritual being, and yet lost none of its human passion? That love has indeed "come of age." And do many of us realise that our longings to gratify our natural desires—even such beautiful ones as the maternal, are more selfish than we are willing to admit? It is not to give glory to God—but to bring happiness to ourselves, that we very often crave for children. Let us love God first, and then the future of the home and the relations between man and wife will be secured on right lines. How wisely said someone not long ago, in a sermon I heard, "Love God first, and you can be as prodigal as you like of your love." Ah! what a revolution could be wrought. How many more possibilities of friendships such as those between St. Francis and St. Clare there would be! Forward, citizens of to-morrow, let us see to it that the builders of the new town and of the new age, have as their cornerstone Him that the builders of this old earth have rejected. Let us lay at His feet all our gifts of personality. So shall we be, stumbling blocks to none, for those we love will see in us the image of a higher love than had entered their ken—the Love that will not let us go!—Yours sincerely,
M. B.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

OPEN AIR MISSION.—May we once more appeal to our men supporters that they should help in getting platforms to and from meetings. It is especially necessary that we should have such assistance at Marble Arch, where frequently meetings have had to be curtailed because the only person capable of carrying the platform has had to leave for another engagement. If three men would make themselves responsible for one night in the week each, this difficulty would be put out of the way. The following meetings are arranged:—**FRIDAY, July 23rd:**—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch; Horace Fuller, E. Alcock Rush; at 8 p.m., Walthamstow, Hoe St.; Dorothy Strevens; at 8 p.m., Kilburn, The Grangeway; Marjory Bonar, E. Oakes, Ivy Sheldon. **SATURDAY, 24th:**—At 8 p.m., Ealing Broadway, corner of Oxford Road; Dorothy Strevens. **SUNDAY, 25th:**—At noon, Leytonstone; Dorothy Strevens; at 3.30, Hampstead Heath, Jack Straw's Castle; Marjorie Bonar, E. Alcock Rush; at 8.15, Tottenham, outside the Friends' Meeting House; E. Oakes. **MONDAY, 26th:**—At 8 p.m., Leytonstone, The Green Man; W. H. Hancock. **TUESDAY, 27th:**—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch; Rev. Humphrey Chalmers, Basil Tritton; at 8 p.m., Forest Gate, outside G.E.R. Station; W. H. Hancock, E. Oakes; at 8 p.m., Clapton, corner of Kenninghall Rd. and Upper Clapton Rd.; Rev. Frank Fincham, E. Alcock Rush. **WEDNESDAY, 28th:**—At 8 p.m., Catford, near Town Hall; Rev. Frank Fincham, Horace Fuller. **THURSDAY, 29th:**—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch; Rev. Frank Fincham, Rev. Gilbert Sadler; at 8 p.m., Kentish Town, corner of Leighton Rd. and Kentish Town Rd.; J. B. Lief, E. Oakes, Dorothy Strevens. **FRIDAY, 30th:**—At 6 p.m., Marble Arch; W. H. Hancock, Dorothy Strevens; at 8 p.m., Walthamstow, Hoe St.; Rev. R. W. Sorensen; at 8 p.m., Kilburn, The Grangeway; E. Alcock Rush, Ivy Sheldon, Basil Tritton.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

OUR EXCHANGE.

J. R., The "Crusader," 23 Bride Lane, E.C.4, makes the following offers:—

Motor Cycle wanted, lightweight 2-stroke preferred; full particulars and price.

Gas Cooker, combined with gas fire in door; copper water tank at side with tap; £5, or exchange anything useful.

Set Iron Bedsteads—Couch upholstered in leather—4 small chairs—1 easy chair—suit working man's home; what offers?

Singer Sewing Machine, treadle, wants little attention; what offers in exchange?

House Painter and Paperhanger will give any advice and instructions by post, gratis, or practical help for out of pocket expenses, at convenient times.

Are you Building a Bungalow? Do you want help or suggestions? Write me.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

LEYTONSTONE, Burghley Hall, High Road.—The service at 6.30 p.m. on Sunday, 25th, will be conducted by The Rev. Constance Coltman, B.D.

RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

The No-Conscription Fellowship Souvenir.—Published at 5 York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.2. 1s.

The Remnant.—By Rufus M. Jones, M.A., D.Litt. (Christian Revolution Series); The Swarthmore Press. 5s. net.

The Wicked Foremen.—By Maurice Colbourne. C. W. Daniel, Ltd. 7s. 6d. net.

Articles de Luxe.

Walking through Burlington Arcade on a recent afternoon, my mind being chiefly concerned with the business to which my steps were directed, I was just sufficiently aware of the expensive trifles, which were displayed on either side of me, to wonder for a moment where all the people are who have money enough to buy these things and (greater marvel still!) what on earth they want them for. Perhaps it is at such moments of comparative inattention that one's Pharisaic tendencies are unconsciously or subconsciously developed. But I was suddenly arrested. In one window was a crucifix—an elaborately ornate piece of work amongst other gilded images—but still a crucifix; and as the other things in the window were quite uninteresting to me, I did not at first notice them. I asked myself what a crucifix was doing here, and looked round for the explanation. The general display provided the answer. The world's markets were first vulgarising the image of the crucified Christ and then offering it for sale. Have not the Churches (whether styled "Catholic" or "Protestant") too often done the same in their emphasis on safe respectability? And I might have proceeded on my way, a little more still of a Pharisee, without knowing it. But I looked up to see what wares the shop professed to sell. And there, in all its blatant unashamedness, was written the description "Articles de Luxe."

Do not even we revolutionaries, eager though we are that the idea of the crucified Christ shall be more virile, more challenging, more reverent than that of the world or the organised Churches, make of it for ourselves an article de luxe? Has the revolution yet been much more than dimly projected in our own personal life, in our wills and affections, and in the words and deeds by which our own personality is expressed? Do men take knowledge of us that we have been with Jesus? Until they do, can we claim that He is to us what in our hearts we would like Him to be—our first necessity? Whilst we get from Him what comfort we can in a topsy-turvy world and do not draw on ourselves the complaint made of His early followers that these men seek to turn the world upside down (that is, what Jesus conceives as the right way up), are we not to some extent using our Lord (or abusing Him) as an article de luxe?

So I found I had been in danger of thanking God that some of us are not as other men are; but before I was out of the Arcade I was praying Him to be merciful to me, a sinner.

So is Christ crucified anew. So can God turn even the wickedness of men to praise Him, for a man's praise cannot reach towards completeness if penitence has been left out.

F. A. CARLTON SMITH.

*Note.—"In the long squabble as to whether she" (the Church of England) "is intended to be Catholic or Protestant, it has usually been overlooked that she was probably intended, by those who captured her, to be neither. She was intended to be quiet."—The Rev. W. G. Peck.

Christian Commonwealth Fellowship.



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscriptions for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship for all who can) to send more than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, pendants, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Postage 2d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

Fellowship Etiquette.

Did you ever ponder, as a child, on the appearance of God—His colour and shape, His face, His hands? You do not do this now, but God's ways of working sometimes puzzle you still. Have you ever come across this description of "The Hands of God"?—

"By your warm handshake,
By your cheery laugh,
By your visit and chat and news,
By your talk of old times,
By your letter of sympathy,
By your interest in the deeper things of life,
By your card of invitation,
By the prompt reply you write,
By the book or paper you can lend,
By your tactful help—

"God may be able to draw near to those whom He could not reach without you. It is a terrible and yet a very glorious thought that God has to do His work by means of human hands and lips."

"He needs me every hour
The Eternal God:
I fain would bear for Him
His staff and rod."

"We must try and extend the bond of Fellowship and show its spirit in our lives. The great difficulty in social life just now seems to be the distinction made between those who serve and those who do not. 'They speak to me as though I were a servant' is often said by those who do domestic work in another's house for the first time." So writes 3601 (Clevedon). And she reminds us of the moment in that feast of old time, when the water-jug and the basin and towel, which had stood untouched by the door because neither of the invited guests would do the servant's part, were brought into use by the Host. "I am among you as he that serveth," He said.

Little Things.

Was that a little thing? If it was, it has become transfigured for countless souls. And so may other "little things." A very little thing may serve to prove who and what you really are. What we know of etiquette is made up of little things, some of them very small, but it is their accomplishment that makes all the difference to the running of the wheels of life. In a host of little courtesies, week by week, the members of the C.C.F. prove their loyalty to our motto, "Amor Vincit Omnia." "I wrote to the Fellow you mentioned," says one, "and received a

letter back almost by return. Truly I am learning the inner meaning of Fellowship from this correspondent." This "inner meaning" is made manifest in prompt replies to letters received; for there are people, you know, who are assailed with doubts as to whether their letter was welcome, unless they receive a reply soon. And it is Fellowship to write clearly, that every letter may express the beauty that is in you. Also to put your own C.C.F. number in the top (left-hand) corner of the envelope, that the passage of the letter may be recorded at Headquarters, when it is redirected there. (There is no need to ENCLOSE letters for forwarding in another envelope addressed to the Organiser. Simply put the member's number, in lieu of name, and address c/o the office.) An interesting point is raised by 5045 (Dumfries): Does Fellowship etiquette demand that a member who wishes to cease correspondence with another, for any reason whatever, should frankly say so? Surely, yes; it is not Fellowship to leave that member in the dark, and simply to cease writing.

Fellowship Wanted.

1119 (Edinburgh) is anxious to link up with local Fellows interested in literature and the open air; he has recently been demobilised, and will welcome friendship.

Will a Fellow post on the "Crusader" when finished with to 3519 (Croydon), who writes:—"I longed to be able to subscribe to the paper, but it is impossible. I have been out of employment for some months and am so broken down in health that there is little chance of my finding work even in the future. I feel the loss of the Fellowship news keenly, but my interest is as deep as ever."

2275 (Forest Gate) needs a friend and preferably one interested in Girl Guides; will 4473 (Stoke Newington) write her.

2273 (Manchester), who has married and moved to this city, will welcome local Fellowship. She has vivid memories of early days in C.C.F. and Liberal Christian League circles.

5407 (Battersea Park), who has just lost her mother after a long and terrible illness, writes: "I have formed wonderful pictures of what people the C.C.F. would contain, and have been waiting (very anxiously) for some warm-hearted member to write to me. One of the hand." You will not fail this lonely one, Fellows?

Answers to Correspondents.

F.O.L. (Heathfield): There is a C.C.F. Club in London already. If you care to write to its organiser, 3353 (West Kensington), you can get further information.

Annual Subscriptions and New Members.

We acknowledge, with thanks, the following annual subscriptions:—C.E.W. and A.M.W. (Cheltenham, 1s. 3d. each); A.G. (Manchester, 2s. 6d.); E.L. (Southwick, 1s.); F.R. (Woodboro', 2s.); E.H. (E. Ham, 2s.); G.W. (Thames Ditton, 4s.); G.W.W. (Coventry, 2s.); J.P. (Bradford, 1s. 6d.); A.C. (Bradford, 1s. 6d.); C.W.P. (Canterbury, 2s.); T.B.L. (French Guinea, 1s. 8d.); A.M. (Rochdale, 3s.); H.W. (Clapham, 2s.); P.C. (Fulham, 2s. 6d.); A.E.S. (Dumfries, 2s. 6d.); H.L.M. (Renfrew, 1s. 6d.); A.H.G. (Wallington, 2s. 6d.); F.W.H. (Cleveleys, 10s.).

We welcome the following new members:—H.E.S. (Birch Island, B.C., 5413, 5s. 7d.); C.H.B. (Cambridge, 5417, 7s. 6d.); R.W.G.B. (Golders Green, 5415, 5s.); E.J.S. (Bristol, 5419, 1s. 6d.).

Our Treasurer reminds us that it is Fellowship to pay all subscriptions promptly to date, and to send more than the minimum (1s. 6d.) if possible.

SIDELIGHTS.

"The Eclipse of Nonconformity."

A "continued decline" in the membership of the United Methodist Church is reported, the total reduction being 9,760 in the ten years since the union was made. A similar decline has been noticed throughout the Free Churches.

Rev. Thomas Nightingale, general secretary of the National Free Church Council, has been discussing the reasons in an interview with a representative of the "Observer."

"There is no doubt," he said, "that there has been a decline in the membership of our churches, and a corresponding decline in the attendance at public worship. Generally there is a feeling of disappointment that after all the nation has suffered in the last five or six years there do not seem to be those signs of a moral awakening to the real things of life which one would naturally have expected."

"Of course it should be noted that tens of thousands of men who perished in the war went from our churches. This has meant an inevitable and a serious decline in membership and attendance. But there are other reasons for the falling off. In the first place many of the men who have come back have not yet been able to adapt themselves to the normal conditions of life. Gradually these men are returning to our churches, but it seems as though we shall have to give them time in order to secure that balance which is necessary to fit in with the old conditions out of which they were so swiftly taken and introduced to a life that was so far removed from that to which they had been accustomed."

"In the second place, never were there so many facilities for indulgence in pleasure as at the present moment. Bit by bit we are losing the sanctity of the Sabbath. These facilities not only obtain on week-days but also on Sundays, and the attractions lure many of our young people from public worship."

"There is still another reason. Increase of wages, which, of course, nobody deplores, offers our people opportunities of tasting what are called the pleasures of life, many of which are incompatible with spiritual aspiration. Many of these young people have yet to learn how to spend their money wisely."

"In addition to all these reasons for the decline, there are also two other factors of importance. First there is the general unsettlement in the industrial and economic world, and then one cannot help feeling that the people of this country seem to have got in the grip of materialism which obscures spiritual vision and tends to under-value the necessity and permanence of moral values. I believe, however, that before long England will swing back to the things which our common Christianity stands for, and without which no nation can either succeed or long endure."

The reasons for the decline given by Mr. Nightingale do not inspire one with any great confidence in the ability of the Free Church Council to get to the root of the trouble.

The Bolshevik Napoleon.

An unfortunate parallel between the development of the French Revolution and the Russian is suggested by the title bestowed upon a young Russian soldier. Says the "Observer":—

"A young general has arisen in Russia to great fame. Only three years older than Napoleon when, at the age of twenty-four, he was first made a general of brigade for his early services against the foes of France, Tomchechevski, who defeated Koltchak and Denikin, has now broken the army of the Poles. Officers of the former Tsarist regime have united with those of the Soviet administration in praising his brilliant strategy."

Tomchechevski is coming to be known as the Bolshevik Napoleon.

"The British Labour Delegation saw him at Smolensk, the headquarters of the western front, and everyone there knew a month or more ago that the Polish army was doomed to swift destruction."

"We were all of us immensely impressed with the power and strength of this young man," Miss Margaret Bondfield said. "A man of fair height and medium build, his features are strong and clear cut, his expression grave, and his manner courteous. Looking at him, one gathered the impression of tremendous self-control and clarity of mind."

It is to be hoped that the new Napoleon will not emulate the career of his prototype.

Miss Bondfield on Russia.

Miss Margaret Bondfield in talking to a representative of the "Crusader" expressed herself as somewhat disappointed in Lenin. His inability to see any other point of view than his own, his light-hearted dismissal of anything that contradicted his own theories, his rigid dogmatism were not impressive.

Miss Bondfield was struck with the mentality of the Russian people. Their eagerness in discussing the ultimate problems of life would sometimes lead them to ignore meals. Amongst us, she remarked, the most serious conferences are broken off for lunch or tea. We seem unable to conceive of spiritual or intellectual matters preponderating over the set order of domestic life. With them it is not so. The churches, Miss Bondfield felt, did not reflect the best element of the Russian character. They conveyed no sense of restfulness. The buildings themselves were ugly and the decorations gaudy and often cheap. She had some amusing stories to tell of the freak artists who have employed their art in adorning public places. In one case the grass in a certain park was sprayed with red and trees with blue until the populace revolted and vetoed the activities of the eccentrics.

Poor League of Nations.

A curious incident occurred at a Government luncheon given on July 10th to the Council of the League of Nations. All the most distinguished representatives of the different countries were present; the British representatives included Mr. Winston Churchill and Lord Robert Cecil, and Mr. Balfour presided. There were to be three toasts. The first was, of course, "The King." This was duly honoured. Then came "The Sovereigns of the Kingdoms and Presidents of the Republics Represented." This was also duly honoured. Third and last, to be shown its proper place after such exalted company of Kings and Presidents, came "The League of Nations." But, even so, this toast proved too much for Mr. Balfour, with his keen sense of the ridiculous. He declared, according to the "Times" report: "As to the third toast on the list, 'The League of Nations,' I propose to omit it altogether." "This announcement," the reporter continues, "was received with momentary astonishment, followed by laughter." Momentary astonishment, followed by laughter. On the whole, a very good description of the official reception of the League of Nations.

Sir Basil Thompson and the Cinema.

The "Kinematograph Weekly" says that Sir Basil Thompson, the head of the Government Spy System, himself wrote the plot of the anti-Bolshevik propaganda film—"The Land of Mystery."

Foch, the Diplomat.

The soldier is now in Europe the only effective diplomatist.—"Observer."

We should be glad if Miss Dora M. Henwood, the writer of the letter on "The Domestic Revolution" would forward her address which has been misplaced.

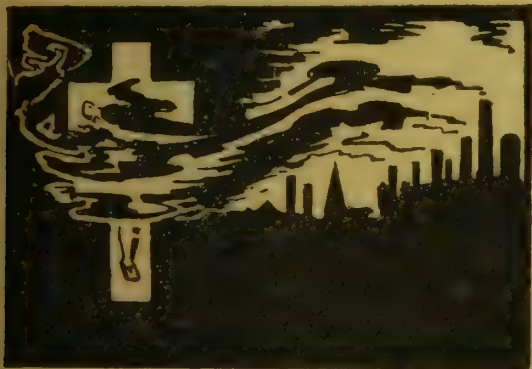
The Crusader

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Friday, July 30th, 1920.

(Registered as a Newspaper)

Twopence.



The Outlook.

THE Premier's proposals for the solution of the Irish difficulty, so far as they have been reported, do not offer much hope. Dominion self-government misses the point of the Sinn Féin demands. The offer comes too late and affords an excellent example of offering as a compromise what earlier would have been regarded as a magnanimous concession. It is a pity that Labour has identified itself with this half-measure. But as its demand for the withdrawal of troops is a practical endorsement of the full Sinn Féin policy, that weakens matters the less. But why cannot we be bold in our granting of Freedom as we have been fighting for it ourselves? These grudging concessions, under the pressure of armed rebellion, entirely fail to accomplish the results which would be achieved by a daring act of generosity. "The Lord loveth a cheerful giver."

THE Soviet Government has certainly scored in its exchange of Notes with the Allies. Its refusal to negotiate through the League of Nations, accompanied by an expression of willingness to approach Poland directly, was a final kick in the teeth for that moribund body. The boundary

suggested by Russia is more in favour of Poland than that suggested by our diplomats. The Bolsheviks are creating a new and higher standard in diplomacy. As in the case of Ireland, so also in that of Russia—how these eleventh hour concessions, under the pressure of Russian victories, lose in moral dignity! They might have been granted as a cordial and voluntary recognition of the right of self-determination. As it is, they are the outcome of fear.

* * *

ONE of the most sinister things in connection with the Spa Conference is the assertion that Hugo Stinnes, the great Westphalian coalmaster, expressed himself indifferent whether the Entente occupied the Ruhr or not, because the Allied troops would enforce an increase in the miners' working hours. If this report is correct it means that German and French Capitalism are in federation. If British Labour fails to see that the conscripting of German labour by Allied Capitalist forces is the prelude to the coercion of its own workers, it is duller than we have believed.

* * *

COLONEL LAWRENCE'S exposure of the Allies' broken promises to the Arabs is timely. We promised the Arabs independence and have simply given them a change of masters. We promised them unity and we have given them partition.

* * *

THE gift of the Lincoln Statue is one of those pleasing acts of international courtesy which indicate the survival of at least the forms of civilisation. We wonder whether this reminder of the Great Emancipation will have as little effect as the French Government's gift to the United States of the Statue of Liberty now dominating New York Harbour.

* * *

ARRANGEMENTS for the London Building Trades Guild are going ahead. Twelve thousand operatives have agreed to take up shares, and it is hoped that the number will have reached 20,000 by the time the Building Trades Parliament meets in August.



The Will to Love.

Extremes meet. No people has emphasised as did the Jews the transcendent greatness of God as compared with Man, yet it is from One of that race we derive our finest

humanitarian impulses and ethical teaching. It seems as though the humanitarians themselves were unable to sustain their own faith apart from the inspiration constantly received from those who proclaim the littleness of Man. Just as the city needs the influx of country blood to maintain its standard of health and virility, so do the various bodies devoted to social betterment derive their chief impulses from the religiously-minded.

Nietzsche, in one of his moments of insight, saw this. His words are worth quoting for the reason that he cannot be suspected of pietism or of desiring to bolster up some kind of orthodoxy. Here they are:—

"To love mankind FOR GOD'S SAKE—this has so far been the noblest and remotest sentiment to which mankind has attained. That love to mankind, without any redeeming intention in the background, is only an ADDITIONAL folly and brutishness, that the inclination to this love has first to get its proportion, its delicacy, its grain of salt and sprinkling of ambergris from a higher inclination:—Whoever first perceived and 'experienced' this, however his tongue may have stammered as it attempted to express such a delicate matter, let him for all time be holy and respected, as the man who has so far flown highest and gone astray in the finest fashion."

The mistake that humanitarians make is that they assume that the love of our fellow-men is a natural impulse needing no higher "authority" than the instincts of human nature, whereas love is a law claiming obedience in spite of our natural instincts. To say that love cannot be trained is to deny our commonest experiences. Any love that is worthy of the name is the result of painful cultivation. To extend our affection and confidence to those of alien temperament, race or social upbringing requires, as we know, a struggle which is often acute. Prejudices must be scrapped, national or social conventions be broken, and the will trained in a new direction.

The wretched sentimentalism into which we have fallen would challenge the command, "Thou shalt love," on the ground that it is a command. In its curious logic it assumes that because love cannot be forced that therefore it cannot be trained. The outcome of that kind of talk is to make us the victims

of our moods. Such reasoning throws open, to a generation all too willing to enter, all the gates of license. It affords a welcome excuse to those who allow antipathies to remain which they are too morally lazy to overcome.

But He who gave the crowning sanction to the command, "Thou shalt love," did more than state it as a legal requirement. It was He Himself who, by the character of His personality, commanded love as the sunset commands the admiration of the artist.

"Who that one moment has the least desied Him,

Dimly and faintly, hidden and afar,
Doth not despise all excellence beside Him,
Pleasures and powers that are not and that are."

And it is just because Christian Faith presents us with this perfect vision of the Son of Man that it can demand of us love for all men. It enables us to see them in the light of His Humanity, and to do that is to find them loveable. If, without any revelation of Him in Whose image men have been made, we had been commanded to feel affection for all men, then, indeed, there would have been laid upon us the impossible demand of which Sentimentalism complains. For, apart from some visions of what Humanity really is, our actual Humanity would soon exhaust our patience and produce loathing. And yet it is this very authentication of the divine character of Man which the Humanitarian would dispense with. Apart from the glory and dignity that has been shed on manhood and womanhood by the ideal Man, sustained devotion to and patient service of the unworthy and ungrateful are impossible. Love cannot exist without faith. We all try each other's confidence in human nature. Had we not a belief in one another that went beyond appearances, forgiveness would be out of the question. We can only forgive "for His sake."

Hence it is not at all surprising that a generation which has exalted Man at the expense of God should have displayed the most implacable hate and turned the world into a vast battlefield. The irreligion of our times makes it impossible to charge religion with the crimes of the last six years.

It may be a foolish and an un-Christian thing to build great cathedrals to the glory of God while men and women near by inhabit hovels. But is it worse than building hovels for men and women and at the same time blowing down, by bombs and shells, the cathedrals built to the glory of God?

The "Age of Faith" erred in the first way. The Age of Enlightenment and Humanitarianism has chosen the second.

THE TRAMP.

There is no endowment in man or woman that is not tallied in you; there is no virtue, no beauty in man or woman but as good is in you; no pluck, no endurance in others but as good is in you; no pleasure waiting for others but an equal pleasure waits for you.—WALT WHITMAN.

The Madness of Capitalism.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

W.W. is right. I have long held the view she
forward last week, "that we shall overturn the
nt social order quicker by showing how 'silly'
than by depressingly criticising it." There
deed, nothing more powerful than the "weapon
laughter" to bring about the abolition of rotten
effete organisations and systems which have
their day and should cease to be. And there
abundance of laughter-provoking material in
present topsy-turvy social "order"—but, un-
nately, the laughter is apt to be somewhat
Surely if it were possible for individuals to
their private domestic life as the community
in its collective capacity, they would be
ptly clapped into an asylum or a prison. If,
instance, the father of a family deliberately laid
wn as the rule of the household that the more
and clothing there was in the house the less
would be for the members of his family, public
on would be unanimous in voting him either
utely insane or an unnatural monster. And
it is so very difficult to convince a majority of
fellows that our present system is both as mad
unnatural as would be the action of that father.

r my sins, I am condemned to read somewhere
a hundred daily and weekly papers every week.
vary from the "leftest" of the Red literature
"rightest" of the gutter rags. Having spent
of my life in the newspaper world, I have the
(?) of gleaning the useful matter from most
m in the shortest possible time. But the thing
always impressed with is the fact that the more
the paper professes to be the more unread-
it is. "I name no name," of course; but for
ye dullness and unattractive, indigestible
ag matter some of the anti-capitalist periodicals
amphlets of the "extreme left" order would
rd to beat. It may be that I am not "educated
o this newer style of anti-capitalist propaganda,
whatever the reason may be for my lack of
y to appreciate its appeal, I know that it will
reach the average man and woman in the
It is lacking in just that sense of humour
ower of laughing its opponents into headlong
which is such a great asset to our capitalist
o of the "over a million sale" breed. A paper
latter kind can use its headlines and its car-
ts so effectively as to bring down a Government
ep a people at war with a comic-opera "Fritz";
keep capitalism alive long after it would have
of its own rottenness by the simple process of
oning anti-capitalists and all their suggestions
better social order.

o not for a moment suggest that anti-capitalists
d adopt the policy of deliberate misrepresenta-
which is the chief weapon of the defenders
e present system, but I do suggest that we
d concentrate more on exposing the sheer
lity of that system—nay, its absolute insanity

—rather than on the conversion of our fellows to
the hundred and one economic theories which may
rouse their scientific exponents to white-hot zeal in
their defence, but which leave the normal individual
cold and indifferent.

Take the "More production" cry, for instance.
Suppose the unthinkable had happened, and North-
cliffe had been converted to Socialism! What
wouldn't his young men do with that cry in the
present state of affairs! Just imagine a really smart
writer being turned on to the present position in a
number of trades which are actually suffering from
over-production. The fishing industry would make
splendid "copy" for a start. Here we have the
people of the country suffering from the high price
of all foodstuffs; there are hundreds of thousands
of underpaid workers who would be glad of cheap
fish. And during the past few weeks hundreds of
tons of fish have been destroyed because there was
"no market" for it, and fishermen are being subsid-
ised by Government grants! Madness? Of course
it is. Under a sane system, the more fish produced
by fishermen the more there would be for those who
needed fish.

Then there is the boot and shoe industry. "Pro-
duce more! Earn more! Get more!" say the
posters on the hoardings. The boot and shoe opera-
tives have produced more; they have produced so
much that the warehouses are full up with boots
and shoes. And in spite of the fact that hundreds
of thousands of children and grown-ups are urgently
in need of boots and shoes, the operatives in this
particular industry are either unemployed or on
short time because there is "no market" for the
goods they have produced! A recent issue of the
"Shoe and Leather Record" contained the informa-
tion that the Tanners' Federation, the employers'
trade union, has decided to restrict the input of hides
into the pits to 50,000 per week instead of the full
capacity of 150,000 per week. Tannery employees
are being discharged or placed on half-time because
they have "produced more" leather than "the
market" can stand. Other industries are rapidly
approaching a "glut" period, when the workers will
have to join the ranks of the unemployed because
they have produced more goods than it "pays" their
exploiters to put on the market. And the silliest
thing about it all is that we really do need "more
production" in every industry; people are wanting
foodstuffs, boots and clothing, houses, and practi-
cally everything else in the shape of necessities of
life. But so long as production is based on the
principle of profit for the few instead of the common
good of all, we shall continue to justify the action
of the gentleman who—

" . . . gave the little wealth he had
To build a house for fools and mad;
To show, by one satiric touch,
No nation wanted it so much!"

The Crusader

Friday, July 30th, 1920.

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The "Mayflower" Celebrations.

The recent celebrations, at Southampton, of the sailing of the "Mayflower" mark an epoch. The public recognition thus given to the Puritan adventurers is a sure index that the State has nothing more to fear from the movement initiated by them and represented to-day by that Nonconformity on whose eclipse correspondents of the "Nation" have been commenting. "Beware when all men speak well of you," is a saying specially applicable to those who once were the terror of kings and the iconoclasts of the State Church.

Puritanism—Past and Present.

Puritanism was a middle-class and political movement. It was the religious expression of the rising bourgeois of the seventeenth century. The force that made it effective has spent itself. The issues before us at present are not political, but social and economic. Puritanism is no longer feared. Its modern representatives are content with such minor issues as the opening of parks and playing fields on the Sunday. They give little assistance to the class that is fighting in the 20th century the battle for freedom they fought in the 17th. The pioneers of one age have become the reactionaries of the next. The Free Churches have become, no less than that which is Established as the State Religion, the tools of the Plutocrats. To see those who recently joined in the persecution of the conscientious objector celebrating the heroism of the heroes of conscience of the 17th century, is not an edifying spectacle. It is far too reminiscent of the phrase, uttered by a certain high authority, concerning building the tombs of dead prophets.

A Warning.

This is at once suggestive of hope and of warning to those whose religion takes the form of protest against Capitalist exploitation. Of hope, because it foreshadows a day when those who are now as unpopular as once were the Puritans will have won the appreciation of conventional Society; of warning, because all such success constitutes the gravest moral peril.

If the modern pioneer is to escape the fate which has overtaken his predecessors, he must see to it that he does not confine himself to the current issue. He must identify himself with the larger matters and the wider faith whose relevancy is not exhausted by a single age. In a word, he must be not only modern but Catholic.

Man's Oppression of Man

CASE 87943, BROWN.—"Take a seat, will you? You left your work voluntarily and are claiming unemployment donation. Why did you leave?"

Because of the abuse of the foreman, sir. I did a fair day's work, and I won't stand being sworn by any man. Here's the signature of four witnesses, sir."

"Sworn at, man! You've been in the army, haven't you? Did they never swear at you in the army? You don't look over-sensitive."

Claim is disallowed, and the sacred right of those in power to abuse their tools is preserved.

55400, WILLIAMS.—"Take a seat, will you? You were a still-room maid at the Hotel Magnificent and left your work voluntarily. What is the work of a still-room maid?"

"Washing up, sir—chiefly washing up."

"And why did you leave?"

"I wanted a holiday. I'd been there 18 months and because I had three weeks off when I got pleurisy they wouldn't give me a holiday. I thought I should be ill again if I stayed. If I had a rest I could go on."

What is the employer's endorsement? "Left for no reason. Ought to be made to go back to work at once."

Claim disallowed (Labour representative dissenting.)

For just a short period the country recognised responsibility by paying civilian out of work donation. But even then one was forced to realise the usefulness of the Act depended largely upon administration. No Act can alter the fact that is man's oppression of his fellow-man which causes much of the present day suffering. An unfair endorsement by an employer, unsympathetic handling by the Court of Referees, and the Act might as well be non-existent.

Then I wonder if Crusaders ever think what must mean to spend one's days and weeks and months just washing up. There are dozens of other self-destructing ways in which people make a living.

Is it worth while to make oneself miserable dwelling upon man's oppression of man? I considered this as I sat in the Court of Referees the other day, and into my mind flashed a line from—I think it was a "Tramp" article—"The intolerableness of these things is the dynamic which makes for progress." Surely it is part of our Crusade to make others feel the intolerableness of the results of man's oppression of man. When individuals take direct action and cease to be oppressors, the Great Tyranny will fade away and the Kingdom of God will be established.

We acknowledge with thanks £1 1s. donation from Mr. B. Davies, Enfield. We welcome a letter from Dr. Eby Erickson, Canada, in which he says "The 'Crusader' is just the paper I've been looking for for a long time."

THE PLOUGHMAN

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

The Free Churches are announcing a Day of Re-
vival. The date suggested is October 3rd.
It is to say, the first Sunday in October has been
appointed as a day of new beginnings. Everywhere
throughout the country congregations in Free
Churches will be asked to stand in silence and re-
vitalize themselves to the service of God. Much
has been hoped from the plan of thus setting apart a time
for the taking of new religious vows by such a large
body of people. But I have noticed that fears are
being expressed as well as hopes. And it is pointed
out that the great Anglican Mission held some time
ago with similar objects was largely a failure. It is
very easy to organise people to the point of taking
such a step in a sentimental and well-meaning
way, but it is not easy to secure the real spiritual
results which the promoters of such movements
hope to see. Spiritual revival is a costly business.
The history of every vital movement within the
Church since its foundation by the first followers
of Jesus, has taught that stern lesson. Let the
people of our Free Churches pay the price, and re-
vival will follow; let them fail to do so, and things
will remain as they are.

* * *

The Wesleyan Methodist Conference at Hull
passed "a strong resolution" calling upon the
Prime Minister to fulfil his pledge to bring in a
Bill embodying the Nine Points of the Temperance
Council of the Churches. I append the caustic
challenge of the "Methodist Times." "We would
venture to tell Mr. Lloyd George that the Free
Churches still feel deeply on the Temperance ques-
tion, and that they look to him to fulfil the pledge
which he solemnly gave." The same paper, evi-
dently grown tired of the long continued subser-
vency of Nonconformists, no matter what the
Prime Minister does, bursts out with this:—"The
Free Churches are, somehow or other, ceasing to be
a vital force in public life. It may be that they are
dazzled by the spectacle of a Free Church Prime
Minister that they are willing to be led blindfold."
Is this a straw showing a new direction of the wind?
Will it be necessary soon for Mr. Lloyd George to
mount a Nonconformist pulpit again? For answer
turn to the "British Weekly," and my readers
will judge. "As we go to Press on Wednesday
afternoon, the House of Commons awaits the Prime
Minister's report on the Conference at Spa. He
speaks to a world-audience, and there never was a
time when his lightest word carried more
authority."

* * *

"There never was a time when his lightest word
carried more authority." So writes a leading Non-
conformist journal. It reminds me of what a cor-
respondent, with penetrating judgment, recently
wrote to that excellent paper, the "Nation." "The

next great delusion was Mr. Lloyd George, the
great Nonconformist hero, who must be heaven-
sent. Consequently the Free Church machinery
must be put at his disposal and its Press used in
his service. It was almost impossible for the case
against the "knock-out-blow" policy to be heard,
for personal acquaintances of Mr. Lloyd George
largely dominated the Free Church Council and
owned the Nonconformist Press. The result was
a Church-and-State association, for which the
Churches are now paying the penalty along with
the decline of State prestige."

* * *

And the comical irony of the position is fully seen
when one knows that the Free Churches are often
called "Free" because they are believed to be clear
of association with the secular power. They are
inclined to thank God that they are not as other
men are, even as these Anglicans. And to com-
plete the humour of the picture, one recalls a recent
speech of the Prime Minister, wherein he
solemnly exhorted his brethren of the Free Churches
to see to it that they remained free. It was in his
"Calvary" speech. I wonder if my readers saw the
letter which the "Nation" printed about that
speech. I really cannot resist the temptation to
quote from it. It was signed "Old Congrega-
tionalist," and hit off the situation in a highly
satirical vein.

* * *

Said the writer: "Our Premier, surely a prophet,
if ever there was one, has once more administered
the knock-out-blow to wavering unbelief. He
speaks straight to our hearts with a message from
the secret place where such men commune with
their Deity. Are things wrong? Then let us meet
evil 'in the spirit of Calvary,' as he finely exhorted
the Welsh Nonconformists. If to extend the
blessings of peace to Ireland it is our painful duty
to send tanks to Dublin, then let them be driven
down the streets—if I may say so with reverence—
on the Mount Carmel gauge. If Russian fathers
in their wickedness force us to starve their off-
spring, we can at least do it on the note of Geth-
semane. In these days the trials of the Christian
statesman are many. The hosts of the Prince of
Darkness here, in Ireland, in Russia, in Germany,
in Turkey, everywhere, jealous of our Imperial
trust, will be overcome if we meet them in the
spirit of Calvary." There must have been many
a laugh over that letter, and the laugh is not at the
expense of the Prime Minister, but at the expense
of the Free Churches. No wonder many of the rank
and file are getting worried. No wonder the Free
Churches find themselves unable to wield power in
public life, or even command respect. We wel-
come, and many others will welcome, the flag of
rebellion now raised by the "Methodist Times."

Pacifist Policy.

V.—PARLIAMENTARISM OR DIRECT ACTION. BY WILFRED WELLOCK

It is merely to utter a platitude to say that the supreme need of the age is a moral awakening. Nevertheless, until our modern "democracies" recognise that economic injustice has its origin in spiritual injustice, is but the outward expression of such injustice, they will fail to strike the track which leads to the liberty they seek. We need to view our social problems from a new angle, from the standpoint of the spiritual. That would do two things. It would cause people to see in a most wonderful way the slavery in which they are held, and the beautiful way they might live if only there was a little more common sense in the world; while such a vision would so stir up moral passion as to produce that common sense. In other words, it would lead to an exalted form of direct action.

How men and women can hold on to the belief in Parliamentaryism in a capitalist society, after what took place in Britain in December, 1918, and after the events of the last 1½ years, is perfectly appalling; but how they can bolster up such belief to the point of permitting the present Government to continue their inhuman work for a further 3½ years, passes comprehension. Not only is the unwholesome belief in Parliamentaryism causing liberty to be sacrificed in every corner of the earth—and in the name of liberty—it is proving to be an effective means of destroying what little moral sense the community still possesses. The transference of moral responsibility is morally indefensible. Whereas to act from moral conviction is to act in the directest manner possible; from which it follows that direct action is the only kind of action that is compatible with democracy.

It is commonly assumed that "direct action" is a threat, which must, in certain circumstances, lead to the adoption of physical force; from which it is deduced that Parliamentaryism, being in some measure an appeal to reason, is a higher form of action than "direct action," and more in accordance with pacifist principles.

With this deduction, as also with the assumption from which it is made, I entirely disagree. At the same time I fully admit that "direct action" may involve, may, indeed, be, an appeal to force; but it need not have the faintest suggestion of force.

A strike may spring from a militarist intention and be conducted in a militarist spirit, or it may spring from a pacifist intention and be conducted in a pacifist spirit. The militarist intention is to compel another man to accept one's idea. The pacifist intention is to tell that man you will no longer be bound down by his. And there is all the difference in the world between the two positions. The militarist striker says, in effect: There are two demands, yours and mine: here goes; the stronger wins! The pacifist striker says, in fact: Here is a moral wrong which I am unable longer to support; if you wish to continue that wrong you must do so without my aid.

Strikes, as they occur to-day, are a varied mixture of both these mental attitudes; but conducted on pacifist lines they would constitute a direct moral appeal which would so define the position as to compel an employer, or a ruler, to choose between being a brute, a supporter of organised tyranny, or a man possessing at least the remnant of a heart and shadow of a soul.

To my mind the only way to attack an evil is to show its spiritual destructivity. If, when you have done this, the persons responsible for its perpetration do not modify their conduct, the probability that your moral sense will become so stirred that you will feel it your duty to refuse longer to share the responsibility of such deeds. The great lack of the present age is moral thinking, the ability to see the human side of things, the deeper spiritual implications of the issues that confront it, issues that we have got into the habit of calling "economic." Whereas the great oppressions of our time are spiritual, and until we see far more clearly than we do that economic injustice is only the sign and cause of crushed and dwarfed spiritual life, and that the chief object of a changed economic system is to make a real soul-life possible to all men, we shall make but poor progress towards freedom.

The only road to freedom is the direct road, via the road which lies through the quickening of the moral sense. As soon as you kindle the moral sense you will have "direct action"; and the more you have of such action the better.

Compared with such a method, Parliamentaryism is the essence of clumsiness, disorder and incompetence. But a worse indictment of Parliamentaryism is that it is the grave of the people's conscience. So long as we allow ourselves to be gulled by twaddle about the divine right of party-political-made majorities, and, in consequence, permit such matters, say, as the Irish question to be regarded as "political" questions, which must be settled by "politicians," so long shall we be the dupes of the people who control such majorities, viz., the people who control the Press, that is, the capitalists and the imperialists; and so long shall we remain in servitude. If we could, by a mighty act of will, free our minds of cant and prejudice, and look at this question in its simple human relationship, realise, for example, that the Irishman is just a human being with a soul, and that the law of the soul is self-expression, we should just simply say: "Ireland must be free! and she would be free. And if, by an even greater effort of will, we could take the same view of the English question, we should say that England, too, must be free; and free she would be. What is certain is that we never shall be free until we thus think and act; and what is no less certain is that we never shall thus think and act so long as we put our trust in capitalist-controlled Parliaments.

Wedmore.

On a bill which rises from the surrounding moorland, with its intersecting rines or dykes, nestles among its orchards the Somersetshire village of Wedmore. Little would one imagine, looking at it to-day, that its atmosphere of repose and isolation had ever been broken by great events. The coming and going of cattle to and from the pasture lands, the clatter of farmers' carts laden with milk cans are to-day the only things that disturb its serenity. Yet this part of old England is rich in memories of a crowded past. Eight miles away stands the massive front of Wells Cathedral; on the horizon the tower of Glastonbury marks the site of one of the centres of religious life in that old world; and here in Wedmore itself an event took place which changed the whole history of this land.

Alfred, rightly called the Great, had been carrying on a seemingly hopeless conflict with the pagan invaders from Denmark. G. K. Chesterton has enshrined in ringing verse the spirit in which the Wessex King fought his losing fight.

"I will even answer the mighty earl
That asked of Wessex men
Why they be meek and monkish folk,
And how to the White Lord's broken yoke;
What sign have we but blood and smoke?
Here is my answer then.

"That on you is fallen the shadow,
And not upon the Name;
That though we scatter and though we fly,
And you hang over us like the sky,
You are more tired of victory,
Than we are tired of shame.

"That though you hunt the Christian man
Like a hare on the hill-side,
The hare has still more heart to run
Than you have heart to ride.

"That though all lances split on you,
All swords be heaved in vain,
We have more lust again to lose
Than you to win again."

But Alfred was not permanently to lose. At Edington, in Wiltshire, he won a victory which enabled him to dictate terms to his pagan foe, and at Wedmore, in 878, a Peace Treaty was signed ceding the country north of Watling Street to the Danes, and stipulating that they should be baptised into the Christian Faith.

We who have fought the bloodiest war of history to "bring Germany to her knees," and starved her womenfolk and children in order to make her repent of her sins, have no right to laugh at this ninth century warrior and statesman for imagining that baptism forced on a beaten enemy would really change his character. The paganism that survived in both conqueror and conquered is sufficient evidence of his mistake—and ours.

Alfred was at least sincere and disinterested, as his whole life shows, in his desire to make converts of his conquered foe, and it is not a little significant

that he should have attached such a condition to the Treaty. It is somewhat difficult to imagine the shifting of emphasis, in our terms with Turkey, from the cession of oilfields to the Christianising of the Moslem.

The Peace of Wedmore was long ago, but when I look sometimes at this little Somersetshire village I wonder whether there will arise among us another Alfred who will overcome the paganism of our land, and, in truer and more Christian fashion, subject it to the authority of "the White Lord's broken yoke." Wedmore is the symbol of that peace for which the world is waiting. The hosts of Paganism ride to-day all but unchallenged through the world. They have loosened the lusts of Hell for the undoing of the peoples. Their mirthless laughter at the sufferings they inflict is heard on every page of the Press they have captured. Their fierce factory wheels have made wealth that brings neither peace nor joy, for it is made at the expense of those who labour. Their vulgarity shocks all sanctities. They have no faith in God or in one another. So tame has the Church of Christ become that it has allowed them to hang their battle-flags in its cathedrals, and its Councils have submitted to the guidance of the men of unholy greed and cruel violence.

It were a good thing to spend one's days fighting these desecrators of holy shrines, and it were surely worth living for if one might hope to see another Wedmore and behold the baptism of those wild pagan forces which so long have mocked the Cross. For this a man might well save his strength and mature his thought.

While the pagan host rode roughshod over England, Alfred lay hid, yet not inactive, in the fens. It was from the meditative silence of Athelney that came the lightning blow which struck down Guthrum. When all seemed lost, the Leader arose, refreshed by defeat, strengthened by secret thought. Somewhere, surely, amongst us are Athelneys, where men and women, in mystic communion with the great "White Lord," are nursing the power that shall drive back the forces of irresponsible Greed. If not, if defeat has made us too despondent to think or pray, if we cannot sing, with Alfred—

"You are more tired of victory
Than we are tired of shame,"

then woe unto us! We have misused the opportunity of defeat.

In the modern world we are primarily confronted with the extraordinary spectacle of people turning to new ideals because they have not tried the old. Men have not got tired of Christianity; they have never found enough Christianity to get tired of.—
G. K. CHESTERTON.

THE CC

THE SECOND PHASE

There seem to have been two periods in the ministry of Jesus. We see Him at first apparently hopeful that He might win the mass of the people and save His nation from the paralysis that had fallen upon it. Preachers were sent out in all directions and returned with glowing stories of what had been accomplished. In an ecstasy of hope, the Master declared that He saw Satan as lightning fall from Heaven. But, in spite of the careless chronology of our records, it seems possible to detect a change in the outlook. Forebodings as to His own fate occur and recur. The warnings of a coming judgment increase in severity. As one draws towards the end of the story the atmosphere becomes close and oppressive with the sense of impending doom. There are mutterings of thunder in the Preacher's speech. With unconscious artistry the writers of the gospels prepare us for some overwhelming tragedy.

Divine Strategy.

As the possibility of immediate success fades, the necessity of preparing for a longer period of trial becomes obvious. The few who form the nucleus of the new Society must be trained, tested, buffeted with questions, drawn closer to the Leader. They are taken away into desert regions on a long tour that seems to have no other object than that of giving them the opportunity of more uninterrupted intercourse with Him. During this journey occurs the first mention of the Church. It would seem that His mind was dwelling much on the thought of the Body that would carry on His work through that long future which He foresaw. Like another Noah, He builds the ark that shall ride the coming storm. Like another Isaiah, His thoughts turn from the fickle multitude to the faithful "remnant."

The last scene in the accomplishment of His purpose is overwhelmingly solemn. There is now no lingering hope of success. That very night He will be betrayed. Amid the shadows the little company draws closer together. In a form chosen for its simplicity to weather the centuries, the bond is ratified between the Leader and His disciples. The event has the appearance of a funeral service; it is in reality a marriage—the marriage of the Church and its Lord. The New Society has been formed in the bosom of the old and under conditions imposed by the attempt of the existing order to crush the incipient movement. The extensive effort had ended in an intensive achievement. The attempt to win the crowd had resulted in the building of a

Church. The long vista of conflict which had been opened up made necessary the formation of the only kind of Society which could possibly stand the strain.

Has this no meaning for us to-day?

"The Skin Game."

Let there be no mistake as to the signs of the times. The expectation of a wide, sweeping movement that shall carry the crowd into the Kingdom of God has no solid facts to support it. We who imagined that the war was the nadir of civilisation are learning that it may prove to have been only the beginning of worse horrors. We can no longer play with the idea that those who possess the privileges of wealth are likely to surrender them. Their tenacity and audacity have increased rather than lessened. They are prepared for vast international combinations. They are developing a marvellous skill in the art of manufacturing public opinion. They are not unwilling to spend great sums in providing "bread and circuses." Drugged by a subservient Press, and their attention distracted by "sport," the people become a ready prey. The signs of more sober thinking must not be mistaken. The liberal sentiments so fully expressed do not differ greatly from those uttered before the war. The intellectuals and the Churches are not yet prepared to take the stand which they failed to take in 1914.

Looking in the other direction—at the class-conscious proletariat—the signs of determination and the evidences of power are no less than among the defenders of the Present Order. We must be realists. The bourgeois mentality mistakes hopes and ideals for facts. It can cozen itself into believing what it will. If a Labour leader warns his class against unconstitutional action or urges the workers to "produce more," they imagine that the revolution is declared "off." Let us look at the facts. A class war already exists. It is inherent in the very nature of the Capitalist system. On either side is a strong, determined body. There can be no compromise in this conflict. They will continue to struggle until one or the other side wins. No Whitley Councils, no barren parliamentary victories will satisfy either combatant. At any moment a spark may ignite the combustible material, and when once open conflict begins, standards of decency will be trampled on; it will be "the Skin Game."

The Lengthening Vista.

And so, as we gaze and take stock of the signs, the vista lengthens. We have enlisted in a war from which there is no discharge. We must get our

STORM.

ARY CHRISTIANITY.

second wind and settle down to hard and prolonged labour. Those who anticipate that the whole matter can be settled by a few sharp blows may be satisfied with the minimum amount of preparation, but for those to whom such methods only mean a prolongation of the strife, the case is otherwise.

Are we prepared for this extended campaign? Have we the means of maintaining our patience? Have we the organism that will stand the strain of the years?

Levity.

Our lack of realism is a sign of levity. Our vague phrases, the absence of constructive organic thought, indicate that even now we have not taken the situation seriously. The grim earnestness of the proletarian movement puts us to shame. Where are the men and women thinking out the Christian Scheme of things, as the students of Marx, in the few hours of leisure left by manual toil, are thinking out the application of Marxian principles? Save in a few instances, there is no such propaganda as the "materialists" carry on. We have money, but the Altar of Mammon is heaped higher with tribute than the Altar of the Nazarene Outlaw.

Nothing but the Church will do.

The deluge is approaching, but we are not building our ark. And it is an ark that we need—a Society capable of weathering the Storm, a Body to which may be entrusted the incalculably precious treasures committed to our care. We are not provisioned for the long voyage that lies before us. Our scanty stock of truth will soon be exhausted. It is good that our message should be relevant to the hour, but it must also be relevant to the centuries ahead of us. There is only one kind of Society which will meet the need facing us to-day. It is the Society which was formed, under similar conditions, in that Upper Room. The long history, marred though it be with terrible mistakes, of that Body bears witness to the workmanship of God. Nothing but the Church of Jesus Christ will do. Nothing short of the Communion of Saints of all ages will empower us to stand four-square to all the winds that the world's devilry can let loose. Nothing but that Rock from which the very gates of Hell can be assailed will suffice.

But it is not only for ourselves we need the Church. There must be presented to the world's gaze the actual divine Society if men are ever to be taught the meaning of Christianity. We stand for social

ideals. Our task is the recreation of Society. But for this teaching is inadequate. Lectures, pamphlets, periodicals, open-air meetings cannot accomplish the task. The Divine Teacher Himself supplemented the Sermon on the Mount by the formation of a Body of disciples in which its truths might be incarnated. The world must see the thing actually at work.

Unite—Re-form.

We are driven, therefore, to the conclusion that, whether from the point of view of the safety of the Truth itself, or of our own security, or of the world's salvation, the first duty is the unifying and re-formation of the Church. The Stage of the Galilean mission is passed. The scattering of the seed upon the highways and the byeways is no longer sufficient. We have reached the point at which the ark must be rebuilt.

And that must be done while yet the Old Order of things survives. The New Society must issue from the womb of the Old. God cannot work upon the world except through a Body. Let the Body be formed and it shall be endued with power from on high to accomplish its world-wide mission and its age-long destiny.

PETER THE HERMIT.

We should probably come considerably nearer to the true conception of things if we treated all grown-up persons, of all titles and types, with precisely that dark affection and dazed respect with which we treat the infantile limitations. A child has a difficulty in achieving the miracle of speech, consequently we find his blunders almost as marvellous as his accuracy. If we only adopted the same attitude towards Premiers and Chancellors of the Exchequer, if we genially encouraged their stammering and delightful attempts at human speech, we should be in a far more wise and tolerant temper. A child has a knack of making experiments in life, generally healthy in motive, but often intolerable in a domestic commonwealth. If we only treated all commercial buccaneers and bumptious tyrants on the same terms, if we gently chided their brutalities as rather quaint mistakes in the conduct of life, if we simply told them that they would "understand when they were older," we should probably be adopting the best and most crushing attitude towards the weaknesses of humanity.—G. K. CHESTERTON, in "A Defence of Baby-Worship."

At the Cross Roads.

The drift away from organised Christianity which was evident among certain classes of workers even before the war, has gathered force from the events of the past six years, and now bids fair to leave the Churches stranded, beyond the sweep of the currents that move the workers of to-day.

There is a spirit of unrest abroad and a growing materialism which, taken together with the steadily strengthening idea that only the exercise of force can end the present unjust and effete social system, promises trouble in the near future.

In the mining valleys of South Wales the effect of these revolutionary tendencies is being modified somewhat by the increasing love of gambling and the more brutal forms of "sport," which, with the "pictures," provide outlets for the surplus energy that would otherwise be dangerous. A colliery manager recently remarked that if it were not for football and the pictures there would be a revolution soon. Realising the value of sport as a safety valve, one of the coalowners has appointed a sports' organiser at a salary of about £500 per annum; and no doubt the story of old Rome will be repeated, and the impending collapse delayed while the modern gladiators make a Rhondda holiday.

Your practically-minded capitalist, even though a Church member himself, is under no illusion as to the forces that count among the miners to-day, and no longer puts his money into chapels as of yore.

Even here in these valleys, through which the tide of the Welsh Revival swept with such marvellous power, there has come a marked change in the religious outlook.

The district affords an interesting illustration of how the elements of place and work influence character. Narrow valleys lacking in sunshine, but plentifully supplied with rain; small houses crowded together to form mean streets, where the housewife struggles valiantly to combat the defiling influence of the ever present coal dust; great heaps of small coal and rubbish rising skyward and threatening to rival the hills themselves; all this and much more of the kind suggests a narrow, drab existence.

Then there is the work itself, hard, physically exhausting and dangerous, carried out in a subterranean region where the sunlight never penetrates. The result, as a rule, is a temperament that is narrow, fatalistic and reserved, but subject to occasional outbursts of emotion. The great refining influence in the past has been vocal music. The chapels, by catering for the inborn love of singing, gathered to themselves the bulk of the population. Every respectable person in the valleys, and many that were not, had his or her name on the roll of some religious body. In many cases this did not mean much from the standpoint of true religion or even of morality. It conferred, however, the inestimable boon to a Welshman of a "good funeral," a post mortem glory that was a privilege of the saints.

The chapels are still full, chiefly because of the strength of family associations and the force of cus-

tom and habit. There are many among the younger people, however, who are thinking about the deeper questions of life and are getting dissatisfied with what is offered from the pulpits, and are even querying whether there is any reality at all at the back of religion.

A number of factors have co-operated to produce the present unsettlement of opinion. The principal one seems to be the hypocrisy of professing Christians—ministers and leaders as well as the rank and file. On the death of a pillar of a local chapel—a man exercising great influence as the agent of a Colliery Company—a deacon remarked to the writer "Well, I suppose he was responsible for more men giving up chapel-going than any other agency in this place." Amid the frequent disputes that occur between Capital and Labour, the question as to the Christian attitude to the matter is never raised. Religion is a Sunday affair with no connections in the workaday world.

Probably the changing nature of the work of the average miner is also having its effect on the younger men. In the old days the miner was a skilled man able to timber his heading and splice the wire haulage ropes, as well as hew the coal. The tendency to-day is to greater specialisation, and the average miner is simply a hewer of coal. His work is largely destructive, and with comparatively little preparation he is able to achieve great material results. This is reacting on his mentality and developing an impatience with slow methods, and a tendency to favour direct action in industrial and political affairs.

Concurrently with this changing attitude of the work and the growing sense of the unreality of religion, there has been the effect of an active Socialistic propaganda. Little more than a decade ago, the I.L.P. did a lot of spade work in the valleys, and by putting emphasis on the social teachings of Jesus they attracted many of the fine spirits in the Churches. The movement was met by an opposition at once bitter and ill-informed. Wild statements were made from the pulpits about free love and atheism being the necessary accompaniments of Socialism, with the result that many left the chapels disgusted with the vulgar abuse that was hurled at them. A growing interest in revolutionary Socialism followed, and Labour clubs were formed, sometimes with a strong Marxian flavour. Whether their influence has been as potent as some imagine is questionable. It is certain that there is much truth in the witty remark that the only difference between the Conservative and the Marxian was that one drank beer on one side of the street whilst the other consumed it across the way. Of late years the South Wales Miners' Federation has carried on active educational work, and by means of lectures and tutorial classes has familiarised hundreds of young miners with the principal facts of industrial history and given some knowledge of elementary economics. The members of the classes are active in spreading the message by con-

versations among their "butties" in the mine and, supported by returning students from the Central Labour College, are gradually permeating the coal-field with the spirit of revolutionary Socialism. A carefully planned movement has been set going with the object of gaining control of the committees of Miners' Lodges, Co-operative Societies and Trade Councils, with the idea of capturing the machine.

One of the results of these persistent efforts to spread revolutionary Socialism has been an ever-widening gulf between Labour and Religion. Christianity, we are told, is played out. It has had two thousand years to do the job of emancipating the workers, and to-day it is the great bulwark of the capitalist régime.

An effort to bridge the gap between the workers and organised religion was made at one centre, and a series of lectures given under the general title of "Labour and Religion." The meetings were well-attended and the lectures followed with keen interest. A portion of the audience proved to be very critical, and question time revealed the fact that the new effort was regarded as another attempt to side-track the revolutionary movement by first of all administering the religious "dope" to the workers. Capitalism as a system of organising society was, we were told, only fit for the scrap-heap. The new era is coming—whether peaceably or not depends on the capitalists. The teaching of history, it is said, shows that in the end the workers have had to fight in order to overthrow effete systems, and anything that tends to bolster up the present régime will only make the struggle for supremacy longer and more bitter. The "good" capitalist with his profit-sharing schemes and welfare work must be ruthlessly opposed, as his efforts are as futile as offering a pill to cure an earthquake. What of the future? Can the Christian message be restated in such a way as to show that it contains the death sentence of wage slavery as of chattel slavery? Can the Churches rise to the occasion and become the messengers of the social gospel that was proclaimed in the synagogue at Nazareth nineteen hundred years ago? Belief in God has not disappeared. But the spiritual nature may atrophy from neglect if a determined effort is not made to supply nourishment for the soul. Half measures are useless. Conventional phrases will have to be thrown aside. Labour in the South Wales Mining Areas is nearing the Cross Roads. Will it meet Christ there and take His way to a New Social Order?

"PENRHYS."

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

COUNTRY HOLIDAYS FOR CHILDREN AND ADULTS.—Lovely scenery and walks. Sea air. Donkey Cart. Cottage on Mendips. Terms from 35/-. Apply "The Crusader," 23 Bride Lane, Fleet St., E.C.

P— Street.

P— Street is one of those places that are an abomination in the sight of Heaven.

P— Street is composed of two long rows of tenement houses facing each other. Every house in P— Street (with the exception of two) is the exact counterpart of its neighbour, for dirt, empty window-panes, and the number of families who swarm in its interior.

The difference between the two exceptions and the rest of P— Street is that the two exceptions contain one family less, and devote the extra space to the business of a "Wardrobe dealer."

The juvenile members of the families who occupy these two exceptions are more fortunate than the other juveniles of P— Street; they change their clothes oftener.

One room one family is the rule of P— Street, and in one room the families of P— Street have their births and deaths, their beds, their meals, and the family clothes-washing.

There are no back entrances to P— Street. There are no dustbins in P— Street. The sanitary arrangements of P— Street are the last degree of loathsomeness. On Tuesdays and Fridays the amount of ashes and refuse that has accumulated since last Tuesday and Friday is scraped together and deposited on the side walk. On Tuesdays and Fridays the younger generation of P— Street takes a savage delight in spreading the deposits over as much of P— Street as is possible, before the appearance of the long-suffering dustman.

P— Street, therefore, has achieved a record number of (1) Tubercular "cases"; (2) skin diseases; (3) drunk and disorderlies, and (4) children.

There is no room in P— Street for invalids, and an epidemic of mumps or measles is regarded by the others as a gift of Providence. The victims are turned out of doors in all weathers, in order that they may have the opportunity to develop something more serious, and thereby qualify for a bed in the hospital. Moreover, the victims themselves, being generously disposed as regards mumps and measles, do their level best to spread the infection among as many of their acquaintances as possible.

P— Street, besides being an object of special interest to the police, is the kind of street that commends itself to the notice of district visitors, mission sisters, settlement workers, and a conscientious clergyman; but in spite of the efforts of these well-meaning folks, P— Street still goes on in its own foul way.

P— Street is rank with filth and bad sanitation, and rotten with disease.

There are only two ways of curing P— Street: First, that the owner of the tenement houses of P— Street (and all other P— Streets) shall be compelled by law to affix their names and addresses to their property; and, secondly, a complete and total annihilation of P— Street.

E.M.

Lenin, the Dogmatist.

Concerning one point at least, all those who have reported their impressions of the Russian leader are agreed. Lenin is a dogmatist. Certain things he believes emphatically. For him they have passed beyond the stage of questioning. The materialistic conception of history, Marxian economics, the necessity of arming the proletariat, are not so much opinions; they are dogmas.

Lenin, in this, stands as a type of the revolutionary Socialist. The belief which men of this type exhibit in the verbal inspiration of Karl Marx may provoke the scorn of the unbeliever, but there can be little doubt that it is to their uncompromising adhesion to certain principles, and their willingness to work them out to their uttermost conclusions, that is due the influence they wield. They know. Their minds break through the mesh of sophistries and compromises which turn aside less rigorous thinkers. Ridiculous as, from one point of view, may be their acrimonious discussion of doctrinaire points, and forcibly as they may remind us of theologians of an earlier age, the Russian Revolution stands as a monument to their ability and a proof of their success. This revival of dogmatism is very interesting. It comes at a time when we have settled down to the idea that dominating conviction on any important matter is not only now impossible but even absurd. We have come to the conclusion that conclusions are a sign of narrowness and obscurantism. Our poets declare that they "faintly trust the larger hope." And now come these iron-bound Marxians crashing into our wobbling and uncertain world and, by reason of their unbending dogmatism, they carry all before them.

It is surely something to ponder about

And it is significant that the age which had given up serious belief rushed into the Great War. Militarism involves unquestioning obedience—"Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do or die." Men who had laughed to scorn the traditions of centuries meekly toed the line at the command of an obscene drill-sergeant. Though we would have nothing to do with the creeds, we became suddenly punctilious concerning the military manual. Though we were uncertain of the character of God, we were very certain of the character of the Hun. Though we were doubtful whether we ought to worship Jesus, we were quite dogmatic in affirming that we ought to hang the Kaiser.

Thus did the house, swept clean of theological dogmas, open its doors to nationalist dogmas. The craving of human nature for a certainty that would warrant fierce and unhesitating actions finds satisfaction in the creed of the "Daily Mail" and "John Bull."

Indeed, to be more accurate, it is not so much dogma to which our age objects as dogma concerning the things that matter. Ours is an inverted certainty. As G. K. Chesterton has said: "We are more and more to discuss details in art, politics,

literature. A man's opinion on tramcars matters; his opinion on Botticelli matters; his opinion on all things does not matter. He may turn over and explore a million matters, but he must not find that strange object, the universe; for if he does he will have a religion, and be lost. Everything matters—except everything." And the dogmatism of the Marxian is of this inverted kind. It exhibits an amazing certainty about surplus values, but is utterly lost when you begin to talk of your faith in the Resurrection. Whether we shall live to see the Commune is a matter of grave concern. But whether we shall live to see the light of the Eternal Day creep up the horizon is to be regarded as a question only for obscurantists.

It is a strange commentary on this state of things that the men who once turned the world upside down were uncertain about the things on which we are certain, and certain concerning that on which we are agnostic. They knew not the day nor the hour of the World's Judgment, but they knew the name of the Judge. They could not have told you where they were being led, but they knew who was their Leader.

No religious movement will ever achieve anything without pretty definite convictions, not merely concerning economics and ethics, but on those ultimate sanctions on which economics and ethics rest.

WANTED: QUESTIONERS.

Underneath the crust of our civilisation, hidden far from our tender gaze, all sorts of enormities go on. We travel over this beautiful land of ours, from some fashionable residential quarter, or from some handsome suburb, and we have to shut our eyes while we get out of London, and then we plunge into some horror like Sheffield, or Newcastle, or Bradford, or Birmingham; and we lament to Heaven that these things should be. But if we mention it to some person in the train he will probably tell us that "where there's muck there's money"; which, in other words, means that it is in these sordid places that the suburb and the fine houses are really made. We find that away in distant tropics the beautiful birds are becoming rare, and some of the most glorious species have now ceased to exist. Rubber is being gathered in a way that means the destruction of the plant, and the awful bondage and misery of native life. We rejoice that we can put our criminals, the insane and the suffering out of sight; and then we are disturbed to find what goes on behind these vast silent walls. One dare not disturb this crust of civilisation, for underneath there lies cruelty, brutality, putridity. How shall we train a new race of men who will ask questions, who will keep eternal vigilance, who will see the wrong tendency before it develops into a chain that one cannot break without breaking everything else at the same time.—REV. W. E. ORCHARD, D.D.

Bookland. Evangelicalism and Money.

"The end of the war finds us more engrossed than ever in financial considerations," says W. F. Lofthouse, the editor of a book on "The Christian Use of Money" (The Epworth Press, 3/- net). The book in question contains contributions from H. Maldwyn Hughes, D.D., Frank Richards, M.A., Samuel E. Keeble, and others. The Teaching of the Old and New Testaments on Money, the Attitude of Catholic and Protestant Christianity towards Money, the Case for Ownership, Stewardship, and the Rule of Service, are among the subjects discussed.

The book represents the awakening of Evangelical Christians to the necessity of applying Christianity to the economic questions which, as these writers see, constitute the chief problem for this age. As the Editor in the initial essay says, speaking of the evil wrought by the influence of rich patrons within the Church,—

"Perhaps the most tragic example of the disastrous paradox is to be found in the lives of the wealthy Evangelicals of a century ago, who established the organised missionary activities of this country and aroused the first movements of that rooted hostility to the Church which to-day animates so large a part of the modern world of labour. But this mis-service to the cause of religion is not simply a matter of history. There is not a denomination to-day which does not contain conspicuous examples of men who repel by their use of money far more effectively than they attract by their liberality and devotion. There is many a local community which has to lament that by the influence of some prominent adherent, perhaps exercised quite unconsciously, her own witness is neutralised or destroyed."

That marks a distinct advance. It is practically an avowal of repentance on the part of Evangelical Christianity.

Usury.

But when we come to the constructive side of the book there is a decided weakening in the tone.

The old distinction between usury and interest is made—the former being declared wrong and the latter at least permissible. How frail is the support to be found in the New Testament for this position may be gauged from the argument adduced.

"How are we to interpret the words, 'Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away' (Matt. v. 42)? The saying must, of course, be taken in connection with the whole teaching of Jesus. It does not justify indiscriminate giving and lending, but only such as proceeds from a conscientious and merciful fulfilment of the obligations of stewardship. 'If ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners to receive as much again' (Luke vi. 34): does this saying constitute a condemnation of transactions which involve the taking of interest? That exorbitant interest is contrary to the spirit of the Gospels it is easy to believe; but that the taking of interest is in itself immoral cannot be established, in face of the rebuke of the unworthy servant in the parables of the Talents and Pounds, 'Thou oughtest to have put my money to the bankers, and at my coming I should have received back my own with interest.'"

This method of interpreting parables would have some curious results if generally followed. It reminds us all too forcibly of the kind of exegesis by which preachers, in the course of the war, revised the Sermon on the Mount in order to use it as an

endorsement of the horrors of modern battlefields. It is just this kind of ingeniousness which disgusts the plain man. If you need to defend interest by all means defend it, but not by exploiting the words of the Son of Man.

There is a lack of clear thinking in these essays which amounts at times to an appearance of downright dishonesty. The following passage from the chapter on "The Case for Ownership" is not only confused in argument, but is even blasphemous:

"It must also be borne in mind that private ownership forms a very tangible incentive to progress. Even in the pitiful communism of prison life, it has been found necessary to add to the power of compulsion the stimulus of money paid at the termination of the period of imprisonment. Amongst free men, it must naturally be even more necessary to encourage enterprise by personal gain, without which there will be an inevitable slackening of interest. Had our instincts been those of the bees, we might have found it possible to work for the community alone. But our Creator chose to make us otherwise, and hence our character, many of our best ethical qualities, and our incentive to progress, require the private possession of that we can call our own. So strong is this necessity, that it is noticeable that the most disinterested lives witness to it in the tendency to identify themselves with the community. They adopt the race as their child, working for it as the father works for his son. To say this is not to belittle their work, but merely to note the curious fact that the most devoted altruism exhibits itself as a pure and consecrated egoism."

We do not profess to be able to understand the latter part of the paragraph, unless it means that, because a man sacrifices his individual interests to the Community he cannot therefore be a Communist, but the suggestion that the incentive of personal gain is necessary in order that men should be induced to put forth effort, is a distinct libel on Him who made Human Nature, and in violent contradiction to the lives of all those "saints, apostles, prophets, martyrs," whom the Church professes to honour.

"The task of the social reformer," says the writer whom we have just quoted, "is to cure its abuses rather than to imagine alternatives to it." The failure to "imagine alternatives" to the present pagan civilisation largely vitiates the value of this book. Surely the writers must realise that the day has gone by for talking about the stewardship of wealth. What we are asking to day is why Lord This or the Honourable Sir That should be in a position to direct the spending of millions while others, no less worthy, must be content to remain the humble recipients of his bounty.

The quotation of Macaulay's verse which closes the chapter on ownership, does not remove the suspicion that the writer is still living in the days of Macaulay—

"Then none was for a party;
Then all were for the State;
Then the great man helped the poor,
And the poor man loved the great.
Then lands were fairly portioned;
Then spoils were fairly sold:
The Romans were like brothers
In the brave days of old."

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

We are glad to be able to say that two of our members have been helping in the open-air work at Bristol during the last few days, while one of them has been asked by the South Dorset L.L.P. to speak from their platforms in order to lay before the people the social and international claims of Christianity. This means that we shall want in London all the help that can be given, so that we may be able to spare speakers for this outside work.

OPEN-AIR MISSION.—The following meetings are arranged, the list being reduced this week owing to the holiday season:—**FRIDAY, July 30:**—At 6.30 p.m., Marble Arch: W. H. Hancock, Dorothea Strevens; at 8 p.m., Kilburn, The Grangeway: E. Alcock Rush, Ivy Sheldon, Basil Tritton; Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. **SUNDAY, August 1:**—At noon, Leytonstone, The Green Man: Alfred Cordell; at 3.30, Hampstead Heath, Jack Straw's Castle: Marjorie Bonar, Dorothea Strevens. **TUESDAY, Aug. 3:**—At 6.30 p.m., Marble Arch: E. Alcock Rush, Basil Tritton; at 8 p.m., Forest Gate, outside G.E.R. Station: Rev. Frank Fincham, W. H. Hancock; at 8 p.m., Clapton, corner of Upper Clapton Rd. and Kenninghall Rd.: Alfred Cordell, E. Oakes. **WEDNESDAY, Aug. 4:**—At 8 p.m., Catford, near Town Hall: Rev. Frank Fincham, Horace Fuller. **THURSDAY, Aug. 5:**—At 6.30, Marble Arch: Rev. Frank Fincham, W. H. Hancock; at 6.30, Kentish Town, corner of Kentish Town Rd. and Leighton Rd.: J. B. Lief, E. Oakes, E. Alcock Rush. **FRIDAY, Aug. 6:**—At 6.30 p.m., Marble Arch: Alfred Cordell, Basil Tritton; at 6.30 p.m., Kilburn, The Grangeway: Dorothea Strevens, Ivy Sheldon; at 6.30 p.m., Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Rev. R. W. Sorensen.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

MORE PRODUCTION.

Owing to bad trade, numbers of Kettering shoe operatives will have three weeks' summer holiday instead of ten days. Some factories are only working the equivalent of two days weekly.

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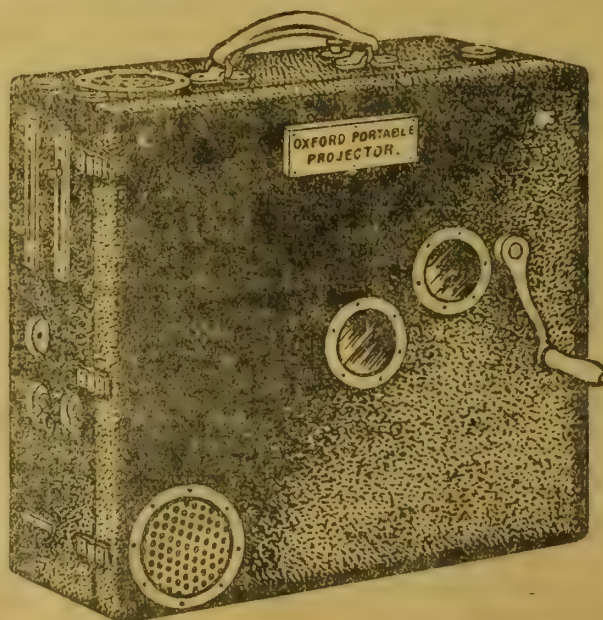
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Christian Commonwealth Fellowship.



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscriptions for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, pendants, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Postage 2d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

The Fellowship Spirit.

The little Scotch girl had the true Fellowship spirit. She was carrying a boy nearly as big as herself, and when asked if he were not too heavy, she replied, with great surprise, "He's no heavy; he's ma brither!" Members of the C.C.F. do much more than talk of brotherhood and the "service of humanity." They see the family likeness and act accordingly. A short time ago, 4905 (Lagos) wrote to us at Headquarters asking for special help that only a white man could give him, in his corner of the world. (4905 is a native of Nigeria). We linked him with 1323 (French Guinea), with the happiest results. 4905 is now happily established where he longed to be, and writes us in glowing terms of the helpfulness of the Fellow he has never seen. "Every Fellow should be in a very special sense regarded as a brother or sister," writes 2515 (Finchley). "One should surely hold oneself ready, at any moment, at any cost of trouble or sacrifice to oneself, to assist such an one in any way possible, to the best of one's ability. 'Faithful to Fellowship' should be one's life motto. 'Fellowship should not only be a link, but a solemn bond—a promise pledged by each to all that no appeal for help or sympathy by anyone should ever be disregarded. These are my views, and I know many others will say 'Hear! Hear!'"

A Task for Heroes.

To live the life of Fellowship in its true aspects, Fellowship with God and Fellowship with man, in an age of materialism, an age that in its laws, its customs, its commerce, puts the interests of the few before the many, does not treat all men as brothers, is a task for all that a man can command of heroism. But the great teachers of our age are calling us to this. And the example and teaching of Jesus Christ are with us. And is it not worth, while? Some day the weary, harrassed look will pass from all the faces we meet, because the work and the burdens will be shared all round. And it is ours to hasten this day. "O, Fellows all over the world," writes 77 (London, S.W.), "do you hear the call? Do you dream dreams of what the world might be and ought to be, of what your life might be and ought to be? Have you found the joy that belongs to you? If not, come with us, for this is the road to it. In the daily task that is assigned to you, in the grind for bread, pour out your lives of glad and willing sacrifice for the world's need, hold nothing back, give

all for Fellowship, for your brothers. Then in silence listen for the joy that waits for you."

What our Badge says to us.

Do you seem to have little to give? Or is there a barrier to be broken down before you can begin? Look at our C.C.F. Badge, and its meaning as given on our membership card.

("At the centre of our faith is the red rose of Love. . . . we stretch our limbs gladly on the Cross of Life, dying to live. . . . and we send forth our thoughts to circle the world like the blue sky—triangle—linking our lives with the lives of all humanity—white circle—that Love may find its own"); then at this little parable, sent us by 239 (Beaconsfield):—"Long ago there lived in India a man who in a vision saw the symbol of the rose. And this man, clinging to the vision, sought the stillness of the hills, and during nights lit by the Teacher and the Revealer he called to the Understanding. He knew that the Vision had been given, that experience, strength and power to be were his. But the full truth of the vision would not come. Night after night he waited for it, day after day in increasing scorn he turned from the low, and untaught and erring. One night as he sat alone in the radiant and pure outgoing from his enlightened head, his eyes were taken away for a moment from the contemplation of the moon and they came to rest upon a worm on the ground whom his foot had accidentally crushed. And a link seemed to become established between them. An inexpressible feeling of sympathy, affinity, seemed to grow within him, and he became aware that out of his heart grew something that was new. And when he lifted his eyes to contemplate, behold, the Vision of the Rose was there, but now he saw the centre of the rose, the soul of the circle, the reproducing, warmth-giving, colour-creating meaning—the Rose of Love. And from that moment a Saviour-spirit began to manifest. And with the thorny rose in the centre of the chosen Cross he wandered forth to bring the message to the suffering and erring world."

Introductions.

There are some who feel it necessary to "re-join" the C.C.F. They have travelled far since they first discovered Fellowship; they are in many respects new people. Among these is 2271 (London, W.). Once a Pioneer sister, now a Montessori teacher, she comes back to us with her application form filled in again—and differently. We know she will receive a warm handshake.

5419 (Bristol) wishes to link with friendly spirits at Trowbridge, where he expects to work, and with others interested in gardening, songs, painting, religious stories. He is young and needing friends.

5421 (London, W.), a language teacher, and lecturer on the new international language "Ro," will be glad to link with Fellows anywhere, particularly in Holland, Nigeria and France.

Annual Subscriptions and New Members.

We acknowledge, with thanks, the following annual subscriptions:—E.M. (Stony Stratford, 5s.); C.H.M. (Streatham, 2s. 6d.); E.L. (Geneva, 2s.); S.N. (Larne, 2s. 6d.); C.S.E. (Erickson, B.C., 1s. 6d.); G.S.S. (Edinburgh, 5s.); M.J. (Norwich, 2s.). And the following donations to our Stamp and Literature Fund:—E.K.B. (Wimborne, 7s. 6d.); A.P. (London, W., 1s.).

Neighbour Fellowship.

There is quite a circle of Fellows at Wallington now. Will they not link up together? 4379 and 4380 are newcomers; 1037, 5055, 5087, 5389 and 657 are older residents.

Fellowship Wanted.

5387 (London, W.) is staying in Bedfordshire from August 16-30, and would like to meet local Fellows.

SIDELIGHTS.

Disraeli on Parliament.

With the publication of Buckle's "Life," Disraeli is very much in evidence just now. As is well known, he embodied much of his political philosophy in his novels. The following extract from "Coningsby" may interest those Labour leaders who look upon Parliamentaryism as absolutely the last word in democracy; and Parliament as an institution destined to last for all time:—

"You will observe one curious trait in the history of this country: the depository of power is always unpopular; all combine against it; it always falls. Power was deposited in the great Barons; the Church, using the King for its instrument, crushed the great Barons. Power was deposited in the Church; the King, bribing the Parliament, plundered the Church. Power was deposited in the King; the Parliament, using the People, beheaded the King, expelled the King, changed the King, and, finally, for a King substituted an administrative officer. For one hundred and fifty years Power has been deposited in the Parliament, and for the last sixty or seventy years it has been becoming more and more unpopular. In 1830 it was endeavoured, by a reconstruction, to regain the popular affection; but, in truth, as the Parliament then only made itself more powerful, it has only become more odious. As we see that the Barons, the Church, the King, have in turn devoured each other, and that the Parliament, the last devourer, remains, it is impossible to resist the impression that this body also is doomed to be destroyed; and he is a sagacious statesman who may detect in what form and in what quarter the great consumer will arise."—"Coningsby," Book IV., chap. 13 (Sidonia speaking to Coningsby).

Corky Describes Tolstoy.

Gorky, the Russian novelist, has written his reminiscences of Tolstoy. One day Tolstoy suddenly turned the conversation in the direction of religion, speaking of belief in God. "He had hardly ever spoke to me on the subject," says Gorky, "and its seriousness and the suddenness of it rather overwhelmed me. I was silent. . . . He was sitting on the couch with his legs drawn up under him, and breaking into a triumphant little smile, and shaking his finger at me, he said: 'You won't get out of this by silence, no.' And I, who do not believe in God, looked at him for some reason very cautiously and a little timidly; I looked and thought, 'The man is godlike.'"

A Prophecy.

"And you, Russia of mine—are you not also speeding like a troika which nought can overtake? Is not the road smoking beneath your wheels and the bridges thundering as you cross them, and everything being left in the rear, and the spectators, struck with the portent, halting to wonder whether you be not a thunderbolt launched from Heaven?"

"What does that awe-inspiring progress of yours foretell? . . ."

"Whither then are you speeding, O Russia of mine? Whither? Answer me!"

"But no answer comes, . . . but rent into a thousand shreds, the air roars past you, for you are overtaking the whole world, and shall one day force all nations, all empires, to stand aside, to give you way!"—From "Dead Souls," Nikolai Vasilevich Gogol.

The New Crusaders.

Under the above heading "The Call" has this paragraph:—

"A meeting in connection with the Christian Counter-Bolshevik Crusade was held the other evening at Caxton Hall. The list of speakers included the Bishop of Birmingham, the Rev. Coutrier-Forster, Sir Bernard Pares, and Mr. F. Victor Fisher."

No Deportations.

The Australian Seamen's Union has decided by resolution not to allow anyone to be deported without trial. In accordance with this decision, seamen on the s.s. "Nestor" refused to allow the vessel to leave with Father Jerger, a Roman Catholic German priest, whose deportation has been ordered by the Federal Attorney General.

The Worst Typhus Scourge in History.

According to a recent memorandum drawn up by Col. H. L. Gilchrist of the United States Army Medical Corps, Poland is threatened with the worst typhus fever epidemic in the history of the world. Acute as is the suffering of the unfortunate inhabitants of the fever-stricken areas, a wider disaster is threatened by the conditions which now obtain in Poland. Hunger and disease know no bounds of race or creed or political opinion, and if the epidemic is not checked there is the probability of its threatening the whole of Europe.

£56,000,000 Spent in Fighting Russian Republic.

A statement of expenditure on naval and military operations in Russia from the date of the Armistice to March 31, 1920, was issued last week, in the form of a Parliamentary White Paper. It shows that the total expenditure for the period from November 11, 1918, to October 31, 1919, was £49,681,000, and from November 1, 1919, to March 31, 1920, £6,342,000.

An explanatory note states that, since the statement to October 31, 1919, was presented to Parliament in November last, further information has become available regarding events before the date which calls for material modification of the figures then given.

The total expenditure for the whole of the period since the Armistice until March 31, 1920, is £55,973,000.

Topsy-Turvydom.

Helene—What conditions, for example, do you call "topsy-turvy"?

Loth—For example, it is topsy-turvy when the man who works by the sweat of his brow goes hungry, and the idler is permitted to live in superfluity. It is topsy-turvy to punish murder in times of peace, and to reward murder in time of war. It is topsy-turvy to despise the hangman, and oneself to swagger around, as the soldiers do, with an instrument for slaying men slung proudly at the side. Conceivably, the hangman who does it with an axe might be stoned. Then it is topsy-turvy to have as the State religion the religion of Christ, this religion of endurance, forgiveness and love, and at the same time to train whole nations to complete mutual extermination. These are a few instances among millions, which you must consider. It would mean too much trouble to take you through them all. You are sure to see them soon.—From Gerhardt Hauptmann's social drama "Der Sonnenaufgang."

INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE CONFERENCE.

The First International "Ro Language" Conference will be held at Marietta, Ohio, U.S.A., August 10. Ro is the work of Rev. E. P. Foster, M.A. Ro is a language constructed entirely on the "Classification of Ideas System" as advocated in the Encyclopædia Britannica. Ro Dictionary, 50c., from Ro Pub. Co., Marietta.

A CORRECTION.

In applying for Wilfred Wellock's services friends are asked to write Miss Brown at the "Crusader" Office and not Mr. Wellock himself as announced last week.

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The Outlook.

THE refusal of the Poles to authorise their delegates to conclude peace with Russia has a suspicious look, and suggests Allied influence. If these suspicions are correct it is another stage in the long process of procrastination by which the Allied militarists are befooling Labour. Mr. Lloyd George is credited with being the tool of the Churchillians. Matters have reached a point at which his honour can be saved only by resolute opposition even at the risk of his political career.

THE "Nation," in a powerful article on the "Irish Republic," says:—

"The central fact of the present situation in Ireland is that an Irish Republic exists. What is to be done with it? That is the problem which confronts His Majesty's Ministers. There never has been a situation like it in Ireland before. Ireland now possesses a democratically elected Parliament, Dáil Éireann, with a Cabinet responsible to it. It boasts, in the Irish Volunteers, both of an army and a police force. It has set up courts with benches of magistrates, before which the great majority of litigants now bring their disputes. In other words, Ireland is this year not only a nation but a State. Her constitutional

machine may be still only in the making, but it is already sufficiently complete to insure almost perfect order in every part of the south and west which has not been reduced to chaos by the military and the police."

It is against this organisation of the national life of Ireland that additional troops are being sent, and for the suppression of which powers are being largely granted the impotent Castle authorities!

These are the means sought to prevent Ireland becoming a source of danger to this country! Could madness go further?

* * *

THERE will be trouble with the miners at the end of August unless their demand for a reduction of 14s. 2d. a ton on domestic coal and an increase of 2s. a day in wages is met. Smillie told the Minister of Labour, "If you will give me all the miners to manage I will get you a far greater output." But then it is not "a far greater output" that matters to the Government, so much as the control of the mines and the allocation of the profits from their working.

* * *

THE miners of the Rhur district appear to be determined to have their own say as to the Allies' demand for an increased output. The Miners' International will meet at Geneva in a few days. It is to be hoped that it will tackle resolutely this attempt of French and British and German Capitalists to conscript labour.

* * *

AN interesting chapter in political history might be written on the way in which each fresh opponent of the Government is represented as worse than the last. During the war the resources of the vocabulary were exhausted in anathematising "the Hun." To-day it looks as though we were not unwilling to utilise German forces for the purpose of keeping the Greater Evil—Russia—in her place. To-morrow we shall be told that bad as are the Bolsheviks they are nothing to the terrible Sinn Féiners. And the British Public follows these transmutations of the Devil with its usual gullibility.



Sacred and Secular.

The controversy now proceeding as to whether games should be allowed in public parks on Sundays is only one instance of the breaking down of the partitions, so rigorously pre-

served by our forefathers, between the sacred and the secular.

The assault on these barriers has come, of course, mainly from the secular world. Although the encroachments on religious habits have been urged frequently in the name of a religious humanitarianism, it cannot be seriously said that the crowd of pleasure seekers who fill our trains and trams on a Sunday have revolted against the customs of their fathers under a strong religious impulse. Suburbia does not play tennis on the first day of the week because it believes there is some mystic value in racquets. John Smith does not sit in his back-yard reading divorce cases in the Sunday paper because the strong religious bent of his mind makes him averse to spending time on the Bible. It cannot be pretended that the disbelief in the sacred character of ecclesiastical buildings is due to our overwhelming sense of the sacredness of Town Halls, Elementary Schools, and Railway Stations.

On the whole I think it will be granted that the movement referred to indicates the conquest of the sacred by the secular.

But that is not to say that it has no value. On the contrary it has performed a very great service. It has, once for all, abolished the imaginary line between sacred and secular. It has broken down the barrier between the two. It has cleared the way for the conquest of the secular by the sacred.

The critic who complains of the artificial dualism by which life has been divided can scarcely complain if the tables are now turned on him, and if the flood of a new religious movement avails itself of the broken barriers to invade the secular sphere. If, having introduced the custom of giving theatrical performances on Sunday, he sees the Church exploiting the dramatic instinct for her own purposes, he cannot grumble. If, having supported the Sunday newspaper with its putrid selection of the week's crimes, he finds a religious note creeping into the columns of his favourite yellow journal, he must accept the consequences of his iconoclasm. If, having set up statues of secular-minded generals, and politicians in Westminster Abbey, he finds crucifixes adorning the street corners, he cannot raise objection. If, having, in the name of the State, subjected the Christian Conscience to secular Tribunals, he now finds the Christian Conscience criticising the claims of the State, it is his own fault.

The Church has accepted this invasion, on the whole, very tamely. It has been content, for the most part, with a defensive attitude. It has sought to extend the range of its authority. It has been content with attempting to preserve what it regarded as its own special reserve. But the world has driven it into a corner. It has filched one bit after another of its territory. The State has all but captured it completely. But even a worm will turn. Even the Church may cease to act merely on the defensive. Even ecclesiastical may some day stop apologising for Christianity. Irreligion has become so conventional that it has lost all its adventurousness. Already it sounds a little heroic to hear someone confess that he goes to Church. Organised Christianity has become so generally unpopular that I find myself, from sheer love of forlorn hopes and losing causes, defending it. Agnosticism and the other isms have become so conventional that they are almost unbearable.

That means that the tide must soon turn. Christian men and women will no longer be content to defend public parks on Sundays from brass bands; they will be wanting to turn private parks into public property not only on Sunday, but for the rest of the week. They may not only desire to separate Church and State; they may want the Church to capture the State. Instead of merely resisting the encroachments of secular educationalists, they may claim the whole educational system for the training of the child in Christian principles. There is no saying what they may not do. They are curious people. They are never more alive than when they seem dead. Some of them are beginning to laugh quietly to themselves in a peculiar way as though they had become possessed of some secret of victory.

The world must look to its laurels. It has broken down all the defences of the Church. I am inclined to think that before long the Church may find the breaches that have been made in its walls very convenient for issuing, in challenging and militant mood, on a world grown weak with the fumes of its own victory.

THE TRAMP.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

OPEN-AIR MISSION.—We are in very great need of additional speakers, especially during August, as several of our regular helpers are either resting or holding missions in different parts of the country. The following meetings have been arranged:—FRIDAY, August 6th:—At 6.30 p.m., Marble Arch: Alfred Cordell, Dorothea Strevens, Basil Tritton; at 8 p.m., Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Rev. Reginald Sorensen. SATURDAY, 7th:—At 8 p.m., Ealing Broadway, corner of Oxford Road: Alfred Cordell. SUNDAY, 8th:—At noon, Leytonstone, The Green Man: Alfred Cordell. MONDAY, 9th:—At 8 p.m., Leytonstone, The Green Man: Rev. R. W. Sorensen. TUESDAY, 10th:—At 6.30 p.m., Marble Arch: Alfred Cordell, Dorothea Strevens; at 8 p.m., Forest Gate, G.E.R. Station: H. W. Hancock, E. Oakes; at 8 p.m., Clapton, corner of Kenninghall Rd. and Upper Clapton Rd.: Rev. Frank Fincham, H. W. Green. WEDNESDAY, 11th:—At 8 p.m., Catford, outside the Town Hall: Rev. Frank Fincham, Horace Fuller. THURSDAY, 12th:—At 6.30 p.m., Marble Arch: Rev. Frank Fincham, Dorothea Strevens; at 8 p.m., Kentish Town, corner of Leighton Rd. and Kentish Town Rd.: Alfred Cordell, J. B. Lief, E. Oakes. FRIDAY, 13th: Marble Arch: Alfred Cordell, Dorothea Strevens; Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Rev. R. W. Sorensen.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

Holiday Grumbles.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

I am scribbling this page off while being rushed away from the smoke and grime of the city for a brief spell amid the healthier atmosphere of the N.E. coast. Luckily I have just managed to beat Superman Geddes by taking return tickets at the old rate—that means much to one who works for ‘causes’ these days! But I have an additional reason for being pleased with myself at getting away before the Bank Holiday crowds gather at the stations and tram and bus termini and spill over into motor lorries and donkey-carts and every other imaginable conveyance. I have missed one of the most depressing sights of modern industrialism—the day-trip proletarian scramble.

* * *

“Who first invented work, and bound the free
And holiday-rejoicing spirit down?”

I don’t know. But Lamb’s soulful query comes to my mind every time I stand and watch the seething masses of perspiring working-class humanity returning from a day’s “pleasure” at holiday time. The Frenchman who, some time in the 17th century, recorded the fact that “the English take their pleasures sadly, according to the custom of their country,” would merely need to put a fairly strong adjective before the word “sadly” in order to make his description up-to-date so far as the average working-class “holiday” is concerned.

* * *

Surely there is nothing on earth quite so depressing as the English Bank Holiday crowd. Oh, yes! I know there are exceptions; but, generally speaking, they are not nice exceptions. (Ugh! Those smelly, bad-beer-and-worse-“baccy” crowds!) The unseemly scramble for the cars and trains, the utter wretchedness of Bank Holiday day-trip travelling; the packed eating houses, with their weak tea and strong charges; the general air of “For-Heaven’s-sake-let-us-get-home-again!” about everybody; all these things and a thousand other “holiday” abominations conspire to make the workers’ “day-off” a body-and-soul-wearying ordeal—especially for the womenfolk—rather than a pleasure.

* * *

I feel this holiday business rather keenly, not for personal reasons, but because it seems to show up the inequality of our social order more glaringly than most things that are looked upon as “inevitable,” or as “acts of God,” or whatever the anti-Socialists happen to think of at the moment. While the vast majority of the people have to be content with these wretched “day-off” holidays, or at the most one week out of the 52 (which usually does them no earthly good, because by the time they have begun to recover from the evil effects of getting to the dear and nasty boarding-house at a dear

and nasty sea-side resort, it is time to begin the return journey), the privileged few find it essential to their existence to take at least a couple of months’ holiday out of every twelve, and to slip off for “long week-ends” through the rest of the year.

* * *

The very sight of a first-class carriage at holiday times makes me feel that I want to go in and compel the occupants to prove their title to travel in luxury while the people of common clay are herded fourteen in a compartment in the next coach. (Confound it! Even as I write our carriage is invaded by a crowd of people who seem to have struck our brilliant idea of “getting away from the crowd!” And here we are, packed like sardines before we have been an hour on our journey.)

* * *

I’ve got a distinct grudge against Providence, too, in this matter. I can’t quite grasp the proposition that in order to ensure the satisfactory working of this planet in the solar system a few mortals have been picked out from the general crush of humanity so that they may provide the picture papers with more or less “charming” photos of Lady Footlight de Bung sunning herself in the South of France, or Lord Knowsoo climbing the Alps. But there, I am a perverse creature; and, after all, if them asses—I beg their pardon! the masses, I mean—prefer to have it so, why should I concern myself in the matter?

* * *

These wicked agitators . . . !

* * *

The man in the corner wanted to know what I thought about the increased fares. I replied that I would prefer not to think about them. He had been reading the “Chronicle,” which was bought for a fabulous sum by a few supporters of the Coalition Government in order to secure at least one big “dope” machine for Mr. Lloyd George, when that gentleman upset Northcliffe by calling him a grasshopper. I told the man in the corner that I was very glad to hear that fares are going up. He glared at me over his spectacles. “I suppose you’re one of the idle rich!” he snorted indignantly. “Yes,” I replied, daringly, “I’ve got quite £5 left, and I think work is horribly degrading!”

He glared some more. “I don’t understand you,” he complained. “What d’yer mean by being glad the fares are going up?”

“How did you vote last election?” I asked.

“Oh, I voted for the Coalition . . .” he began.

“That’s why I’m glad!” I broke in, wickedly. And then I was left to finish this page in peace.

The Crusader

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To the Secretary,
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The Illusion of the Plateau.

There is a sense in which, at the present time, the political and industrial situation is quiet. That is to say the customary disturbances continue. The abnormal has become the normal. Political trickery, the betrayal of racial rights, such as those of the Arabs, and the initiation of new wars in some part of the globe, have become so much a normal part of our existence that their continuance raises no comment. The universality of the evils now at work shields them from observation. Travellers on a plateau scarcely notice their elevation because the whole landscape is at the same level. It is the illusion of the plateau that afflicts us to-day.

The Mystic Vision.

We must fight against the familiarity that breeds indifference. Again and again we must revisit the mystic haunts of the Ideal, refreshing our jaded minds with the vision of the Kingdom of God.

From that experience we shall emerge with the eyes of the child in the fairy story, who beheld the nakedness of the King while all others pretended that he was royally arrayed. Except for those who keep constantly before their imaginations a vision of the world as it ought to be, the sight of what actually is will come to be accepted as normal and right.

Idealism and Realism.

But the price of keeping alive in our minds the contrast between the Kingdom of God and the Kingdoms of Man is a heavy one. The idealist who is also a realist can maintain both his idealism and realism, only at the cost of agony of soul. Yet to surrender either to the other and thus lose the force of the contrast, is to reduce oneself to spiritual impotence. It is in the clash of that contrast that those sparks of the soul are struck by which the evil in the world is burned up.

—◆—
WILFRED WELLOCK.

Applications for Wilfred Wellock's services should be addressed to Miss Brown, "The Crusader," 23 Bride Lane, London, E.C.

"Truth's True."

There is something very pathetic in our poor attempts to arrive at the truth. I think it was Browning who said "Truth's true, the fault is in the prover."

One of the finest chapters in Morel's new book, "Thoughts on Prison, Peace and the War," is the one entitled "The men who inclined their hearts."

In Morel's writing and, in fact, in the writing of many of the men who have suffered because they "inclined their hearts," there is a wonderful absence of bitterness.

But the tragedy of it all is that the action of many of those who hoped to mow down the German was a matter of conviction also.

I heard a parson, who is a B.A.—and therefore presumably an intelligent and educated man, reply in answer to the question "as to whether it would not have been better to leave God out of the war, since the Germans were praying for victory and the Allies also praying for victory":—

"But we have no proof that the Germans were praying for victory for Germans. They may have been convinced of the righteousness of our cause and been praying for victory for us."

The furious fighting and the air raids, then, were only camouflage!

When educated men talk like this, what is the man in the street to do?

I listened at an open-air meeting recently to a Unionist Association speaker. Answering a question about the League of Nations, he said, "While men are men there will always be war. A strong, powerful Navy is better than any League of Nations." His flashing eyes and the force with which he delivered this seemed to indicate that to him this was really a matter of conviction. And the crowd cheered and obviously agreed with him. I heard one man mutter, "Very sensible! very sensible"!

It is only a rumour then, that the Nation is tired of war, and that the people would refuse again to fight!

"Truth's true, the fault is in the prover."

It is surely necessary for Crusaders to double their efforts to spread their Gospel of Peace and Goodwill amongst all Nations.

Our 2/6 fund for sending specimen copies to friends is still open. Can you help?

—◆—
THE PLOUGHMAN.

He who desires, but acts not, breeds pestilence.—
BLAKE.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

The Press has been getting called over the coals, notice. One of the resolutions passed by the United Methodist Conference was not in the vein of praise; indeed, it suggested that there was no less than a Press boycott to be overcome by religious bodies holding meetings. The mover of the resolution affirmed that as far as the London Press is concerned there is a settled policy of ignoring the proceedings of religious organisations, and even in cases where reports appear, these are likely to be quite inadequate, or misleading. The "Methodist Times," holding that this charge against the Press is largely justified, goes on to make some spirited comments, and, after saying that great newspaper amalgamations to-day threaten the freedom and morality of journalism, it carries the question on a stage further, and asks whether boycott is practised in some religious journals. It remarks, for example, that the hard-hitting address given the other day by Dean Inge on Christian unity was entirely ignored by Anglican weekly newspapers.

To us, all this is very interesting reading. We are happy to see the United Methodist Conference, and the "Methodist Times," so stirred up about the ways of the Press. We have experienced those ways ourselves, and when it comes to the "boycott" we must confess that we see nothing to choose between the secular and the religious journal. And we wish to take this excellent opportunity to point out that the "boycott" includes many subjects. It is not only a question of religious meetings, which, by the way, are often not worth reporting—it is a question of a much wider failure to report fairly, and to give room to facts and arguments considered inconvenient. Take, as one instance, the case of the great railway strike last year. What chance did the Press, even the religious Press, give the reader who earnestly desired to know the facts? The average paper gave him no chance whatever. It was not in harmony with its general policy that its readers should be informed of the truth. The readers know the truth now; but at the moment of trouble, when it was important that they should know, they were not allowed to. The same policy of boycott and misrepresentation was carried on for many months about Russia; and it is not over yet. In fact it may be said that the methods of the Press, with the exception of a paper here and there, are deliberately calculated to deceive the man in the street, and to leave him without the materials necessary for the formation of a sound judgment about anything that really matters. It is a most serious question, this of the controlled and manipulated Press. And it applies to religious journalism as well as to the other kind of paper. I only wish that the public, and also the people within the churches, could be made to realise just what is being done to them day by day, and week by week. There can be no doubt that the prevailing policy among newspapers is a grave social menace. It is rapidly reducing the

whole country to a thoroughly dangerous condition of ignorance and mis-information. A people fed on lies and half-truths, while they tread the perilous paths which emerge from a great war, are in a pretty hopeless case.

After what I have just written, it is a pleasure to remark on the open and fair-minded comments recently made by the "Church Times" regarding the state of things in Ireland. One-sided views and the wilful suppression of facts, are what we have grown accustomed to, but the "Church Times" prints the following paragraph:—"Our observations last week on the condition of Ireland have called forth strong expressions of approval and disapproval. The latter predominate. Indeed, some of our correspondents do not scruple to accuse us of condoning the recent murders in Ireland. And all this because we dared to state, what should be common knowledge, that law and order prevail where Sinn Fein rules. We would further point out that the Sinn Fein Courts of Justice are resorted to not only by Republicans but by Unionists and Protestants, for the easily understood reason that in them justice is administered promptly and damages are recovered expeditiously. That all this is very distasteful to the Irish Executive has been shown by many topsy-turvy proceedings, as, for example, when recently at a race meeting at which the Volunteer Police were keeping order the Royal Irish Constabulary came on the scene, arrested the 'police,' and set free their bag of drunkards, swindlers, and pickpockets. All this is not to say that Sinn Fein is in itself admirable. Our point now, as before, is to suggest with all proper humility, that Irishmen are capable of self-government and have shown themselves good organisers and administrators in most difficult circumstances!" I feel moved to add the tag:—"Other papers please copy." How much easier it would be for us to go forward, if a few plain truths were thus stated in all the newspapers we read.

I cull an interesting note from the "Challenge." It tells how in Leeds a movement has been begun, called the United Christian Campaign. For some months a joint committee of Anglican and Free Church ministers has been meeting to consider the possibility of combining to present Christianity afresh to the whole people. They want first of all to make people talk and think about Christianity. They have issued a leaflet, headed "Christ or Chaos," and they are about to approach the various groups which make up the city's life. They are seeking to meet the university and other educational bodies, including both teachers and students; the various social, professional, and business circles of the city; the factories and workshops; the employers and the employed; making use of the existing organisations wherever they can secure an invitation for a speaker. The president of this new movement is the Vicar of Leeds.

Towards a Christian International.

Away in the pine woods at Bilthoven, Holland, some sixty people met last week in conference as to common action on behalf of the Kingdom of God.

As one who was there, I should like to give friends some broad impressions of what happened.

Let us imagine our friends Mr. and Mrs. Boeke, in company with their "Brotherhood in Christ," spending themselves in preparation for our arrival and putting into final order their wonderful Brotherhood House, built specially to house such a Conference as ours.

Certainly nothing failed us. We had men's and women's dormitories, a writing room, a Conference Hall, a huge tent for meals, a library of active service literature, and a cow bell to ring us all to order.

It is no small task to make people from seventeen different nations feel at home. But pitched together as we were—from Switzerland, Sweden, Austria, Holland, France, Finland, Ireland, England, Denmark, Germany, Belgium, India, Japan, U.S.A., Norway, Scotland, Italy—we ceased to be strangers almost immediately.

Let me say as regards the Conference itself, that for the first two or three days we did not really get to grips. This was partly owing to the necessity of hearing reports (with translations) from the different countries, and partly because, in the opinion of many, the Conference was over arranged. A distinct want of freedom was felt, and there were anxious hours when it almost seemed as though we should never quite get into a working unity.

But it was so evident that men and women had come together to reach one another at all costs, that we did find, in a Statement made by one of the Scandinavian Representatives, a most wonderful sense of unity. This Statement will be published in due course.

The points at issue were, firstly, as to whether the programme of the Conference should be settled by the Committee and the speeches limited to some set time, or whether the Conference should be open quite freely under what some felt to be a more direct sense of Guidance of the Holy Spirit.

And secondly, whether the work of the International was to be primarily in the nature of "reconstruction"—"Hilfsarbeit" as the Germans expressed it, or an effort to stand in with the struggling peoples in their endeavour to win a full and free life—to spiritualise the revolutionary movement and seek by every possible effort to stand for truth and justice without the use of violence.

It was clear that some representatives from various countries felt keenly on the point that the Message of the Christian International must include a very practical stand against the present Social order of private Capitalism.

This was made quite clear in the Statement, and after that, time was given to sympathetic consideration of the ghastly conditions in the suffering countries, to educational problems and wide discussions.

One of the most moving moments of the Conference was when Frau Keinath, a Labour leader from Dortmund, who is alone amongst her Socialist Comrades in refusing the methods of violence, challenged us all to face the position in Europe with our Christian Message. She swept down upon us like some avalanche of reality, and after Kees Boeke had given the English translation, Monsieur Revoyre, a French ex-Priest, asked permission to translate, and when he had done so, he held up his hand to Frau Keinath in token of unity. The spiritual atmosphere could be felt, and after silence, we prayed the Lord's Prayer in German together.

"Crusader" readers will be much interested in knowing that in private conversation I found ample evidence of the great and true work which Wilfred Wellock has been doing in Germany and Austria. He has made a deep spiritual impression, and the "Crusader" is eagerly looked for, not only in Germany and Austria, but in other countries. I came to the conclusion that through the "Crusader" we have work of real International importance to do.

There was no time at the Conference for any definite discussion of the C.O. Movement, but I got all I wanted in private and group chat with Herr G. W. Meyer.

He is an ex-officer in the German army, who sent his resignation after the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. He escaped and was finally captured by the English, and interned in the Isle of Man.

He is now leading a C.O. Movement in Germany, and has secured over 2,000 signatures. He is anxious to get into touch with organisations in other countries, and I hope we shall be able to unite on a common basis.

The paper he sends out for signature includes a personal promise to refuse to take up arms in International and civil warfare, to refuse to make munitions, and to refuse to put money into War Bonds.

Herr Meyer was intensely interested, as were other Germans, in hearing of the Christian Peace Crusade, and the Women's Peace Crusade, of which they were in entire ignorance.

"We were told in Germany," said a German school-mistress, that all the women in England cried out: "My country, right or wrong!"

Herr Meyer is anxious that I should go to Germany to speak for our common cause.

T. W. W.

Pacifist Policy.

VI.—DRIFT. OR DIRECT ACTION. BY WILFRED WELLOCK.

During the last few years, and particularly since the close of the war, the workers of Western Europe, and more especially of Britain, have had a great deal to say about the right of self-determination. They have demanded that right for all peoples, and have even protested against measures which were in denial. One would think that such right meant a very great deal to them; yet, apart from almost countless votes, it is difficult to see what it consists of.

Perhaps my idea of what a man's life should be is an absurd one. But I must confess that it always seemed to me that self-determination implied the right of disposing of the twenty-four hours in each odd-given day, of saying, for instance, how many, and which of those hours shall be spent in work, or many in education, in play, etc., etc.

But I find I am wrong in all this. Having searched the subject to its roots, I discover that self-determination means the right of sending a man to Westminster to talk about things and to accept the decisions of stronger and subtler men. At any rate it has meant little more to the workers of Britain for a very long time, and yet, strange to say, they are extremely discontented. And the reason they are discontented is that they do things every day they don't want to do, and are not allowed to do things they badly want to do. Many of them, indeed, find great difficulty in securing a room in which to dispose of their tired limbs when their day's work is completed.

The other evening I got amongst a group of enthusiastic young people in a Lancashire cotton-weaving town. They wanted to discuss the social revolution. I believe all of them were weavers, and they all, girls as well as fellows, detested their jobs. "Not that weaving is not a rational occupation," one of them said, "but the trouble is that we must leave whether we want to or not, and for nine hours every day." In fact, after carefully listening to their conversation, I found that their complaint was that they possessed no power of self-determination. But the matter did not end there. These young people disliked living in narrow, hemmed-in streets, but the greed of landlords, supported by the law, prevented them from living anywhere else.

Indeed, I am convinced that the real cause of modern social unrest is just the fact that men and women do not possess the power of self-determination. But nobody seems to be aware of this, in consequence of which the entire Labour movement is succumbing to a policy of drift. And the real meaning of drift is red revolution.

Did we but realise that the root cause of modern social unrest is spiritual repression, an unsatisfied desire for self-expression, for opportunity to live as one feels one ought to live, and endeavour to make this need the basis of a revolutionary movement, I believe it would be possible to transform our entire social system without resort to force. But because we will not face those deeper spiritual

issues, we participate in a struggle for power which but stirs up feelings of bitterness and indignation, and increases antagonism without generating light and breaking down opposition. To fall back on Parliamentaryism is simply to postpone the crisis. This latter method, like all the methods of the "economic" Socialists, merely sharpens the conflict between Capital and Labour, working as it does, through majorities, or contests of sheer force. The object of what I call the economic, as distinct from the Christian or spiritual revolutionary, is consciously to hasten the conflict (which he believes must be decided by the sword) between Capital and Labour, and to do this by assisting the process of decay under Capitalism, the descent to social ruin, and by seeking to strengthen his hands at every stage in the decline. The upholders of Parliamentaryism make for the same end, but unconsciously.

Such has been the method of the Socialist movement in Europe from its commencement. And in Germany, to-day, the constitutionalists, who pose as pacifists, really think in terms of power, and seek power, which, considering the spirit of antagonism in which they work, must eventually be military power. At last, in Germany, hunger and approaching bankruptcy have come to the aid of the Left Wing; in consequence of which a crisis has come well within sight. Several months ago I wrote in these pages that only a miracle could prevent a social revolution in Germany. I am still of that opinion. If France and the Churchill group get their way over the question of the Russo-Polish war, the class struggle might begin in Germany within ten days. But in any case it cannot long be delayed.

The point for us to observe, however, is that the English Socialist movement is travelling the same road as the German. One section is openly advocating red revolution; another is unconsciously working toward the same end by its advocacy of Parliamentaryism; a third is trying to avoid a bloody revolution by the adoption of "direct action." The first two methods leave the people cold, seeming to refer to something unreal and remote. But the third method makes an irresistible appeal; it refers to the present, the actual, and were the case for it founded on a spiritual, instead of a merely economic appeal, I believe it would be effective, would open the way to real, complete and even sudden revolution without one drop of blood being shed.

Instead of developing this method, the Communists spurn it as not being sufficiently revolutionary, while the Parliamentaryians condemn it as being too revolutionary. The result is that "direct action" is discredited; in consequence of which we are condemned to a policy of waiting, which means, in fact, waiting till hunger and bankruptcy play into the hands of the extremists and bring the very situation that the moderates and the constitutionalists desire to avoid.

The Re-discovery

DR. ORCHARD ON OUR

"It is not too much to say about some of us, if we are going to speak the true, testifying word, that we have rediscovered Christianity. We were born at the end of a generation in which the majority of Christendom had come to the conclusion that religion was useless and Christianity played out. And you will still find people, over fifty years of age, who talk like that. We have been through every stage of negation and denial. We have adopted all forms of semi-Christianity and demi-semi-Christianity. And then, at a sudden turn in the road, everything became true. It became not only true, but the only truth. It is not a sentimental attachment to some archaic survival, like being fond of Gothic architecture or peasant crafts. It has come upon us as an experience, as a great living Thing, which has taken hold of our lives, reshaped all our thinking, and made us for ever different. It is, we believe, the remedy for the heartache of every man, the sole and sufficient remedy for a lost and ruined world."

A Thing That Has To Be Told.

Thus Dr. Orchard to his King's Weigh House congregation on a recent Sunday evening. The subject of the sermon was the duty—our duty of witnessing. He pointed out how casual were the arrangements which Jesus Christ made for the continuance of His witness in the world. All we know about Jesus we owed to the testimony of His first Church, for the Church was alive before the New Testament was written, and the structure of the Gospels, their strange omissions and inferences, was to be explained by the fact that they were written for a Church to whom certain things were so familiar as to need no epistolary argument. The reason why Jesus appeared to take no pains about the continued witness to His truth was, in the first place, that He well knew that nothing could ever hide, or corrupt, or obscure the truth. He came to reveal to this world. He did not give explicit instructions as to how it was to be preached or carried abroad, because there was no need to. He knew that men would be sure to tell this thing. It was too good not to be told. Not all the carelessness of men nor all the wiles of the devil would ever get rid of it. He did not beseech His followers to flash their light into the dark places. He told them to let it shine, that is all. It would shine if they did not take measures to stop it. It was as natural for it to shine as for the sun itself. That was one principle which determined Him, and the other was that He believed absolutely in the ministry of the Holy Ghost. To that divine Power and Personality everything could be safely committed. He—the Holy Ghost—would bring to remembrance all that He had ever said. He would lead His Church into all truth. He would operate as a great effective Force which should never be disputed.

Through Freedom to Loyalty.

If they had made this great rediscovery, Dr. Orchard continued, he wanted to call their attention to their bounden duty to hand on the news. They had not come upon this new thing as a refuge from the world's woes. On the contrary, they had found in it a banner for display. Nor had they come to it as a bulwark against free thought. That was where they differed from the first revival movement in our generation—the movement with which Newman was associated. So far from seeking a refuge from free thought, it was because they were freethinkers that they had ever discovered it at all. It was by a process of free thought that they had come to find in Christianity the absolute truth about everything in heaven or on earth. And another interesting thing about it was that they discovered the whole of it, all at once and altogether. All their generation had been following after little bits of Christianity which it could pick up here and there while rejecting the rest. They, it was true, started with the parts, but these led them inevitably to the whole. And this was no theological synthesis, something which they thought ought to be. It was something which already existed inside their own hearts. Most of those to whom this revelation had come were not bound by any Church or creed or set of dogmas, but it had brought them by way of a perfect freedom to a perfect loyalty. They had been perfectly free to follow the light wherever they saw it, and this was where they did see it. They found equally intelligible and comfortable and natural the most inward mystical experience and the most gorgeous ritual expression. For them, whatever it was for a previous generation, these went together. They were quite at home with the Inner Light, and quit at home also with the Real Presence. They believed in the Catholic faith, and equally strongly in Congregational autonomy. "Some of you have been greatly reassured about me, that I am not likely to join the Church of Rome. I am not so sure. But why are you not afraid lest I should join the Salvation Army? Because I may. What I have are those middle ways."

Revolution in the Creeds.

Some would say that they could not understand all this. "Ah! that shows how old you are getting. You are not of the new century. Let me make it plain that we do not want to change an article or rite of religion, because we have discovered that these have an entirely different meaning from what we had supposed. The creeds themselves are the outcome of free thought. You can think any other way you like, but you will tie yourself in a knot if you do. They are not finished thinking. These are the open ways to all freedom of thought. These are ways out into liberty. Therefore we are very conservative about them. We must not alter

Christianity.

ESSES FOR THE FAITH.

line. To do so would be to destroy their definiteness. For they mean revolution, and you cannot have revolution unless you have a definite point around which to revolve." These doctrines of the Church set them on a crusade against all the slaveries man had ever invented, and all that he was inventing at the present moment. If they were loyal to the Church, they could be anarchic to everything else. The day was coming when the State would vanish altogether because the Church would be the sole and only government that man needed or that really could govern him. Here in its vessel the Church had some wonderful thing. She said it was soothing syrup; to them it tasted more like blood and fire mixed. She advertised it as if it were a food for infants and invalids; it was the food of the gods. One would have thought from the way she spoke of it that it was a harmless sedative, but on analysis it was dynamite that would blow hell out of existence. Thus had the Church continually depreciated the gift that was hers.

A Deeper Responsibility.

But we had a still deeper responsibility. Jesus Christ had been rediscovered for us as the Jesus of the Gospels, as clearly identified as a man could identify his own mother or wife, and yet obviously one with the Father and Maker and Judge of all, and one with the indwelling Spirit that inhabited every breast. He ended the loneliness of personality. He consoled and strengthened, and by securing our complete dedication He at once set us free from every bondage and fear that earth could hold. And we could not keep all this to ourselves. If we did, it would diminish in power. If the salt lost its savour, wherewith should it be salted? How had it come to pass that those great rites of the Church which ought to stir our hearts and lift them up to heaven had become empty forms for so many? What had short-circuited the old evangelical faith? How was it that mystical experience had become to-day an unintelligible jumble of dreams and nightmares? Think what was going to happen if those of them who had seen the new light went the same way! Suppose this newly discovered love of Jesus evaporated into sickly hymns and sentimental prayers—all right for private use, but having no more right to be published than lovers' letters had! What a catastrophe! And it would happen if they yielded to the temptation to stop witnessing, to retire to some little hidden place and offer the sacrifice and say their prayers. Why, after all, should one expose oneself to all the jibes and jeers of the people who did not want to understand? But if they did fail in their witness this thing would gradually die—for them. Woe to us if we preach not the Gospel.

Three Lines of Testimony.

How to testify! The testimony must be made,

first of all, in our character. There must be the savour of salt about us. There ought to be courage and calm and peace and power and unselfishness. We ought to be different from other people, not just nice in spots. And this character ought to be quite spontaneous with us. We had got to make for the root virtue, and, thank God, there was one. It was charity, it was love. And there must be not only the character but the testimony of the word. This Gospel must be proclaimed. We must have a religion that could be talked about, a Gospel about which definite statements could be made. We ought to have great preaching come back again. "Are you sure God didn't mean you to earn your living as a poor preacher of His Gospel, to spend what powers you have in making these things clear to the rising generation?" Then we want thousands of personal evangelists who can state Christianity as applied to individual troubles and difficulties. It need not be the old, prying, buttonholing, irreverent evangelism. The great object in all proclaiming of the Gospel is not to save men's souls; it is the glory of God. And the last task of all, and the most difficult, was the creation of a new social order. Christianity must create about itself an order of life which was the expression of its own spirit. The reason why both personal holiness of character and the passionate evangelism of the Gospel had gone out of fashion was because neither of them had been related to the social problems of our times, and they ought to be. The present social order was not only unchristian, it was anti-Christian. It was founded on precisely opposite principles to the Gospel. The Church meant brotherhood, and not just on Sundays, nor merely being nice to the people who happened to worship with you. The Church was not an organisation for paying the parson for keeping up the forms of worship. It was the new family. The sacrament of its common table, where we all shared alike and were one, was not only meaningless to people, it was almost a mockery, if the rest of life was in denial of the oneness there proclaimed. You have got to get rid of one or the other—modern civilisation or the sacraments. What sort of economic order do Christian principles commit you to? What would Christian principles worked out in society involve. It might be that the new order would come quite suddenly and be discovered in quite a simple way. Some individual social experiment might suddenly open up the meaning of everything. If you are willing to follow Him you will find that many experiments will be made. Not all of them will be successful, but they will lead on to success. And if we do not witness, the thing will die so far as we are concerned, and God will become unreal, and Christ a myth, and the Church useless, and all the glorious sacraments an empty form, and your own heart will wither and die. God make us faithful!

The Country Parson and the Labourer.

That all effective reform of the Church must come from within is a recognised principle. The criticisms of those who are outside can, in the nature of things, have only an indirect influence. It is, therefore, encouraging to note the many signs that those within the pale of organised Christianity are awakening to the situation and taking steps in accordance therewith.

Among these signs stands the recent publication of the findings of the Committee appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, "to consider and report upon the ways in which the Church may best commend the Teaching of Christ to those who are seeking to solve the problems of industrial life in rural areas."

The Report covers a full survey of the general conditions of rural life. It deals with "The Land and the People," "Leisure in the Village," (in which section occurs a frank statement as to the place of the Public House in the rural community), "Education in the Village," and "The Village Parson."

It is this last section which will, probably, give rise to most discussion.

Squire and Parson.

The Report does not mince matters as regards the class bias of the Country Parson. The signatories say:—

In our judgment the Church has attached too much importance to the ideal of "a resident gentleman in every parish," and has thereby actually produced in her incumbents the timidity, compromise and class-selfishness or class-favouritism of which we complain. One result has been the much-talked-of alliance between the squire (or the occupant of the Big House and his family) and the parson. No doubt of late years this alliance has greatly weakened, and where the old aristocracy of the neighbourhood has been replaced by wealthy persons without estate and family traditions, exists scarcely or not at all. In any case, the suspicion of collaboration in parish matters with the chief local representative of wealth and social influence generally attaches to the clergy in the minds of the labouring folk, and has done their influence great harm. Nor is it without foundation, for even now there are still to be found too many instances of a blind, indiscriminating solidarity of view and policy between the representatives of property and religion. Such solidarity is mischievous and operates against the co-operation of all classes and creeds in promoting the progress and well-being of a parish.

Sharing the Labourer's Life.

Attention is given to the question of the training of the rural clergy, and some startling suggestions are made.

The training, therefore, for the clergy before taking work in country parishes should include, in the first place, a short course of study of the social sciences which touch conditions in the country. In this would be included explanation of existing conditions, examination of methods, comparison with movements in other countries, and the part taken by the churches there. The subjects should include the modern history of agriculture and rural life; rural economics, political institutions and voluntary associations in rural districts and practical aid. . . . Again, is it too much to hope that men will be found in the coming days who will test their vocations to minister to country folk by living for a year, prior to their ordination, as labourers in a labourer's

cottage, working the four seasons through on a farm? More than a generation ago, University laymen started to live in East London in order that they might become familiar with the life and outlook of the town-dwellers, among whom—in many cases—their future ministry was to be spent. We have no doubt that the countryman is at least as hard to understand as the East Londoner."

Fellowship.

But the heart of the matter is reached in a paragraph which declares:—

In this connection it would seem that the old ideal of love as the essential relation between priest and people has somewhat died out, not from changing theory, but from personal defect. Do the clergy love their people in these days, and not only love, but make their love apparent, as their fathers and forefathers in the ministry did? If there were more priests with the heart of a Gerard in Charles Reade's "Cloister and the Hearth," there would be vastly different results. The Church has neglected to inculcate the ideal of love as the supreme ideal in its ministers, with sad results.

Further subsidiary proposals are made including the suggestion that "Encouragement should be given to women messengers and a wide extension to the ministry of women, both as deaconesses and as lay-readers, so far as may be deemed compatible with Church order."

Reunion.

It is curious to find how frequently enquiry into the evils existing in the Church lead to a consideration of the question of Reunion. The present Report is no exception as the following passage will testify:—

The reunion of Christendom—or failing that at least the establishment of a better mutual understanding—would, in our opinion, do more for collective Christianity in a village than any other one thing, and would instantly alter the whole aspect of life throughout the countryside. We suggest that the country clergy can materially advance the cause of reunion by organising conferences, large or small, on religious questions—in which points of difference should be discussed equally with subjects on which there would be general agreement—between the clergy and Nonconformist ministers, and the more prominent of the laity on both sides. Strong appeals have been from time to time put forward by leaders of the Church and of nonconforming bodies, urging that no measure of agreement which might be reached between the leaders on both sides could be of much avail towards the establishment of practical reunion, unless efforts were made to arrive at similar understandings among smaller groups and in many different quarters. Such conferences would at least lead to the recognition of the scandal of our unhappy divisions, and those who took part in them would, by united prayer and study, be brought to a stronger desire for unity, which as yet is hardly felt in many country districts.

It is, of course, one thing to issue a report of this character but another thing to get its proposals carried out. The problem of rural life is bound up inextricably with the whole question of the social and economic order.

So far as it goes, however, this statement is an honest attempt, in the name of English Churchmanship to face the situation. If it does nothing else it will provoke discussion, and afford evidence, to those who need it, that there are some in the Church, at least, who realise her failure, during the past, in the countryside.

An Open Letter to the Trade Unions.

By A SCOT.

Much talk has there been the last few days of a possible conference between the Prime Minister and "accredited" representatives of the Irish Republic; and Mr. Thomas, who is still as keen as ever on building his bridge, has been offering an officially unauthorised bribe of a Dominion status with intent to lure the Irish into a compromise. Although not an accredited representative of the Irish Republic, the present writer is perhaps more intimately in touch with Irish sentiment and opinion than either the Cabinet ministers or Mr. Thomas appear to be, and he can tell them on the best authority that no compromise in the direction of Dominion Home Rule will be entertained for one moment, even if Mr. Lloyd George would consent to it; so the "bridge builders" can put that suggestion into their pipes and consume it in smoke.

If this proposal had been made in 1914 it might perhaps, have been accepted, but many things have happened since then, and the Irish have had six more years of disillusionment with England's bad faith and persecution; and at this moment Mr. Smillie's proposal of complete self-determination is the only possible solution. Mr. Smillie has more breadth of vision and statesmanlike qualities than any other Labour leader, and the T. U. Congress will do well to listen to his advice on this subject.

Nevertheless there are two suggestions which might be offered to Mr. Smillie for his careful consideration. It is not enough to demand the withdrawal of all the troops from Ireland, nor to run the risks which a general strike would incur for this point alone. One must strike at the root-cause of the trouble, and take a view of the situation which will not be confined merely to Ireland and Poland. What is it which enables the Cabinet to ignore public opinion and prosecute wars and Amritsars with impunity? Is it the fact that they control the army? Not altogether, for what use would an army be without munitions, as was discovered in 1915? The root-cause of all the militarist activities, pogroms in India and Ireland, and wildgoose chase after oil wells is **THE CONTINUAL OUTPUT OF MUNITIONS.**

Let the T.U. leaders take counsel together without delay, and formulate a practical scheme for turning the output of the arsenals into productive goods for use instead of unproductive material for destructive purposes. Let them turn out steel girders for building houses for the people instead of shells, and engineering machinery instead of guns and cartridges. Let the leaders also consider what use can best be made of the cordite factories. If engineering shops could on an emergency be turned into munition works, equally can arsenals be turned into engineering factories. This is a change which is bound to come in time, but by a little determination on the part of the workers it may be greatly accelerated.

Also let them send an agent to France to investi-

gate whether the munition dumps, which were sold to a firm of contractors, are being entirely broken up, or whether a portion of them is not being diverted elsewhere.

Having considered these points and arrived at a decision, let the T.U. Congress include in its ultimatum to the Cabinet the request for immediate conversion of the arsenals and the cessation of manufacture of any war material whatever.

That is the first suggestion for Labour to consider. The second is the advisability of sending a missionary expedition into Ulster, in order to educate the Orange working men along the lines of practical brotherhood. This is a process which will undoubtedly take time to accomplish, but as the Congress has called for a truce it is surely up to it to adopt every method which can expedite that truce. The side which is to blame for the present situation in the Belfast district is the Carsonite section, not the republicans. As the special correspondent of the "Daily News" pointed out recently, Sinn Fein "is sternly opposed to anything that it regards as lawless violence . . . Irish Republicanism has made a dead set against rowdiness." The comparatively few murders which have been attributed to Sinn Fein are mostly unauthorised acts of irresponsible individuals. No government can prevent these. They even happen in England.

The actual facts which are reported daily in that section of the press which does not boycott the truth, show that the only law and order which is being kept in Ireland at the present time is kept by the Irish Volunteers—not to be confused with the Orange fire-eaters who call themselves the Ulster Volunteers. The R.I.C. and the English Army of occupation, appear to be usually confined to their barracks, except when they break out in the middle of the night in order to burn a house or raid a town. One never hears what steps, if any, are taken to punish these acts of mutiny. Men have been shot in France for less. Judging from the Report of the American Mission to Ireland in connection with the Peace Conference (which was issued to the newspapers in June, 1919, but was boycotted by the majority because it was such a crushing exposé of English cruelty), one may be excused for asking whether these breaches of discipline are instigated by higher authorities. The Report mentioned, among other things, that the witnesses had seen an English colonel leading a group of soldiers on to assault a respectable civilian for no reason except that he was a Sinn Feiner.

Let the Labour missionaries drill into the stubborn minds of the slow-thinking Ulster workers, the fact that they are being used as pawns and catspaws by the Carsonite leaders, the Anglo-Irish landlords, and the capitalists; that religious differences are as obsolete as sedan chairs or linkboys; and that for members of the same trade union to fight each other in civil warfare is fratricide.

Bookland. Karl Marx and Others.

"The Socialism that inspires hopes and fears to-day is of the school of Marx. No one is seriously apprehensive of any other so-called Socialistic movement, and no one is seriously concerned to criticise or refute the doctrines set forth by any other school of Socialists."

With these words Eden and Cedar Paul introduce their translation of Loria's life of Karl Marx (George Allen and Unwin, 2/6 net.) No one will seriously contend that they do not represent the truth. There is, therefore, urgent need that everyone who is trying to understand the movements of his time will endeavour to get the bearings of Marxian Socialism to the extent at least of being independent of the misrepresentations of the daily press. For that purpose the book under review should prove useful. Achille Loria speaks with authority. He is a professor of political authority at Turin, and one of the most learned economists of the day. Some of his works are well known in England. "The Economic Foundations of Society," for instance, has run through five editions in Swan Sonnenschein's (now Allen and Unwin's) "Social Science Series."

What will recommend this life of the great Socialist leader is the fact that although the writer's sympathies are in no doubt, the book is written from an independent standpoint, and its criticism of Marxian economics is both acute and drastic.

Eden and Cedar Paul have rendered a timely service to English thought by translating Professor Loria's work.

SPIRITUAL MINORITIES.

Rufus M. Jones, M.A., D.Litt., has made himself an authority on the history of the more obscure sects and movements of Christendom. His "Studies in Mystical Religion," and "Spiritual Reformers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," were valuable contributions to this theme. In "The Remnant," which constitutes volume VIII. of "The Christian Revolution Series" (Swarthmore Press, 5/- net.) he deals with the same material.

Professor Rufus Jones thus defines his subject;—

By the "remnant," used in the historical sense, we mean the small, outstanding group of persons who have vision of the true line of march for their age and people, clear insight into the underlying principle of life and action, and a faith that ventures everything to achieve what ought to be. It is the small circle of those who give their mind to the things that are true and elevated and just and pure and lovely and of good report. A few—a rare and chosen few—travel on ahead of the rest. They are willing to pay the price, in agony and suffering, which is always involved in spiritual advances. They are hyper-acute and sensitive to currents and forces which the others around them fail to observe, and they are bolder than their neighbours in risking the seen for the unseen. They reverse the proverb about the birds in the bush, insisting that the two that are uncaught are better than the one poor thing fluttering in the hand!

Reading the accounts one wonders why so many of the movements here described, achieved,

apparently, so little. The answer, surely, is that the temptation to emphasise some special truth at the expense of other truths, and to isolate it from its context in the body of Christian faith, has in the majority of cases been too strong. Sectarian zeal has flourished at the expense of Catholic solidarity. Happily, to-day, we seem to have reached the limits of sect-making. The remnant, at the present time, consists of those with the spiritual insight and wide charity to see the necessity of a great amalgamation of Christian forces.

"THE BRASS CHECK."

Upton Sinclair has launched at Pasadena, California, U.S.A., the gravest challenge to the Press of America that has ever appeared. He has written a book called "The Brass Check," and published it himself, presumably because no one else had courage enough to touch it. In this book he arraigns, not merely in general terms but in narratives of minute personal accusation, the great newspapers of the Union, their proprietors and editors. He shows up in story after story their falsity, their greed and their underlying instincts and methods.

The courage of this book is extraordinary; the names that he brings to the bar are the most highly placed, or at least endowed, that America possesses, and the fearlessness of his statements makes us tremble when one remembers what money stands for in America—and everywhere else.

What do the great newspaper kings and corporations do about this tremendous attack upon their most valuable asset, their truth and reliability? The answer to this is another question. Have you, as a reader of newspapers, seen or heard anything about "The Brass Check?" I trow not! Journalism realises that there are but two courses open to it. One is to prosecute this flagrant libeller and have him cast into prison for the term of his natural life. The other is, to preserve so complete a silence that of the hundred millions of inhabitants of the U.S.A. who are readers of the journals whose honour is so impugned, few will be permitted to hear anything about it. Now the stories that Upton Sinclair tells are those that he can prove, and those who are discredited by them are afraid of the boomerang of the law courts, so silence is the best policy!

The machinery which sets a people thinking, and as a consequence acting, is really the most important matter in connection with that nation, and that machinery must be above suspicion.

Everyone should read this book, which incidentally, is extremely interesting; they should also make their friends read it. They will be made to think—amongst other things—that it is a curious coincidence that the English Press is also silent.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE PACIFIST COMMUNIST PARTY.

Dear Sir,—It is borne in upon me that we need to form a new Party, political in the best sense, but not a Parliamentary Party.

The problem of to-day is how to get out of the Capitalist State into the Co-operative Commonwealth, and yet keep our freedom and the best that is in Capitalism and the State.

(1) Some propose to get men into Parliament who are Socialists. The friends in the I.L.P. urge this method. The Labour Party exists to follow this method, and has millions of Trade Unionists who vaguely believe in it. They do not see, however, that Parliament is an institution which belongs to the old feudal order and then the capitalist order. It is based on the army. Its laws are enforced. Disobey its laws, and you soon find yourself up against judges, soldiers, police, gaolers, hangmen! If the Labour Party came into "power," they would find they still depended on force, and they would uphold the army. The State is a force-machine, a trick. It is a trick because it tricks men, by drill and pay, to give up their own reason, and kill anyone, they are told to kill. "Theirs not to reason why," said Tennyson truly, not knowing the shame in the position of a man who reasons no more. In Parliamentary Law you get the majority forcing taxes from the minority. This has always been its method, and is theft. It does not simply record the need for money, and leave the assessments to be voluntarily paid or not, as a church might do. It forces taxes from all.

So we ought not to rely on Parliament.

(2) Others rely on the general strike, plus an army against the State's army, or else a strike among the soldiers of the State, as in Russia (March, 1917). The Third International advocates this method, and thinks civil war and the dictatorship of the proletariat (wage-earners, propertyless) is inevitable for a time, as the means to set up Socialism and peace. Here is a naked avowal to use violence if the State uses it, as it probably would, or if the Capitalists organise violence, as in Russia. Such, as far as I can see, is the attitude of the British Socialist Party and the Communist Party.

(3) Can we not seek a real Brotherhood of Co-operation without force of either of the above kinds?

Pacifism must now be applied to peace, and become constructive, as well as critical, or it will die away. Here is a brief and rough programme for the pacifist communist:—

1. Put an end to careless parentage, and study and apply eugenics. Why should we act as blind animals? This is fundamental.

2. Prepare a Great Refusal to continue the system of freehold in land: land is like the air, for use, not ownership. Pension the freeholders from the socialised rents of land. Allow the present farmers the first refusal to be users, for seven years at a time—a renewable term. Too long have great landlords domineered and exploited the people.

3. Change companies, one by one—and farms also—into free Guilds of sharing communist workers, including managers and engineers; prices to be fixed by boards of workers and consumers, and so avoid sweating, competition, and the exploitation of the people. The unskilled workers must train themselves, in matters technical and commercial to be worthy of sharing control and income. Non-working shareholders to be pensioned from the land rents.

4. A new criminal law, without prisons, being a kindly use of force to help men who are violent, or diseased. No revenge, no capital punishment, no imprisoning debtors, no forcing payments of taxes or rates or commercial debts; no contracts (e.g., enforceable

agreements), but only agreements. Trade for cash down would avoid many debts.

5. Disarmament at home and abroad; no forcing peoples to accept our rule; a world of free, co-operating Republics, rationing raw materials and food, if scarcity occurs.

6. A new system of money and no inflating of the currency.

7. Adequate Pensions for all at an early age.

8. Local and national councils, with government as in a church, i.e., without any forcing of minorities to pay.

Those eight points can all be realised without force, by teaching them. Here and there strikes may be needed, not "lightning" strikes, nor ca'canny ones, but quiet and kindly even, with full notice and preparation; taking the land question first, and ending serfdom which still exists (freehold—old free socage of the Norman barons).

Let us ignore Parliamentary methods, and show the futility of force. The Great War has demonstrated that, and the so-called "peace" that has followed it.

Let us form a new party of redeemed souls who will go out and preach the gospel of pacifist communism, as the happier and saner Commonwealth, which we all in our hearts desire! Many capitalists would surely agree to this plan! Is not the time ripe that all who are both

(a) Pacifists and

(b) Communists,

who seek a Commonwealth of brothers by a non-violent, non-Parliamentary method, should unite, both to gain converts to their reasonable and spiritual policy, and to permeate all other parties? Let us have the courage of our convictions, and face the crisis that is soon coming, with the might of magnanimity Divine!

To act effectively we must become united.—Yours faithfully,

G. T. SADLER.

"The Crusader" could be the organ for the new Party, and open a discussion on the programme that is needed.

THE CHURCH.

To the Editor of "The Crusader,"

Dear Editor,

May I offer a remark on Peter the Hermit's interesting and instructive article, "The Coming Storm"? He does not explain what he means by "the Church," or, to my mind, justify his use of that misleading term. It does not appear that Jesus used it. The Greek word "ecclesia" is about equivalent to our "folk-moot"—that is, a gathering of the village people to consider their common affairs. Such a gathering, if it comes together in "My" name or spirit, will have "Me" in its midst. If it comes together in a spirit of goodwill and truthfulness it will find the good and truth it needs. It is true that, after Jesus had passed on, the early Christians used the word "ecclesia" in a wider and mystic sense. This they were no doubt entitled to do, for people who have faith in truth and goodwill are drawn into communion by that faith. And it is that communion, or community, which is the germ of the Kingdom—the advance guard of the revolution.

I suggest that it would be wise to drop the word Church for our purpose, because it is misleading and confusing, through being very generally applied to the caricature of the real thing. Church is to ecclesia, or folk-moot, as empire to commonweal, as superstition to true religion, as falsehood to truth. At least, so it seems to yours fraternally,

ARTHUR ST. JOHN.

The Crusade.

"THE LETCHWORTH CITIZEN" ADVERTISES "THE CRUSADER."

Our friends in Letchworth have done us a notable service. By selling "Crusaders" outside a meeting held on behalf of the League of Nations, they have provoked a correspondence in a local paper, "The Citizen," in the course of which they have been enabled to expound the principles for which our paper stands.

This was the initial letter:—

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

To the Editor of "The Citizen."

Sir,—When I left the Howard Hall the other Wednesday, I was presented with a copy of "The Crusader," a magazine published in the interests of Revolutionary Christianity, according to a directory I have seen. I have read a good bit of it, and with most I agree, but I can't understand why this literature should be distributed so enthusiastically on the steps of Howard Hall, after a meeting held to further the interest of the League of Nations. Is this paper part of the Union's propaganda? Or does the distribution represent a breach of etiquette on the part of a society anxious to further its own interests by making use of another society's gatherings.—Yours, etc.,

VISITOR.

Following this came a letter from the friend who had been mainly responsible for distributing the "Crusader":—

To the Editor of "The Citizen."

Sir,—Replying to the letter signed "Visitor" in a recent issue, "The Crusader" is, as suggested, a magazine published in the interests of Revolutionary Christianity. Needless to say, it has no connection with the League of Nations Union. The paper was distributed, on the occasion referred to by your correspondent, by members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the enthusiasm the distributors displayed was accounted for by the fact that they were believers in Revolutionary Christianity and anxious not to lose an opportunity to spread its influence. They are not aware that any breach of etiquette has been committed by their giving away their literature outside the League of Nations Union meeting.—Yours, etc.,

H. L. WILTSHIRE.

"Another visitor" then jumped into the arena and gave the readers of the "Citizen" the result of his enquiries into the genesis and principles of the Christian Commonwealth Fellowship and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, with neither of which bodies, of course, have we any organic connection, beyond the fact that our pages are thrown open to them as a means of communicating with their members. To the letters of "Another Visitor," Mr. Wiltshire has replied as follows:—

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

To the Editor of "The Citizen."

Sir,—Now that "Another Visitor" has laid down his pen, it only remains for me to thank him for the splendid advertisement he has given to "The Crusader" and to the cause of Revolutionary Christianity by the publication of his researches in the columns of "The Citizen," thereby reaching a bigger circle of people than we could have obtained by the mere distribution of our literature. The distributors are therefore intensely gratified at the results of their propaganda. They regret if offence has been given by their action, but I would explain to "Another Visitor" (who may not be acquainted with the little idiosyncracies of Letchworth) that the practice of distributing propaganda literature outside meetings and

churches is not by any means a new one here, and many diverse bodies have adopted the method. So there is nothing novel in the present instance.

There is no mystery whatever about the Revolutionary Christian movement, in all its various phases, as "Another Visitor" by his enquiries has found out, and anyone reading the pages of "The Crusader" could be under no possible misapprehension as to the principles and ideas for which it stood.

We believe in the simple primitive teaching of Christ and are ipso facto internationalists and pacifists. We hate militarism and will not on any account take part in war, nor in anything else that divides humanity, but all ourselves with every influence and movement that seek to break down artificial barriers between groups of men. We are against capitalism and exploitation of man by man and believe in free association for common ends.

The Sphinx's riddle is now answered, and "it means that we are out for the realisation of that message which heralded the birth of Jesus, "Peace on earth, goodwill towards men." Till that condition is established on efforts will not be relaxed.

The one thing I wish is that your correspondent "Visitor" and "Another Visitor" had signed their names to their letters, so that we could have got into personal touch.—Yours, etc.

H. L. WILTSHIRE.

Letchworth. 27th July, 1920.

We are indebted both to our friends in Letchworth and to the Editor of the "Citizen" for thus making us known in their neighbourhood.

Answers to Correspondents.

463 (Wokingham):—Could you not send your back numbers of the "Crusader" to a local club, or church, or library, for free distribution? The home field is often the best.

Can you help lady reader find work for typewriter at home? Careful work, moderate charges.—Apply by post D.O.M., c/o "Crusader," 23 Bride Lane, Fleet Street E.C.4.

Christian—Anarchism, the non-political and spiritual basis of Social Reconstruction. Five booklets by Tolstoy and others. Post free 1s. 6d. from The Free Age Press Tuckton House, Bournemouth.

The Rev. Stanley B. James will conduct the service at Burghley Hall, High Road, Leytonstone, on SUNDAY August 8th, at 6.30.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters" 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

COUNTRY HOLIDAYS FOR CHILDREN AND ADULTS.—Lovely scenery and walks. Sea air. Donkey Cart. Cottage on Mendips. Terms from 35/-. Apply "The Crusader," 23 Bride Lane, Fleet St., E.C.4.

DISARMAMENT LEAFLET, by W. J. Chamberlain, 11d. post free from the "Crusader" Office.

Christian Commonwealth Fellowship.



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organizer, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscriptions for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, pendants, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Postage 2d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organizer, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

The Infinite Wells.

Most of us are getting to the stage when we feel a little "worked out"; we cannot turn on the taps as readily as we could, or if we do turn them on the energy will not flow; they seem to have gone dry. And we are calculating the chances, between fares and high prices, and the seaside crush, of finding a resting-place and breathing space for our bodies and souls. Some of us have drawn a blank. The thing simply cannot be done. Others have been or will be more successful. But we must all get somehow into closer touch with the Life of the Universe that renews us all. For our work will not admit of worn-out nerves, over-taxed brains and frayed spirits. It is in this condition that things go wrong and our vision becomes blurred. As 2697 (Stony Stratford) wrote (quoting from a book she had been reading):—"The root of all our difficulty, of our every pain, is that we are alone. We are so weak, so small, so finite, that the world oppresses us. We stand alone, and about us is an overwhelming power. It passes over us and crushes us without remorse. We cannot help ourselves, and there is no one else to help. And we are pent within ourselves, in such a narrow bound; we stretch our hands to find a fellowship, but meet nothing. We feel that as the world rolls on it may destroy us, not in malice, but in sheer indifference. . . . We know so little. . . . We do not understand. . . . We are alone. . . ."

Does this voice the feeling of some of you who are weary and troubled, and "at the end of your tether," as you imagine? Then listen to this other message from one in circumstances as hard as yours:—"I am only an ignorant, uneducated person; but one day when I was alone in the country, I sat just quietly thinking about 'God is Love'; when all at once something opened in myself. . . . The very trees and grass about me were tingling with love and relationship to me, to God, to all. I saw and understood all life from its beginnings, and our union with God for and through all time. I saw the future, when this inward illumination should be the experience of us all. I may just mention that a rabbit ran across the path, and I felt a thrill of joy in his very life. I could not think of separation in these moments of tremendous joy and rest. How long for all to get just this glimpse of the Central Love-Life. . . . One is quite content to sweep a crossing, if that is the allotted task. I pray daily that all of me—the other part of me which seems

still groping in darkness—may leave the illusion of separation. . . . I would like to say that this was in no sense a MENTAL experience, but welled up from the Heart of Life in my heart and in all space. I would do much to give this same joy to every living thing, and yet even as I write these words something sings in me 'They have It.' My life has been what the world would call difficult. Yet I know that really there is opportunity for abundant Love and Joy and for depths of exquisite experiences in the very commonest and most ordinary days. The very elements—rain, wind and storms—speak to me, and the flowers are full of God." ("Brotherhood.") Would not such an experience give us a physical and spiritual renewing? You who are on holiday, among the beauties of nature, may have it; so also may you, who get only a little space, a little time, in the busy day that you can call your own.

The thought that we share together daily (printed on our membership card) keeps open the channel between our conscious life and the Infinite wells of strength:

"One real life pervades the whole human race, and is pressing forth to fuller recognition and manifestation. We are not really separate independent units, but members one of another. We can and do work with the one Love-Life, for its peaceful, harmonious and perfect realisation everywhere."

Opportunities for Fellowship.

This Love-Life, Opportunities for Fellowship, also links us with one another.

The following members need you:—

5371 (Norwich), an ex-soldier, interested in history, particularly industrial history, and in international affairs; anyone who is fond of birds and the study of their habits will find him a good correspondent.

5389 (Wallington), who has few friends, has read of the C. C. F., and hopes to find a congenial spirit amongst us; she is chiefly interested in walking and gardening.

Will 5331 (York) link with 5415 (Golders Green), who is greatly interested in the drama, and in the founding of a less commercial theatre.

Will 3477 (Albarni, B.C.) link with 5369 (Madras), a girl interested in science, who wishes to link with a Canadian fellow who can write about ranching.

Will 5175 (Active Service) write to 5381 (Folkestone), who is living at home and who needs to have her interests widened? She will welcome a sailor correspondent.

Introductions.

5385 (Wokingham), a home-maker, needs a friend who will help her to see beauty everywhere and to incorporate it into the commonplace things of life. All mothers need inspiration of this kind, and our Fellowship has many in it whose gift is to help in this way those whose lives are very full of domestic detail.

Annual Subscriptions.

We acknowledge, with thanks, the following annual subscriptions:—T.M. (Glasgow, 2s.); M.A.A. (Battersea, 1s. 6d.); O.H.B. (Wendover, £1); W.H. (Barnard Castle, 1s. 6d.); I.G. (Manchester, 1s. 6d.)

Deliverance from futility, from barrenness, from a life without significance, this is the deliverance we need, and good people need it as much as bad people.—REV. GEO. B. ROBSON.

SIDELIGHTS.

Bertrand Russell's Revelations.

The following are extracts from Bertrand Russell's third article on his experiences in Soviet Russia, which appeared in the "Nation" on July 24:—

Before I went to Russia, I imagined that I was going to see an interesting experiment in a new form of representative government. . . . We were told that, by the recall, the occupational constituencies, and so on, a new and far more perfect machinery had been devised for ascertaining and registering the popular will. One of the things we hoped to study was the question whether the Soviet system is really superior to Parliamentarism in this respect.

We were not able to make any such study, because the Soviet system is moribund. No conceivable system of free election would give majorities to the Communists, either in town or country. Various methods are therefore adopted for giving the victory to Government candidates. In the first place, the voting is by show of hands, so that all who vote against the Government are marked men. In the second place, no candidate who is not a Communist can have any printing done, the printing works being all in the hands of the State. In the third place, he cannot address any meetings because the halls all belong to the State. The whole of the press is, of course, official; no independent daily is permitted. In spite of all these obstacles, the Mensheviks have succeeded in winning about 40 seats out of 1,500 on the Moscow Soviet, by being known in certain large factories where the electoral campaign could be conducted by word of mouth.

An Austrian Tragedy.

The following extract is taken from the "Saturday Evening Post," Philadelphia, dated 1st May, 1920, from the article entitled "Husks," by Kenneth L. Roberts:—

"Director ——— is an official in the Vienna Court of Justice. He is paid 4,800 crowns a year. For 13 years he was in the Navy, so he also receives a pension of 4,800 crowns, making a total of 9,600 crowns—he had a wife and a son and two daughters. One of the daughters, who was 11 years old, was dying of starvation. She was dying in the next room. You have probably never heard of a child dying of starvation—or seen one. I hope you never will. I saw her and heard her. Her face was like a bird's skull, and every little while she would gasp a few times. I think I shouted at the Director to know why someone wasn't doing something. I think I may have sworn quite a good deal. I asked him why the Americans did not feed the child? He said that they had. For some time she had gone to the feeding stations, but she had been too undernourished. Soon she had had to go to bed. The Americans broke their rules and allowed food to be taken to her, and the doctor from the Americans came every day, but it was no use. Now she couldn't eat—to-night she would be dead—he had asked for an advance of pay to bury her. . . . I asked him if there was anything I could do for the child? He shook his head. She wanted nothing but rest until she died. The Director went with me to the door. The girl's mother and sister came to say good-bye, and when they spoke they wept. The Director merely said that it was a very unhappy world. He had thought that when he was an old man his children would sustain him, whereas he saw them dying, and could do nothing to help. Every apartment house has its tragedy—frequently its scores of tragedies. I found them wherever I turned. . . ."

Doubled Secret Service Estimates.

In the Supplementary Estimates for the Civil Services an additional sum of £200,000 is demanded for the Secret Service, making a total for Sir Basil Thompson's department of £400,000 for the year.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation and Ireland.

The F.O.R. has issued the following leaflet:—

SAVE IRELAND.

THE WAY OF RECONCILIATION.

The People of Britain are drifting into War with the People of Ireland. The only means of averting the catastrophe is to discover and follow

A NEW WAY

prompted by a spirit of reconciliation, mutual forbearance and trust. Only by complete trust and goodwill can we evoke trust and goodwill.

For ENGLAND this means—

1. That a Representative Irish Assembly should be called with perfect freedom of decision.
2. That a pledge should be given in advance to recognise the agreed decision of such an Assembly.
3. The withdrawal of all troops from Ireland without delay, thus giving the Assembly a fair chance.

For IRELAND this means that the leaders and people of both North and South should repudiate all violence and make the supreme effort to forgive and to trust.

Can we not try this way?

Reconciliation between England and Ireland is a most urgent need to-day—that we may together work for

THE RECONCILIATION OF EUROPE AND OF THE WORLD.

If you agree, can you

- (a) Arrange for speakers and public meetings locally?
- (b) Distribute literature or otherwise work for reconciliation?
- (c) Contribute to the cost of making this appeal widely known?

Then write at once to the FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION, 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1, which is making this urgent appeal throughout England and Ireland.

All other ways to Peace in Ireland have failed. The way of Jesus Christ remains to be tried.

Divorce Figures.

The latest record of the work of the Divorce Court contains some remarkable figures. During the year 1918 the number of petitions for dissolution of marriage entered was 2,323—more than twice as many as in the years before the war. We have to add to these many other suits for separation, nullity, and restitution of conjugal rights, making the total number of cases in which the law was invoked to end an intolerable or disagreeable matrimonial situation 2,683, which is by far the largest upon record. It should be noted that, although we have no complete statement for the last terms, there is good reason to believe that the business of the Divorce Court is still increasing.

Cheap Edition of the "Village Labourer."

The Labour Research Department recently rendered great service to our movement by the publication of a cheap edition of Mr. Keynes's "Economic Consequences of the Peace." It has followed this up by issuing a cheap edition of the first of Mr. and Mrs. Hammond's wonderful series "The Village Labourer." The edition will be limited to members of Trade Unions, Co-operative organisation, Socialist, and other Labour bodies, but since it is limited to 5,000 copies I advise our readers to make early application. The price is 3s., with postage is 3s. 6d. The L.R.D. has its office at 34 Eccleston Square, S.W.1.

The Crusader

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(Registered as a Newspaper)

Twopence.



The Outlook.

THE defeat of the Government by organised Labour is one of the turning points of history. Statesmen and soldiers calmly planned what would have proved to be a world-wide war. Their deliberations were reported in the Press without a reference to the will of those for whom they were supposed to be acting. And then, with a dramatic touch, all the more effective because it was unconscious, Labour appears on the scene, and, without fuss or flurry, simply puts its foot down on the whole thing. At once the plans of the strategists are torn up—the policy of the Government reversed—and the arch-plotters put in their place.

BUT we must realise that decisive as the victory of Labour appears to be, there is need of the closest attention to the future action of the Government. The House has adjourned, and those awkward interrogations at question-time must cease. No assurances can restore the lost confidence in Ministers' veracity. Labour must make sure that its will is carried out.

A RCHBISHOPS are not in the habit of creating popular excitement, nor do they often find their names figuring on newspaper posters. Archbishop Mannix, however, has managed to wake in the breast of the British Government a dread of the effect of his presence in Ireland, and, incidentally, to excite the British public, who look on the attempt of the Navy to keep him out of his native land as great sport. Of course, the Press has much to say concerning his "degradation of his sacred office." When Cardinal Mercier used his influence on behalf of Belgium this same Press ransacked the dictionary for appreciative epithets. Yet Archbishop Mannix has only championed Ireland against an Imperialist bully, as Cardinal Mercier championed Belgium.

* * *

GENERAL LUCAS' captivity was spent, we are glad to find, in a profitable manner. A writer in "Forward" declares that the Sinn Feiners told him he would have to undertake work of national importance, and he asked what it might be. "We told him," said the Sinn Fein informant, "he had been sent to rule Ireland without any knowledge of the history of Ireland, and his first task would be to read the history of our country from the earliest times to the present day. He would be examined periodically as to his progress, and at the close of his studies he would be fitter for his duties. The next work was the study of Sinn Fein literature. We explained to him that so far he only understood one side of the question, and in order to be a good Irish ruler he must know the other side too. We then assured him that when he had completed his education we would release him, as we did not want to be burdened by his maintenance for one day more than was necessary."

* * *

THE increase of unemployment is a sufficient answer to those who have been declaring that the worker must produce more. Such is the irony of the system under which we are living that we are actually suffering at the present time—when millions are in need of the necessities of life—from "over production." Most of the Black Country factories, says a contemporary, are closing down for lack of orders. In many boot-making centres they have been on short time for months.



GOOD BREEDING

Say what you will there is something in Good Breeding. You cannot manufacture the type known as the Gentleman. Nor can his qualities be acquired by an in-

dividual in the course of a single life time. Those qualities may not be of the greatest importance but, such as they are, they take many generations for their production. Gentlemanliness is not merely courtesy and good manners and chivalry and so forth, it is these things grown mellow with age, and worn with the ease and comfort of an old coat. Good breeding alone will produce it.

Something of the same kind may be said about the religious life. It must come of good stock. It must inherit the spiritual culture of the centuries. It should be of royal descent.

Let me make clear what I mean by royal descent.

There is no such thing, in the sphere of religion, as spontaneous generation. We are all descendent from some spiritual ancestor or the other. And it makes a great deal of difference to what "family" we belong and from what ancestral line we derive our religious life. There is such a thing as royal descent.

This is manifest enough in the story of man's physical evolution. There is only one main line of evolution. The apes of to-day do not show any signs of developing into men. The transition from the animal to the human has been effected once; it does not appear likely to be made again. Nature takes care to have only one royal family. The monkey and the tiger, the eagle and the ant, have gone off on side lines. They can never produce a lord of creation.

We of the Christian Faith believe that we are on the main road of religious development. We trace our descent back through the ages to our progenitors in early Hebrew times, and note how those perished who cut themselves off from the ancestral home. The disappearance of the ten tribes is one of the most significant events of history. By severing themselves from the House of Judah they seemed to have lost the secret of longevity, and while the main branch of the family, in spite of all adversities, persists to the present, all trace of the secessionists has been lost.

This fact is the more significant when you remember that in the quarrel which divided them Judah was undoubtedly in the wrong. The cry, "To your tents, O Israel," was as justifiable as any revolt in history. But the tyranny of a single king could not destroy the authority of the House of Judah. Israel imagined that it was fighting Rehoboam and his young courtiers. As a matter of fact, it was fighting the whole history of Judah. The justice of its temporary cause was outweighed

by the fact that its opponent represented the main branch of the Family.

This has to be remembered when impatience forces us into revolt against the Church of to-day. That we have a good case I need not stop to prove. But it must be remembered that a single generation of Churchmen are not the Church. Their wrong-doing or ineffective doing does not necessarily invalidate their claim to represent the Family. While He recognised to the full the shortcomings of Scribe and Pharisee, Jesus enjoined His disciples to obey them since they sat "in Moses' seat." They were in the main line of descent. At the time at which He spoke they were the heirs, however criminally they may have dealt with their heritage.

Good breeding is not a myth but a fact. Its effects may not lie on the surface, but be confined to the subconscious region. An old institution carries with it a great deal more power than is always apparent in the individuals who at any given time represent it. You can never tell whether you have really killed it or only cut it down to the ground. The root may still be there and may flourish again. In the time of the Commonwealth, monarchy seemed dead in England, but even a Charles II. was able to bring it to life again. At the time of Luther's Reformation the Roman Church appeared to have spent its force entirely, yet the counter-reformation of Ignatius Loyola and the heroic Jesuit missions revealed how much life there had been beneath the surface. The Anglican Church in the last century seemed to be beyond hope, yet the Oxford Movement showed what a fund of spirituality it still possessed.

Fortunately it is possible to marry into the royal family and be grafted into the ancient stock of religious leadership. That the New Testament is bound up with the Old is the visible sign and symbol that that is what took place when the Gentiles became the heirs of Hebrew Faith. The Christian Church accepted the mellow traditions of Hebraism. The good breeding of a long line of spiritual aristocrats enriched its soul. The blood of Abraham and Moses and the prophets ran in its veins and gave it the pre-eminence of age over the mushroom growth of the Roman Empire.

It is curious to note how anxious the leaders of the proletariat are to prove the historical claims of their class. The materialistic interpretation of history is designed to show that their movement is the outcome of all the past, that the economic struggles of to-day are the final result of a conflict, the beginnings of which are lost in the dawn of history. That is a signal illustration of the fact that reverence for the past is not inconsistent with the revolutionary spirit. I should be disposed to go further and say that until you can trace your descent through the centuries behind you, there is little chance of dominating the centuries ahead of you.

The Christian revolution, if it is wise, will establish its claim to be in the royal descent. It will re-discover the links which unite it, not merely in spirit, but in visible and historical unity, with the Revolutionist of Galilee.

THE TRAMP.

Two Significant Documents.

Last week, in connection with the Christian International Council at Bilthoven, mention was made of a movement that is arising in Germany on behalf of a real anti-militarism, led by G. W. Meyer, of Bremen, an ex-officer in the German army.

Crusaders will be deeply interested in the wording of the manifesto, which has already, I understand, been signed by some 2,000 persons. It is clear that it is up to us in this country to co-operate and help in the regulation of a real International Union.

To friends of peace in every land, for transmission through the Press.

The undersigned Pacifists present brotherly greeting to all lovers of peace in every land. Those who, in spite of suffering and threatenings, have dared to refuse to support war, we thank for the great service they have rendered through the dissemination of the ideal of the unity of races and the reconciliation of the peoples.

We are convinced that a lasting peace can only be secured if the mistrust between man and man and people and people can be set aside. We must recognise that we are members of one unity with no desire to injure one another. The guiding star of all future politics must be the inviolability of

life. We herein declare with deepest conviction that the killing of man is clearly a contradiction to all the laws of humanity and civilisation. In recognition of our inalienable rights over our own personality, we bind ourselves never to aid or abet the organisation of slaughter, either in war time or peace time, against peoples of other lands or against our own fellow countrymen, either through military service, the furnishing of war material, or the voluntary supply of money.

We promise to stand by those of our comrades who suffer through the carrying out of their obligation, and to help them by act and council to the best of our power.

We invite those who agree with us in all lands to join with us in this declaration and to take upon themselves the same obligation as we are taking, and to join hands with us in a peoples' covenant for peace and freedom, to the blessing of the coming generations.

The second document is an expression of the strong desire on the part of the Bilthoven Council Meeting to unite in a real message to the world. It was written by Natanael Beskow, of Sweden, and was cordially and thankfully accepted by the Council. Friends are asked to get it copied into local and other papers.

A Message from the Second International Conference at Bilthoven, July 20-28th, 1920.

God is our Father, therefore we are all brothers. For us there is one kingdom on earth—the Kingdom of God, and its law is love. Within this kingdom every nation finds its highest glory in bringing of its choicest and best to the other nations in joyful service. Let us open our eyes so that we may see this truth. Let all of us who have seen it clasp hands in a solemn vow never more to take up arms against our brothers or to make preparation for war.

The earth that our Father has given us to live in is rich enough to supply the needs of all if we will but truly serve one another. Yet the nations are starving, and the need grows every day. Why? Because of our selfishness. We have striven to gather treasures for ourselves. But so to live is to take from our brother what God has intended for him. We believe it is our Father's will that the present social order—or rather disorder—should cease, and be replaced by a new order wherein the means of production will be used to supply the simple human needs of all mankind. Under a system of private capitalism this seems to us impossible. We believe the socialising of the chief means of production to be necessary. The goal of this economic renewal must be an order of society in which there will be no differences of class, but only men and women who work for the common good. During the process of change every effort should be made to avoid the dislocation of industry with the consequent chaos and distress.

Brothers, let us help one another to bring about this revolution of love and righteousness with the weapons of love and righteousness.

In the midst of the world's need a new generation is growing up. From the seed that the fathers have sown what harvest will the children reap? The Kingdom of God belongs to the children. Woe to us if we take from them what is theirs! Woe to us if we create in the minds of the children the old temper of enmity, lying, arrogance and vanity! Let us help one another to train the children simply to be men and women, glad and free, honourable and courageous.

The revolution is here. The old world is crumbling. What will come; a new world, or world chaos? It all depends on the spirit that gives direction to the mighty current. There is only one spirit that is strong enough and pure enough to control these seething forces and transform disorder into creative life; the spirit of the love of the Eternal Father which, in the Son of Man has been revealed to us as sacrifice and forgiveness. This world revolution must become an uprising of the spirit of Christ against the spirit of Mammon. Therein only lies the salvation of the world.

Out of the despair of mankind, out of the anxious hearts of men a prayer arises full of trembling hope; let us unite in this prayer, not only with words but in deed. Let Thy Kingdom come now, our Father.

The Crusader

Friday, August 13th, 1920

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THE FLOOD TIDE.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune." The Flood Tide is with us. It is for us to launch the "Crusader" upon it with a mighty impetus.

Labour is awake all over the country. Hundreds of meetings of protest against the Russian war have been held. Hundreds more are being arranged for.

At all of these meetings "Crusaders" should be on sale.

Send to us for extra copies!

Organise sales!

OUR NEW LEAFLET.

We are seizing the opportunity of the present crisis to print a special leaflet for free distribution. Particulars will be given next week. Send for copies!

TO READERS ABROAD.

Readers of the "Crusader" on the Continent would be doing us a service if they would introduce us to first-class works of fiction, published in their country, suitable for translation into English, for reproduction in our pages.

SOLIDARITY.

The workers in this country have manifested in a striking manner their solidarity with those in Russia. The Moslems of India are similarly organising on behalf of their co-religionists in Turkey and Asia Minor, as the following paragraph from the "Daily Herald" shows:—

Rapid progress of the "boycott of Britain" movement in India is reported in a cable from Bombay received by Mr. Mohamed Ali, head of the Indian Khilafat Delegation.

The programme is first to renounce Government titles and honours, then successively resign civil appointments, give up military and police, and refuse to pay taxes, at each stage giving the Government an opportunity to retrace its steps in regard to the Turkish peace terms.

When will Christendom, but recently torn asunder by a war in which Christian fought Christian, manifest the same sense of solidarity as has been shown by the workers and the Moslems?

"THAT THING."

"What a pity to stick that thing there!"

That thing was a gun which had been so placed on the village green that its mouth was pointed directly at the beautiful village church exactly opposite.

As we passed through fields of almost ripe oats, stirred by a gentle breeze; through fields of almost golden wheat, bespattered liberally with poppies, thistles, and edged with scarlet pimpernels, the village church in the distance seemed to preside over the peaceful scene with dignity.

But "that thing" on the village green tore away the dignity of that stately old church. Was it pointing in challenge or in contempt? The morning service was over, and we wondered if the congregation had bowed to the power of "that thing," or had resolved to be bound no longer. Perhaps however, they just wanted to swim with the stream.

What an opportunity for the churches to have taken a definite stand and to have appealed to their members to take direct action.

The oft-despised Labour Party has done this. Every local Labour Party and every society affiliated received a telegram, with the result that demonstrations have been held all over the country, and many Trade Unions are prepared to call their members out on strike if it becomes necessary.

I have been studying a list of questions drawn up by a committee appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, which people of all shades of opinion are being asked to answer. One question asks—in conclusion—"Are there any ways whereby the ordinary round of parochial life and church services could be brought into relation with social problems, and whereby the actual needs of to-day could be viewed simply in the light of duty to God and duty to neighbour?"

Are there any ways? Will the churches take the obvious way in this period of international crisis?

Members of Parliament and the local papers are receiving petitions and copies of resolutions asking them to act. I wonder if Crusaders who are members of churches are bombarding their ministers with petitions and resolutions?

Friends writing from Christchurch and Hereford regard our paper as "refreshing and enlightening" and "original and stimulating." We are glad to receive their good wishes and shall be glad to hear from other Crusaders who can suggest ways of increasing our circulation.

THE PLOUGHMAN.

"Those who have been inspired to action by the doctrine of class war will have acquired the habit of hatred, and will instinctively seek new enemies when the old ones have been vanquished." BERTRAND RUSSELL in "Roads to Freedom."

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

So it rained! What a cruel misfortune it was that it should rain in the holidays. When we sallied forth, bag and baggage, Nature did not smile upon our plans with skies of blue, but wept copious tears instead. The railway stations were sad, the roads were sad, the fields were sad, and so was the shore fringing the grey, rainy sea. And it was for this we paid out our money; and at such an extravagant rate! Oh, those prices! And the heartless skies looked down, un pitying. But was there not a reason for it all? The next paragraph shall be devoted to the reason; or, at least, the reason that was offered to us by one writer to the Press. He was evidently so moved by a sense of special inspiration that he felt it to be nothing short of a religious duty to make public his discovery.

And here is his discovery. The rain which fell during the holidays was owing to the wrath of the Almighty with the Archbishop of Canterbury for inviting delegates of the Greek Church to the Lambeth Conference.

It would seem, however, that the wrath of the Almighty with the Archbishop of Canterbury is now abated, for I find myself sitting outside in the blazing sun once more. As I loiter here in the green fields, blue sky smiles above, and all the world is summer. Lazy sheep are resting under the trees, and the horses are switching the flies away. In these pleasant surroundings I turn to the pages of the "Church Times" and read: "Why should our Prime Minister deny to the Irish that which, with a flourish of beaming congratulations, he accords to the Czechs? We are convinced that nothing will do more to heal the breaches between England and Ireland than a generous act of trust." Well done, the "Church Times": and so say all of us.

In another column of the same paper I see a plea (editorially put forward) that in country parishes the parson's wife should be paid as well as the parson. And, not without a little chuckle, I notice that the pay is to be given her, not only because her services are so valuable, but also that her activities may be brought under some sort of control! As our paragraphist very nicely puts it: "A further advantage would be gained in that the position of the parson's wife in the parish would be regularised and her activities presumably brought to some extent under the surveillance of the Parochial Church Council." I fancy a good many volumes of experience, grave and gay, are packed into that politely chosen word, "regularised"!

Turning to larger matters, I am glad to note the following admission in the same paper. Editorial again, by the way. "It is impossible to distinguish with any certainty the political causes of the recent war." So it was not merely a cruel and clumsy

German plot! We are getting on a bit now, evidently. Perhaps some day the Religious Press, even the Religious Press, will be telling us the truth. But not yet. Most of it would still have its readers hug the delusion that the war was just a German crime at the expense of the rest of us.

Says the "Christian World": "We are glad to see that a better spirit is coming over the negotiations with Germany." When I read that I said to myself, "Thank God, a better spirit is coming over the 'Christian World'." I was thinking chiefly of the amazing articles of their "Former Berlin Correspondent." But, alas! when I read on, I found the bloom soon gone. Here is what follows: "We are now at last beginning to see that the Germans cannot work and get coal for France unless they are fed, and we have at last come to see the wisdom of a formula, believed to have been invented by our own Prime Minister, 'More food, more coal.' What applies to food applies to other things too. Germany, for example, cannot get to work unless she can get raw materials. Until Germany gets to work there is no hope of any indemnity, and until she gets to work world prices will be very high. We are hurting ourselves all the time we prevent the Germans from rebuilding their shattered industries. The world will never forgive Germany for causing the war, and for the way in which she flouted the laws of war. But the war is over; Germany has had her lesson, and it is for the sake of the whole world that we plead for the rebuilding of German industries. Here is a population of 70,000,000 of capable and industrious people who are not yet pulling their weight in the world. Until they do we shall all suffer."

And the "Christian World" thinks this calculating selfishness "a better spirit"! It is a less mad spirit, and that is all that can be said for it. Our temper has cooled, but our hearts are turned to stone. Christ must weep over us. We are to feed the German man not because he is hungry, but because he will not have strength to dig coal for us unless we give him food. We are to let him have a share of the raw materials with which God has lavishly stocked the world, because unless we do he will not be able to pay us the indemnity we have demanded. And along with it all, we are never going to forgive him for causing the war which we helped to bring on, nor are we ever going to forgive him for flouting the laws of war which we flouted too. Why! it is undiluted Paganism!

Regarding the new war with Russia, the same paper says: "We do not want to be dragged into war." The "Crusader" heartily welcomes that statement, but regrets it is based on the feeble, un-Christian, and selfish ground that we shall be hurt, and not on the Christian ground that war is wrong.

Pacifist Policy.

VII.—ANSWERS TO CRITICISMS.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

I am deeply grateful to all those readers of the "Crusader" who have taken the trouble to write me re the views I have expressed on the above subject. At the least, it is encouraging to know that one has stimulated thought, and that our readers are willing to consider a new point of view, notwithstanding that it is neither popular nor orthodox. An interesting fact, too, is that many of my letters have come from foreign lands, including Holland, Germany, and Austria, every one of which, I might add, pays a high tribute to the "Crusader."

Two letters only contain criticism, and one of these is several weeks old and will, I think, have been sufficiently answered in later articles.

My second critic remarks that he "got something of a shock on reading that 'direct action' is a higher order of conduct than Parliamentary action." Continuing, he says: "It is the commonly accepted view that direct action is an unqualified appeal to force, and that Parliamentary action is rational and pacific. You say the exact opposite. I am bound to admit that Parliamentarism is a method of force, is founded on force, and would, in case serious Socialist legislation was undertaken, lead to 'direct action' from the Right. But would not 'direct action,' even in the way you suggest, incite the Right to military action?"

My answer is that it is quite possible "direct action" might have such an issue, but even if it had, military action would be futile, as it would defeat its own ends by calling forth a General Strike. And what I witnessed in Berlin during the Kapp "Putsch" showed beyond any doubt whatever the absolute impotency of the military when opposed by the will of the people in the form of such a strike.

But what I wish to insist upon is that the "direct action" I advocate is the outcome and expression of a moral awakening. I do not believe in preaching "direct action" as such, but rather in appealing to the moral consciousness of the community by exposing the spiritual iniquity of our social evils and political injustices, and making out a spiritual case for a new social order. In other words, I believe our chief business should be to produce conscience: "direct action" will follow as naturally and inevitably as night follows day. And nothing terrorises and dissipates governments like conscience; they will do everything with it but face it. For which reason they must eventually succumb to it. Conscience is the paramount need of the age, and until the people begin to realise their moral responsibility with respect to all matters of public importance, our country, and certainly our lives, are not safe. So long as men and women think it natural to make a little cross once in five years or so, and thereby to surrender their right to decide any conceivable issue that may arise between one election and another, so long shall we have such shameless, war-breeding conduct as that of which our present Government is guilty.

My correspondent then proceeds to a discussion of the possibilities of "direct action" as a constructive policy, remarking that I have only precursively dealt with this aspect of the question. The last remark is perfectly true, as it has not been my object in these articles to define in detail the lines upon which pacifist policy, or what I describe as conscience-determined "direct action," should proceed, so much as to show the need for such a policy, for conduct with personality and conscience behind it. The possibilities of conduct of such an order are limitless. There is nothing in the programme of the Guild Socialists, e.g., that could not be achieved by "direct" action. What the numerous "Builders' Guilds" are doing up and down the country is "direct" action. And we cannot have too much of such action. A fortnight ago I dealt with "direct action" as a means of breaking with the past, of overthrowing destructive social practices. Such action would necessarily have to be followed by similar action for the development of quite new social relationships. And this would be comparatively easy once the conscience of the community had been stirred. Supposing, e.g., the workers objected on spiritual grounds to the operation of a blockade, or any policy of capitalist revenge or greed; they might appoint an international committee of workers and draw up a scheme for the distribution of food and raw materials according to supply and need, with a view to the fullest possible development of all peoples. A moral agitation for such a programme would really be worth while, and once the world's conscience was stirred upon it, Capitalism would soon appear as the monster it is, and be without a defender.

Then I am asked if I am in favour of the total abolition of Parliamentary Government. To which I reply: I have no objection. But it is obvious that we cannot abolish Parliamentary Government by an arbitrary vote; we can only do it by carrying out its functions in a better, more personal and direct way. The more we do in a "direct" way the less will there be for Parliament to do. And one of the first things we shall discover when we begin to rule ourselves will be that we have no more right to rule Indians, Egyptians, Arabians, and Irishmen, etc., than the capitalists have to rule us. Thus, if we get our "dependents" and colonies off our hands, and substitute the bonds of goodwill for the chains of compulsion, not only shall we be a greater people and a mightier nation, we shall be able to go far towards ridding ourselves of the greatest instruments of war, deception, and tyranny known to history. And if, after that, we should decide that local men and women were the best judges of local needs, even the best judges in local disputes, and that the workers were the right people to deal with economic affairs, there is really no saying what might not happen. But let us be cheerful! When the Idol of the Profiteers is buried we shall need shed no tears!

Lansbury's Challenge to the Church.

On Saturday last there appeared in the "Daily Herald" an article by George Lansbury which commenced thus:—

As usual in times of national and international crises, organised religion in Britain is silent. So far as I am able to discover, no archbishop, bishop, priest, or parson has as yet uttered one word of protest against the infamous policy pursued by His Majesty's Government, led by Winston Churchill, against the people of Russia.

Forgive the Church!

Many who read those words will merely shrug their shoulders and remark, "What can you expect?" To them the action or inaction of organised religion is a matter of no importance.

But is this right? If only because the Christian Faith itself is judged, by the mass of people, according to its official expression, it is of overwhelming importance that the official representatives of the Faith should, in the present crisis, speak the mind of their Master.

Nor, cowardly as has been the inaction of the bodies referred to, dare we despair of them, and abandon them to the enemy. In season and out of season we have proclaimed the truth that we must despair of no man. We have protested in turn against the disposition to place the German, the Russian, or the Sinn Féiner outside the pale of humanity and beyond the reach of hope. We have pleaded for faith in all and forgiveness for all. It would be a serious inconsistency on our part if we were to fail in confidence towards those who, at least, bear the name of Christ, and are responsible for the institution ordained to carry on His work. It was hard for many of our countrymen during the war to believe any good of Germany. Crimes such as the sinking of the Lusitania and the shooting of Nurse Cavell were held to be unforgivable. At that time we expressed the view that, hard as it might be, it was clearly a Christian duty to forgive and to hope. Exactly the same line of reasoning applies to our attitude towards the Church and its sins of omission and commission.

The Church's Silence.

But that does not cancel the truth of Lansbury's charges. Indeed, the case is even worse than his words indicate.

Not only is it true that "organised religion in Britain is silent" so far as the campaign of lies and treachery aimed at the Russian Republic is concerned. It is even a fact that in some cases the forces of the Church have been rallied in support of that campaign. We read, for instance, that "the Bishop of Birmingham has accepted the presidency of the Christian Counter-Bolshevik Crusade"!

But whether or no there is any large support for the Government's action in the churches, it is certainly true that the herculean effort of the Russian people to throw off the tyranny of centuries has received no official welcome from organised religion in this country. The straight-forward diplomacy of

the Bolsheviks, their attempt to reduce to practice, on a large scale, the communism of the gospels, their care for the children—these and their many other admirable traits have received no adequate appreciation.

Can we briefly summarise the reasons?

Plutocratic Control.

1.—The campaign against Russia is based on economic grounds. It is engineered by capitalist interests, and these interests command the Church. If that assertion is wrong let the evidence be forthcoming in a disinterested appeal to the Government to change its policy, and let word go forth that the refusal of the workers to handle munitions in such cases as this has the support of Christian leaders. When that is done we shall begin to believe in the independence from influences of plutocracy of the Body that speaks in the name of Christ. It is idle to say that the Church is not concerned in such matters. It did not hesitate to urge war against Germany, nor did the clergy themselves refrain from assisting in the manufacture of munitions. If it is right to aid in the making of weapons of slaughter, it is surely right to intervene to prevent their manufacture. The Church has invaded the sphere of international politics in the interests of financiers and war lords; let it now invade the same sphere in the interests of the liberties of the people!

Our Broken Front.

2.—A second reason why Christendom is silent and impotent in this crisis is that it is not united. It cannot present an unbroken front. In this connection we commend to our readers the words of Rev. Leslie J. Walker, S.J., M.A., who, in his book, "The Problem of Reunion," says:—

The reason why Christianity has failed to cope with the problem of labour, as she has failed to cope with that of the war, is one and the same. She is divided. Faith and justice and brotherly love and peace have not been preached as they ought to have been, because, instead of there being one Church, there are many, each jealous of the other, each wrapped up in its own particular interests, each fearful of losing numbers by giving offence. It is courage, not conviction, that has mainly been wanting. Were there but one Christian Church, acknowledged alike by rich and poor, British born and foreigner, Ally and Central Power, not only would Christian preachers be more outspoken in the cause of liberty, justice and truth, but the moral influence of such a Church would be so great that economic wars or war between Christian peoples at this stage of our history and civilisation would be practically impossible. Instead, because Christianity is not one, but is herself torn asunder with strife, she is constrained to stand passively by, while evil governments, some of which do not even profess to be Christian, are determining the fate of Europe, possibly on Christian lines, but in the name merely of common humanity.

Let organised Christianity free itself from the influence of plutocracy and present to the world the spectacle of an undivided Church in which is "neither bond nor free, Greek nor Jew," from which the sectarianism that has rendered us impotent has vanished, and the world will believe in its authority.

The Apocalypse of Evil.

LABOUR'S GREAT PROTEST.

At the time of writing there are signs that Labour's protest against the Polish war has not been without effect. The Government shows signs of backing down. But even though it pass away without further developments the crisis through which we have been passing is not without its lessons.

The Apocalypse of Evil.

It has afforded, for one thing, valuable evidence of the length to which our militarists are prepared to go in pursuit of their aims. A war with Russia, with our present commitments in India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Ireland, and those other quarters of the globe in which we are protecting the natives from themselves, would necessitate conscription. This would mean the withdrawal from industry at a time when, we are told, the future of civilisation depends on increased production, of a large amount of man-power. Our military and naval expenditure would go up by leaps and bounds. Taxation would increase. The price of foodstuffs would be still further augmented. The solution of the housing problem would be indefinitely postponed. The old nightmare horror of daily casualty lists would be repeated. The hospitals would refill with wounded men. The smell of blood would be in the air once more. All this the reckless drivers of the Imperial chariot are more than willing to face.

For what?

In order to claim their right to settle the quarrels of a people whom they have deliberately excluded from their "international" councils. In order, let it be frankly said, to cripple and perhaps destroy a great Socialistic experiment in government. In order, perhaps, to re-enthroned Czardom with all its inhuman brutalities.

This flash of lightning out of the brooding clouds of European life has lit up the face of the Devil in our midst. Let us not forget the face we have seen. It will be there even though the crisis passes for the present. This week we have beheld an Apocalypse of Evil—a revelation of the Man of Sin.

Cut out the Cancer!

The defeat which the magnificent protest of Labour seems likely to inflict upon these designs is only temporary and partial. Compromises will be suggested. The old tricks will be resorted to, the old lies repeated. Political intrigue will spin its web of deceit. The Press will release its poison gas. The coercion of Ireland, of the Arabs, of India, will go on as though nothing had happened. This thing has got to be plucked up, root and branch. The principle that life must be sacrificed for profits must be cut out of our civilisation like a cancer, and that day must be inaugurated when, in the words of an old prophet, a man shall be more than fine gold.

Labour has struck a decisive blow. It has manifested a fine unity. Let it go on with the work it has commenced and, once for all, put an end to this system of exploitation.

The Co-operative World.

We must advance further than the principle of Self-Determination. The Hands-off-Russia cry does but express a half-truth. It is an echo of the old laissez-faire idea. We have something more to do than cease interfering with other people in their task of working out their own salvation. Our hands must clasp the hand of Russia and of every other nation in a real League of Peoples. This idea, that we are merely to leave one-another alone, will not work. It might have done some centuries ago. It will not do now. The modern world cannot proceed except on lines of Fellowship and co-operation. To defeat the regime of international rivalry and jealousy we must have a positive idea. That of Liberty is negative. We must proclaim the day of brotherhood. We have made a good beginning in this token of the solidarity of the workers. But we must go on and build up until the world has become a co-operative whole, and such crises as that of the last week shall seem as the nightmare of a past that shall never return.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A Practical Step Towards International Brotherhood.

To the Editor of "The Crusader."

Sir,—A. G. Gardiner's terrible little book, "What I saw in Germany," suggests an act of practical brotherliness within the reach of some who long to help heal the wounds of the world, but who are prevented by various circumstances from going to Central Europe or from subscribing to relief funds. A.G.G. was repeatedly told by indignant British officials, both civil and military, that "it is still impossible for German business men to get a night's lodging in London. One of these men, the German representative of an English firm, found every hotel door he went to closed to him." A British Consul said to A.G.G.: "I am told to foster trade relations between the two countries, and when I carry out my instructions I find that German traders whom I have helped to go to England are treated like lepers when they get there."

Acute though housing difficulties are, I think there must be many readers of the "Crusader" who have a spare room which they would gladly place at the disposal of German visitors at a fair and reasonable charge and in a spirit of comradeship that to a man "treated like a leper" would be beyond price. May I suggest that some London member of the F.O.R. should act as secretary to whom intending hosts or hostesses could send their names and addresses, and state at what date, and for how long and at what charge their room or rooms would be available. These particulars could be sent to the British Consuls of German cities from time to time.

As I live too far out of London to help in this way myself, even if I were the fortunate possessor of a spare room, I would gladly subscribe to the postal expenses of anyone who undertook the work of secretary.—Yours faithfully,

EDITH W. TRITTON.

140 Wilbury Road, Letchworth,

Bookland. Creative Revolution.

Eden and Cedar Paul's book on the "Creative Revolution" (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 8/6 net), will not, I am afraid, find as many readers as it deserves. It strikes me as being a distinct contribution to revolutionary thought, but to appreciate the value of its interpretation of the revolutionary process demands an understanding of the more recent developments in philosophy and psychology which is not too common.

The reviews of the book which I have seen in Socialist papers seems to miss the main import of the work. They speak of it as though its chief value lay in its treatment of the class war, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and other such hackneyed themes. A good deal of the writing on these matters is neither better nor worse than that to be found in the numerous Left-wing pamphlets. The explanation of the meaning of Soviets is or should be, at this time of day, unnecessary for an intelligent public, though, as the authors show, people who should know better, make amazing mistakes in speaking of that form of organisation.

The Life Force.

It is in the opposition which the writers offer to the belief in the supremacy of reason and moral concepts that they strike a somewhat novel note, though even here they are not without forerunners among the syndicalists. Marxism was born in the rationalistic age, and the belief in intellectualism still clings to it. The middle-class Socialists still more "trust to intellectual persuasion, and hope to convince even the beneficiaries of capitalism that the claims of the workers are essentially just." Our authors, on the contrary, "look for salvation to the urge of the revolutionary will, and base their hope of victory upon power rather than upon justice." A quotation from Bergson's "Creative Evolution," with which the book concludes, throws some light on the writers' standpoint:—

Life as a whole, from the initial impulsion that thrust it into the world, appears as a wave which rises, and which is opposed by the descending movement of matter. On the greater part of its surface, at different heights, the current is converted by matter into a vortex. At one point it passes freely, dragging with it the obstacle which weighs on its progress but does not arrest it. At that point is humanity; it is our privileged situation.

Bertrand Russell has said that Bergson's work is poetry rather than philosophy, and that passage bears out the criticism, but as a picturesque account of the revolutionary process it would be difficult to beat.

Right and Might.

The prominence given to Bergson's "Élan Vital" and to the sub-conscious mind is, I believe, a necessary corrective to the rationalistic tendencies of much Socialistic thought, but are Eden and Cedar Paul justified in drawing the moral that, because the revolutionary urge rather than any process of reasoning or any appeal to moral ideals is that on which we must depend, we are therefore bound to accept the necessity of armed conflict?

For the present writer there is a very real meaning in the declaration that might is right. Righteousness manifests itself by its overwhelming power over the whole personality. It commands us by reason of its authority, and authority, in its deepest sense, is another name for power. An ideal which lacks this authority, which does not, by its very nature, command me, however it may agree with conventional standards of character and conduct, cannot have authority over me. In the supreme crisis of life our decisions are ever registered in some such words as Luther's—"Here stand I; I can do no other."

Love and Power.

That is precisely the language of love. It is not because he thinks killing wrong according to some moral code that the Christian pacifist will not take up arms, but because he cannot bring himself to destroy the life of a fellow man. It is not because he has reasoned the matter out or because he wants to be "good," but simply that the instinct of love which binds him to God and Man is able to overcome the momentary impulses of hate.

This, I am aware, is a very inadequate treatment of a theme which deserves far more consideration than I can give it here. I would only warn the writers of this book, in conclusion, that in invoking Bergson and Freud to support their demand for violent action they are using two-edged weapons. For the time being they may score an easy victory, for the reason that their opponents are ignorant of the value to themselves of the philosophy now used against them. It may be that this volume, by the novelty of its challenge, may compel us to restate our faith in closer consistency with the findings of the most recent philosophy and psychology.

The ideas of aristocracy and democracy, truly apprehended, are not opposed but complementary to each other. The shell of aristocracy, apart from the kernel, is nothing but sluggish parasitism. The kernel is the appreciation of fine values. And what, pray, are the fine values? Just those which grow by being shared as opposed to those which accumulate by monopoly. Beauty, gaiety, self-expression, freedom, love, the things of which one more for me means one more for you too. And the others, where one more for me means one less for you, what of them? The primary pursuit of them is death to democracy as it is death to aristocracy. It means that travesty of democracy which seeks to galvanise the letter into life in the absence of the spirit, to wit, the interference of everybody with everybody else in a system where A's gain is B's loss, and each man is a vigilance committee of one to protect himself from depredation. The only democracy possible is a democracy of aristocrats. Was He not a master-sociologist who said, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and all these things shall be added unto you.—J. R. WHITE.

Macbeth and the Capitalist.

In Macbeth, Shakespeare has given us the tragedy of the man who, to attain his ambition, is driven to commit one crime after another. Under the influence of Lady Macbeth, and fortified by the witches' prophecy of future royal rank, he murders King Duncan. It was with difficulty that his less imaginative and more callous wife was able to nerve him for the deed. But he believes that Duncan is the only obstacle that stands between him and the throne. Once that obstacle is removed and the murder hushed up all will be plain sailing. But having killed the king it becomes necessary to avert suspicion by smearing those guarding the royal person with his victim's blood, and then, lest their plea of innocence should be believed, he takes the further step of slaying them.

But Banquo shares with him the witches' secret, and is jealous of the honours promised Macbeth. Consequently, no sooner is Duncan out of the way than his fears fasten upon Banquo.

"There is none but he," says the murderer,—

"Whose being I do fear: and, under him,
My Genius is rebuk'd; as, it is said,
Mark Antony's was by Caesar's. He chid the sisters,
When first they put the name of King upon me,
And bade them speak to him; then prophet like,
They hail'd him father to a line of Kings:
Upon my head they placed a fruitless crown,
And put a barren sceptre in my grips,
Thence to be wrench'd with an unlineal hand,
No son of mine succeeding."

The resolution to remove this rival is quickly taken. Banquo is assassinated, but his son, Fleance, escapes, and the fact that the boy is still at large breeds fresh terrors in Macbeth's mind—

Murderer: Most royal sir, Fleance is escaped.

Macbeth:

Then comes my fit again: I had else been perfect;
Whole as the marble; founded as the rock,
As broad and general as the casing air:
But now I'm cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd, bound in
To saucy doubts and fears.

Macduff, who has fled to England leaving his wife and children behind him, occasions fresh suspicions in the usurper's mind. Macbeth has now become the victim of a panic that paints the whole world as plotting against him. The imagination which he suppressed in order to nerve himself for the murder of the king has become his master. In his terror, Lady Macduff and her children become his next victims. But here the series of his crimes ends, for Duncan's son, Malcolm, returns with an army from England, and Macbeth falls on the field of battle.

Such a study in the psychology of crime and fear is worth following, the more that it illustrates, as no treatise could do, the steps by which Capitalism has reached its present criminal stage.

At first it was nothing but a comparatively harmless ambition to avail itself of the increasing opportunities for making wealth that the industrial revolution offered. It is true that it became neces-

sary to sacrifice the health and happiness of the workers and their wives and children, but, after all, did not the Capitalist provide them with such means of life as they possessed, and were they not, after all, born to toil? In any case, once they were brought into subjection and chained to the new machines, the road to wealth would be open. But unfortunately for the Capitalist, the workers were beginning to organise, and Peterloo became necessary. Moreover, the home market was being narrowed by the destitution of the masses, and the exploitation of native races was found necessary.

Wars against these refractory natives became the order of the day, and a great Colonial Empire was built up out of the stolen property thus acquired.

Then came a fresh stage. Most of the earth's surface was now in the hands of "civilised" nations. Further progress could be achieved only by contesting the claims of rivals among the great powers themselves. This meant war on a large scale. But Capitalism by now had become hardened, or rather was increasingly the victim of the madness known as jealousy. Armaments were piled up, navies augmented, and the diplomatic liars set to work to effect useful alliances against the day when a truce of strength with the most formidable competitor would be necessary. That day came. The war then ensued "a war to end war." Once Germany was removed from the path of our ambition, we might return to the days of peace and innocence and wash our hands of murderous stains.

Germany, however, was no sooner conquered than Fear found a fresh cause of torment. A people young in hope, inspired by "the greatest idealistic movement since the time of Christ," threatened to inflame the workers with the idea of capturing for themselves the means of life. These people desire to live in peace with their neighbours, but Capitalism had "seen red," and, terrified, realised that it must plunge afresh into the sea of murder if all its previous gains were not to be sacrificed. Although, to remove this last opponent, would mean embroiling the whole world, East and West, in slaughter, although it would mean universal famine, Capitalism, hardened now, and maddened by fear, and seeing that all its former crimes would prove useless if this last were not committed, prepared itself for the assassination of the People's Republic.

The Crusader Group has sent the following telegram to the Premier:—

"Believing that God's Kingdom can never come on earth so long as men trust in armies and navies and blockades, we ask you, in the name of Christ to lay aside the sword and its menace and stand out for world co-operation and peace. Signed on behalf of the Crusade for Revolutionary Christianity Theodora Wilson Wilson."

The Meaning of the Jamboree.

I went off to Olympia the other afternoon trying to take with me an open mind on the question as to whether the Boy Scout Movement and the Girl Guide Movement is or is not in essence military.

No one could get into company with that crowd of boys without being impressed with the vast amount of patient and enthusiastic energy that must have been expended by the grown-up people concerned. I tried to get out of my mind certain impressions I had gathered from the Wolf Cub and Girl Guide Books, and to realise that even the "Daily Herald" had given its blessing to the movement, and it was wonderful, indeed, to see the vast varieties of occupations in which boys were interested. Frankly, I thought some of them looked tired, for it was not by any means all play, and in the mining section there was hard, heavy work to be done, which one did not like to think any boys should do for the hours that boys do work in the mines. These grimy, perspiring boys in the danger zone of darkness and the boys in our public schools stood side by side suddenly in my mind.

This organisation of boyhood is at present largely undertaken by the "classes" for the "workers," out of genuine interest and goodwill, and we have to confess that the parents of what is called the "working-class" have shown an extraordinary carelessness and irresponsibility as to what happens to their boys and girls in off hours.

But, apart from most of the officers, men and women, being in some sort of khaki, and a good deal of flag waving, I cannot say that militarism was the keynote of the Jamboree. I hoped, in spite of the absence, so far as I could see, of Germans and Austrians, that it might be possible that this was the beginning of a true International between children—turning the rising generation of every land into brave, enterprising co-operators and war-refusers.

And then—I am pulled up by reading in "The Observer," "Sir Robert Baden-Powell's International Army of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides has become the biggest military organisation in the world, and its value grows daily, for each member is climbing up the Hill of Capacity—whereas, alas! so many of us are descending it."

And yet—why not demilitarise it? Why not win the Scouts for the New World—not to "Be Prepared" AGAINST, but to "Be Prepared" FOR?

So, in "Foreign Affairs," John Hargrave (White Fox) gives us plain thoughts, as an expert from the inside. He writes:—

After twelve years' unbroken service in the Scout movement, and having passed through all the grades and ranks from "tenderfoot" to "Headquarters Staff Commissioner for Woodcraft and Camping," I feel qualified to speak with some authority.

Is the Boy Scout movement a military movement? Does it train boys for military service? Is it a "feeder" for the Army? Does it teach boys a love of war?

The truthful answer to all these questions is—Yes—and—No.

It is to some extent a military movement—but not openly. It does train boys for military service—but not

blatantly. It is a "feeder" for the Army—but only indirectly. It does not teach boys a love of war—but it does teach boys that they must be "loyal to the King," and if the "King" (i.e., the Government) goes to war, or makes war, they must play up to the war, and "play the game"—of war.

Sir Robert Baden-Powell has over and over again urged the Boy Scouts to "be prepared" for what he openly calls "the war after the war." This war after the war is the "business war," the trade war, the war of cut-throat competition. The Scouts have been urged to learn Spanish, to go to South America to grab and loot and plunder trade—especially German trade—in every possible way, before the enemy (or "late" enemy) has a chance to recover. In fact, the boy is taught that it is quite right and proper and very brave and splendid to strangle the enemy, and then, having got him "down and out," go off and grab everything you can lay hands on in the way of raw materials throughout the world before the other fellow "comes to."

This is the way to sow the seeds of The Next Great War and the Boy Scout movement helps it along, as I believe, almost without knowing it. The Scout movement does not do this knowingly or intentionally. They want Peace—and they really do believe that you can get peace by preparing for war. How can they help thinking so? 90 per cent. of Scout Commissioners (i.e., official inspectors) are old Regular Army men—Lt.-Colonels, Lt.-Generals, Major-Generals. These men can't suddenly become inspired with the idea that war is unnecessary, that war is tomfoolery and on a par with "Tarzan of the Apes." They are men of war, brought up and trained for war, they have always thought war, and now and then taken part in war. They have earned their bread by war, got promotion and higher pay from war—and they are war.

In the Scout Movement a good half of the 200,000 members are anti-war, the others either don't think about it at all or they don't care, the rest work quite definitely upon military lines.

Are these 100,000 Scouts and Scoutmasters who are anti-war and who are following what seems to them a gleam of practical Christianity (or practical Socialism) to be left—left to the direction of the 90 per cent. military officials?

What can be done? Much can be done; and a good deal has been done. Within the Scout Movement there exists another body—an anti-war section within the movement. This inner circle is called "The Woodcraft Kindred—or Kibbo Kift." The Woodcraft Kindred are out for gradual, synchronised, international disarmament. They want the whole country electrified from the Scottish waterfalls—thus doing away to some large extent with the smoke-cities and the sooty centres of industrialism which breed discontent and ill-health. They want outdoor woodcraft schools; apprentice reservations for nature-study and the outdoor life.

In the Scout Movement there are at least 100,000 men and boys who wish to follow the Kibbo Kift trail. What then is wanted to "demilitarise" the Scout Movement? Propaganda. Printed propaganda—and (far more important) help and support locally to carry on their Scouting on woodcraft lines.

The militarism in the Scout Movement is getting stronger and is asserting itself and pushing to the fore now more than ever. Why? Because militarism everywhere is dying. This is a sort of "last stand."

Those who are all out for Churchillism and the "scarlet follies" of war have always been intelligent enough to see how vastly important it is to get the boys while they are young—at the "impressionable age"—and "mould them."

When will Labour and the social reformers wake up to the enormous possibilities of a Demilitarised Boy Scout Movement?

T.W.W.

The Pathos of Holiday-Making.

In spite of unseasonable weather, high prices and the difficulty of finding accommodation the usual holiday crowds are thronging the railway stations. The platforms are littered with mail carts, deck chairs, family trunks and all the other impedimenta associated with the annual exodus. Children are everywhere, a little disconcerted by the unceremonious way in which they have been hustled about by harassed parents, but with eyes still aglow with visions of the sea and sand-castles.

The Exiles.

This return of the civilised to his native haunts is a strange and pathetic sight. He comes as a visitor where once he was among familiar scenes. The dweller in modern cities greets the moorlands and the sea-shore as a stranger. He has forgotten the names of the wayside flowers, and asks amazing questions of those that "go down to the sea in ships." He is an exile returning home, but he has been so long absent that even when he gets there he does not know his way about. A thick layer of artificial civilisation has separated him from Nature. He has walked so long on pavements that he is an alien to the springy turf. He is more accustomed to the rattle of trams than to the roar of breakers. "The return to Nature," so loudly trumpeted, proves a delusion and a snare, for man has been so long divorced from the wildness of natural things that he does not know what to do when he finds himself among them.

The Fear of Solitude.

One of the evidences of his long exile is the fear, which the majority of holiday makers display, of being left alone. They have never learned to commune with themselves. Accustomed to the crowded streets they cannot enjoy the sea except from a crowded beach. This is not altogether due to the expense of finding quiet resorts. In the neighbourhood of magnificent scenery you will often discover "the esplanade" packed with trippers who have no thought of seeking the beauty and silence that are so near them. I remember how, one day, after being dinned with the metallic music of roundabout shows and the cries of vendors of sweetmeats, magazines, and photographs, at a popular seaside resort, I found myself, after an hour's walk, treading the firm sand of an unpeopled bay magnificently flanked by a panorama of hills. To those hills the crowd appeared to be utterly indifferent.

We have increased the facilities for travel, but in so doing have lessened the object for travel. For we have brought our own world with us. The promenades to which we are brought by the railway companies do not differ greatly from the streets we have left behind, and the houses into which we are crushed offer no change from the over-peopled town dwellings from which we have escaped. The bulk of holiday makers are like those theatrical companies that set up the same scenery in town after town, and enact the same play in the four quarters of the kingdom. We go back a little browned by

the sea air, but we have never really escaped from the environment that is destroying our nerves and impoverishing our souls.

The Lost Art of Holiday Making.

All this is apparent in the joylessness of the faces one sees at such places. The jibe that Englishmen take their pleasures seriously is only partially true. "Merrie England" was once no idle compliment. The village festivals, and fairs of which tradition bears record may have been coarser in some respects than our fun-making to-day, but there can be no doubt that the crowds that gathered to them were jollier and happier than our trippers. Something has gone out of the soul of England (and, for that matter, from the soul of the modern world), since those days. The plain, blunt fact is that, even in our holiday making, we are not happy. We are pleasure-seekers rather than pleasure-makers. We depend on external incitement rather than endeavour to express our own overflowing spirits. At best our self-expression is of that boisterous kind which bears witness to the monotony of our ordinary life and our failure to cultivate the arts of employing our leisure.

How Shall We Escape?

The pathetic crowds that promenade up and down our sea fronts are not altogether to blame for this state of affairs. For eleven months in the year they have been, not living, but earning a livelihood. They have earned a livelihood at a cost which prevents them, even when they have the opportunity, of living. Having no joy in their work they can have none in their play. Having little chance of exercising creative effort in their daily labour they are not under the necessity of seeking re-creation. As they toil mechanically so their holiday pleasures are mechanically supplied. The character of our holiday-making reflects on the character of our whole civilisation. It is a kill-joy civilisation.

Certain localities are passing bye-laws to restrain the trippers who invade their domains. The ribald songs, the tooting of horns, and the dancing, are to be suppressed. But these respectable residents should rather direct their efforts against the industrial conditions responsible for hooliganism. They are probably themselves deriving profits from the causes of that boisterousness they would penalise.

The week or fortnight's respite is supposed to afford a means of escape from our ordinary life. We have seen, however, that it fails to do this, that both work and play are dominated by the sinister influences at present at work in our world. Escape is impossible while those influences remain. We can only escape from the world we live in by changing it. It is impossible to screen off some portion of our time or some selected localities and say "Here we will enjoy ourselves in down-right good fashion." Life cannot be bifurcated in that style. Life, whether as spent in work or in play, is one, and only as the whole is changed can the parts become what they ought.

The March of the Children.

In Serbia's darkest hour, when she had been attacked simultaneously by the German-Austrian Army and the Bulgarians—when all help, expected, and promised, had failed—the "Great Retreat" began. An eye-witness writes:—"The road was a moving mass of transport of all kinds—motor wagons, bullock wagons, horse wagons, men, and guns, besides the civilian population, men, women, and children, all intent on escape.—The procession looked like a great dragon wandering over the countryside. It passed continuously for days, stretching from one end of Serbia to the other, and one realised that this was something more than an army in retreat; it was the passing of a whole nation into exile, a people leaving a lost country. It has been said that in all history there is no parallel to this exodus, unless it may be the flight of the Israelites out of the land of Egypt; but in their case the exodus led to freedom—in this, it was a nation going into exile.

"It is impossible to think of the Great Retreat without calling to the memory the 23,000 Serbian boys who met their fate on that cruel march. To save them from being captured by the enemy 30,000 of the boys of Serbia were ordered out of the country. They made part of the great exodus of their nation. They were young boys from twelve to eighteen years, and they were unable to stand the cold, the hunger, and the physical misery of that march. Fifteen thousand died in the mountains,

'and those who saw the ships and the sea had nothing human left of them but their eyes.' The Italians at Avallona had no hospital accommodation for 15,000 . . . They had the boys encamped in the open country close to a river, and gave them all the food they could spare—army biscuits and bully beef . . . By the time that the ships to convey them to Corfu arrived, the 15,000 had been reduced to 9,000. About 2,000 more boys died during the twenty-four hours' journey between Avallona and Vido, and thus only 7,000 reached the encampment in the grove of orange and olive trees by the sea on the island of Vido."

One of these boys who found his way eventually to Corsica with a party of Refugees—told his pathetic little tale to the Sisters in the S.W.H. there. He was the only boy at home, and his mother had set him off on the dangerous march to freedom in exile with all that she could give him. She had no money, but only three little sheep, which he was to drive before him on the road. As his stock of food became exhausted he bartered one of his sheep for bread, receiving one loaf for one sheep. Soon there came a time when, as he said in his broken English, "there was no sheep, no bread."

Fortunately at that time he fell in with a section of the retreating army, and he was befriended by the soldiers and so managed to win through.

* From "A History of the Scottish Women's Hospitals," chapter: "The Great Retreat."

The Assassins of the People.

Under the above title there appears in the August number of "Foreign Affairs" an article which may truthfully be described as sensational. The article, which deals with the remarkable immunity enjoyed by the Briey iron mines, situated in close proximity to the Franco-German frontier, during the war, is the first of a series by Mr. C. K. Street, an American journalist.

Mr. Street sets himself to solve the problem of the quietness enjoyed by this section of the line, a quietness so great that when the Americans took over the sector they were told by the French troops whom they relieved that since the war began not a man had been killed in that part of the front.

The solution is found in the interlocking of Franco-German iron, steel, coal, and other interests at that point. Says the writer:—

Before attempting to take up in detail the question of why the Lorraine front was so quiet during the war, it is necessary for a good understanding of the problem to outline more fully the iron industry in German and French Lorraine. As has already been pointed out, before the war most of the iron mines and smelters of these two powers were in the Lorraine basin, on both sides of

the frontier. Now, some of the French iron masters owned mining concessions and smelters in German Lorraine as well as in France, and the Germans had heavy interests in French Briey as well as in Lorraine proper.

These statements Mr. Street supports with a mass of details that create conviction.

If his allegations are correct they make it clear that throughout the greater part of the fiercest war in history capitalistic interests proved themselves stronger than national passion. Terrible as is war it would almost seem that there are some kinds of "peace" which are more terrible still—when their meaning and motive are understood.

It is not without reason that Mr. Street quotes Senator Gaudin de Villaine, a Conservative, as saying:—

"I formally accuse the big cosmopolitan banks, at least the owners of mining rights, to have conceived, prepared, and let loose this horrible tragedy with the monstrous thought of world stock-jobbing. I accuse these same money powers to have, before and since the war, betrayed the interests of France."

The further articles in the series will be awaited with painful interest.

The Crusade.

KENTISH TOWN OPEN AIR.

Sorensen has the knack of "globe-trotting," with morals starting at home with increased railway fares before he arrives at Amritsar. Then comes a stiff F.O.R. application, and, of course, the "voice." A supporter of Dyerism (evidently a successful business man just returned from India) questioned Sorensen's right to speak of a country to which he admitted he had never been. When Sorensen turned the tables, the "voice" admitted having expressed his opinion about Russia, which he had never visited. It was then of course that the tram the "voice" must catch appeared, and so we continued till 10.30 p.m. with a volume of more intelligent questions from a crowd of several hundreds. Every copy of "God and Bread" was sold. An unknown clergyman, evidently of some standing, was a full-time listener.

The interesting item of the 3rd (July) meeting was, that after Oakes had spoken for nearly an hour, on our very noisy pitch, to a few distant stragglers, an awkward question prompted a hearer to ask permission to speak from the platform, which was granted by the chairman. With a splendid delivery he gathered a large crowd and delivered our message from a non-Christian (?) point of view. Our friend disappeared before we thanked him. The chairman's comparison of "Churchianity" to Christianity provoked discussion.

The fourth meeting was taken by Oakes and Lief. The principal subject was Ireland, at which the F.O.R. leaflet was read and commented upon. Oakes as an ex-service man preaching Pacifism silenced at least two critics whose uppermost thoughts were "dear old England."

All "Crusaders" were sold.

SPECTATOR.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

CLERICAL WORKERS.—All who can help in addressing envelopes are asked to come to the office any time during the day or evening of Friday, August 20th, when an important circular is to be sent out to all Brotherhoods, Debating Societies, etc., asking them to arrange for the consideration of our social and international message. Would any who cannot come then but would be willing to do so at other times kindly send a card to that effect.

GARDEN PARTY FOR CHILDREN FROM FAMINE AREAS.—This will take place early in September, particulars will be announced later. Gifts in money or kind will be welcomed by Miss Quarmby, at 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

OPEN-AIR MISSION.—**FRIDAY, 13th:**—At 6.30, Marble Arch: Alfred Cordell, Dorothea Strevens; at 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Rev. R. W. Sorensen. **SUNDAY, 15th:**—At noon, Leytonstone, The Green Man: C. Paul Gliddon; at 3.30, Hampstead, Jack Straw's Castle: Alfred Cordell, Dorothea Strevens. **MONDAY, 16th:**—At 8, Leytonstone, The Green Man: C. Paul Gliddon. **TUESDAY, 17th:**—At 6.30, Marble Arch: Rev. R. W. Sorensen, Basil Tritton; at 8, Forest Gate, outside G.E.R. Station: H. W. Green, H. W. Hancock; at 8, Clapton, corner of Kenninghall Rd. and Upper Clapton Rd.: Alfred Cordell. **WEDNESDAY, 18th:**—At 8, Catford, near Town Hall: Rev. F. Fincham, Horace Fuller. **THURSDAY, 19th:**—At 6.30, Marble Arch: Rev. F. Fincham, Basil Tritton; at 8, Kentish Town, corner of Leighton Rd. and Kentish Town Rd.: H. W. Green, J. B. Lief, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. **FRIDAY, 20th:**—At 6.30, Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon; at 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Rev. R. W. Sorensen.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

Nature gave all things in common for the use of all, usurpation created private right.—St. AMBROSE

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE PACIFIST COMMUNITY PARTY.

To the Editor of "The Crusader."

Dear Editor,

Though you kindly published a letter from me in your current issue I am risking another to welcome Mr. Sadler's letter calling for a new party, because I have long pondered over a party to end parties, a last party, or, as I have thought of it under inspiration of the editor of the late lamented "Ploughshare," a party of the common mind. As I conceive it such a party or movement must base itself not on advocacy or rejection of any particular forms or measures, but on a simple aspiration. A passion for fellowship—a fellowship from which no human being can be excluded—no criminal, no capitalist, no anti-socialist. They must all be claimed—not as criminals, etc., but as humans. We must have faith to convince them all of fellowship.

The method of progress in fellowship will, I imagine, be the method of trying to find the common mind on each subject as it comes up, very like that of the early Christians seeking the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the "Unseen Head." Groups of neighbours or workshop mates living and conferring in this way would be very competent to take in hand their own affairs; and our policy would be to advocate and, where convenient, help to organise such groups, and co-operation of groups.

Our thought and discussion, then, would be directed towards increasing fellowship. The test of a measure would be: Is it based on, or motivated by fellowship, and does it make for more fellowship? We should reject nothing that we thought would tend to further fellowship. We should reject everything that seemed to diminish fellowship.

Thus our colleagues might have many general opinions, but would always try to increase and intensify fellowship, and in particular measures, would proceed on the principle of seeking and acting under the direction of, the common mind. We should have to surrender our private opinions, or rather merge them in the common product. Mr. Sadler's eight points might well come up for discussion, but I should say that the fewer points we adopt for a basis the better; for we must have faith in fellowship and the common mind.

I suspect that this would not only be the surest way of finally achieving the real revolution that we seek, but even the quickest way of securing such immediately urgent needs as, for instance, the abolition of poverty.

ARTHUR ST. JOHN.

AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS.

The "Daily News" published a few days ago a dispatch from its correspondent in the States, P.W.W., which should have serious attention. It reads as follows:—

At a great demonstration last night the first serious international conference of negroes began its thirty days of session. The movement has been long brewing, and it involves Africa as well as the British West Indies. Startling language was used.

Mr. Marcus Harvey, president of the Negro Improvement Association, referring to Africa, said: "We shall not ask England or France or Belgium or Italy 'Why are you here?' We shall only command them to get out of here."

"What is good for the white man," he went on, "is good for the negro, namely, freedom, liberty and democracy. We have no apology, no compromise to offer. If the English claim England, the French France, and the Italians Italy as their native habitat, then the negroes claim Africa and will shed blood for their claim. We shall draw up a bill of rights for all negro races with a constitution to govern their destinies."

"The bloodiest of all wars is yet to come, when Europe will match its strength against Asia, and that will be the negroes' opportunity to draw the sword for Africa's redemption."

Christian Commonwealth Fellowship.



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscriptions for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more

on the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges,endants, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. postage 2d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, ss of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number id initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

"Human hearts are harps divinely strung
And framed diversely, waiting for the power
Of kindred soul; and in each chord is hung
A wondrous dower
Of song and glory which, if touched aright,
Would fill the world with light."

—Lowell.

Helping Hands.

Fellows are still busy extending friendly hands each other and so helping to sound forth on the harps of many lives the Wonder-Music of Fellowship which, "by its power and sweetness, can lead us to the heart of things," so that "we grow near to mysteries which cannot be reached by the spoken word, cannot be seen or touched." For instance, 519 (Croydon) writes (whose request for our paper previously appeared in this page):—"The Fellows have responded nobly. I have had most sympathetic letters from several; these I am answering one by one. I have struggled on for so long that one values kindly words and deeds immensely, and these it may be my joy to pass on to other weary ones. In these dark days it is more than ever needful for us to radiate love and peace to those around. I am happy to know what Fellows are trying and doing once more." While the following comes from 997 (E. Bolden):—"I can never forget the letters I received when I was so anxious. I do try to pass them on. It seems to be the one way to save disaster. I only long to do more, so that at any time you can use me by letter writing, please do." And 5271 (Frome), once an educational missionary in China, says:—"I should like to express my deep appreciation of the Fellowship; I am only sorry I did not join it sooner. The forming of congenial friendships is a tremendous help and inspiration."

A letter from 3737 (Aberdeen), one of our most active Fellows, helps to bring out something of the inner meaning of these and similar testimonies. He says:—"My sympathies and thoughts are often with you in your work of linking the hearts of men and women together. When the hands are warmed at the Fire of Fellowship, our little differences are put to view before the splendid vision of the City of Friends. A vision which the C.C.F. makes a fact." 737 is right. In the revealing light of love and the vision love brings, all differences and divisions disappear, and we see the hidden splendour which links us all together and makes us ONE.

"The heart that feels this holy light within,
Finds God and man and beast and bird its kin.
All class distinctions fade and disappear,
Death is but Life, and Heaven, he feels, is near."

The Greater Fellowship.

Love, then, links us not only with individual hearts, but with all the life in the universe, and with that Greater Fellowship which is all about us, interpenetrating ours—so one with ours that the helping hands of those who have entered its joyous life can still touch ours in loving co-operation, as they work with us in the building of the City of Friends: and something of the wonderful music of the unseen Heaven of their lives can thrill through ours. 4243 (Rochdale), realising this, writes:—"I must say how thankful I am to have found in our Fellowship a nice Christian friend from whom I shall never part, not even in passing from this earth. An everlasting Fellowship chum."

We have been thinking particularly of those in the Greater Fellowship during these anniversary days of the beginning of that conflict in which so many who were dear to us passed on. And now we have news of four more Fellows who have joined them: 3098 (Bracknell), who wrote of our C.C.F. that he "feels it such a pleasure and inspiration to be one of a band of men and women with such ideals." 277 (Blackburn), who was keenly interested in the League of Prayer, saying:—"We as C.C.F.'s will devote our time in prayer unitedly." 4593 (Geneva), mother of our Swiss secretary, whose ideal was "the realisation of Brotherhood in practical daily life." And 4027 (Washington), of whom one of his correspondents wrote:—"He was such a ripping Chum. He had such a fund of sympathy: grown-ups usually discourage any but orthodox ideas, but he didn't. And it helped enormously. And now he has gone to do wonderful work in another world."

Fellowship Wanted and Offered.

5409 (Gloucester), who thinks "the C.C.F. has something truly great in it," is anxious to know local members. She expects big things of us, Fellows, and she needs us, as you will find when you write. She has "no religion now but right for right's sake." Will 5211 (Gloucester) and others link up?

Will 4797, 5187, 5029 and 5061 (Manchester) link up with 5405, a new Manchester member. She is particularly interested in a live religion, in Fellowship, in education, languages and missions.

240 (Oxford), a very early member, and a busy worker, has been under a very serious operation and is slowly recuperating. She has to lie still a great deal, and will welcome letters or visits.

2266 (Hyderabad, India), a professor and secretary of the local Boy Scouts' Association, wishes to link with brother Scouts in England. Will 3575 (Bexleyheath) and other Scouts write him and tell him about their troops and experiences.

5341 (Kensington) asks if a Fellow would help her by taking in cheaply for a fortnight's holiday a little girl whose father is a demobilised soldier out of work.

3563 (Stratford-on-Avon) has gained valuable experience as a spiritual healer among the poor; she would be glad to help anyone, or to speak on this subject.

A Message from our Treasurer.

I have been connected with our C.C.F. from its foundation in 1911, and have never seen it doing more valuable work than it is doing now. But—Fellows—however much we value the Fellowship, we must face the fact that unless more money is forthcoming its work cannot go on in these days of high prices. If subscriptions were all paid to date, and were all a little above the minimum (1s. 6d.) we might prophesy more cheerful things.

THE TREASURER.

SIDELIGHTS.

General Booth and Labour.

Returning from a tour round the world General Booth was interviewed by a representative of the "Daily Chronicle." Speaking of the Labour question General Booth is reported to have said:—

"I am anxious about the Labour movement all over the world. I find in nearly every country emerging what for want of a better word I call a kind of antipathy to work. That is quite a different thing from an ambition to be well paid for the work you do.

"It is a very serious danger, especially for the next generation, if we are going to cultivate the idea that there is something inimical to human life and happiness in work. They came to me in Australia and asked me to use my influence about the five days' agitation which, when I came to examine it, I found meant four and a half days. That is, a 35-hour week.

"There is an old Book which says, 'Six days shalt thou labour.' I feel the question of hours is a mere incident. The thing I am talking about is this growing feeling approaching animus towards work. That is the danger. It is a frightful thing that a man should have a constitutional objection to labour. That is one of the dangers in Australia, and I find it in every country. I found it last year in Scandinavia."

If General Booth would speak as plainly to those who so order the conditions of industry as to rob the worker of all honourable incentive to labour he would do something to redeem the religious world from the charge of bolstering up the present systematic exploitation of the workers.

Increased Drunkenness.

The licensing statistics for 1919 have to reverse the story consistently told in previous volumes since the outbreak of the war, and to record a substantial increase in the convictions for drunkenness in England and Wales. The total is still far below pre-war standards—57,948, as compared with 183,828 in 1914, and 188,877 in 1913—but it has almost doubled the figures of the preceding year, and it shows a striking accentuation of increase from month to month. From March onwards this reaction from sobriety gave growing manifestations, and at the end of the year apparently had very far from exhausted itself. "In September, 1919, the convictions were nearly three times, in November more than three times, and in December more than four times as many as in the same months in the year 1918."

A Challenge to Missionaries.

The following is an extract from the letter of an Indian gentleman to a religious newspaper in England:—

They (missionaries) are always preaching to us to be courageous and to stand up against the injustice of caste and other social disorders of Indian Society . . . but they lack the courage of opposing their own people who have been guilty of conduct, which can well be compared to the outrageous conduct of the "Boche" in Belgium.

A retired missionary's comment on the above runs thus:—

The challenge seems to me entirely fair. We have no right to ask Indians to make protests in their sphere while prudence or any other reason closes our mouths about the wrongs done by our own people.

Lincoln.

The statue of Lincoln recently unveiled in Parliament Square might well have had inscribed upon it these words uttered by the great American President:—

"Inasmuch as most good things are produced by labour, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labour has produced them. But it has so happened in all

ages of the world, that some have laboured and other have without labour enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong, and should not continue. To secure to each labourer the whole product of his labour, or as nearly possible is a worthy subject of any good Government."

Another International.

The latest project to add to the list of would-be Internationals is the startlingly original proposal put forward by the Italian Popular (or Catholic) Party for a Christian International. To those who might suppose that Christianity was already international, it should be explained that this has nothing to do with Christianity in the ordinal sense, but is a political clerical project. The political organisation of the Catholic Church has been developing rapidly in the various European countries, and nowhere more than in Italy, where the newly-founded Popular Party is the second largest after the Socialists. This Party is now negotiating for the formation of an "International Christian People's Union," and reports acceptances from Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary and Germany.

Boy Scouts and Girl Guides.

His (Sir Baden Powell's) International Army of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides has become the biggest militia organisation in the world.—"Observer," August 1, 1920.

Christian—Anarchism, the non-political and spiritual basis of Social Reconstruction. Five booklets by Tolstoy and others. Post free 1s. 6d. from The Free Age Press, Tuckton House, Bournemouth.

Leytonstone, Burghley Hall, High Road.—Service on Sunday, August 15, at 6.30, conducted by C. Paul Gliddo. Subject of address: "What is our first duty?"

DISARMAMENT LEAFLET, by W. J. Chamberlain, 1½ post free from the "Crusader" Office.

RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

Creative Revolution, by Eden and Cedar Paul. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 8/6 net.

What's Wrong with the Middle Classes, by R. Dimsdale Stocker. Cecil Palmer and Hayward. 6d. net.

A History of Trades Councils, 1860-1875, by Cicely Richard with an introduction by G. D. H. Cole. Published by the Labour Research Department, 34 Eccleston Square, S.W.1. 1/-.

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The Crusader

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Twopence.



The Outlook.

THAT Britain and France are patching up their quarrel augurs no good for the friends of Russian freedom. Mr. Thomas at the Labour Conference said that we must not interfere in the internal affairs of France. It all depends what you mean by "we." If by that pronoun you mean the world of Labour, then it is difficult to see how an international movement can be prevented from serving its own interests in whatever country those interests are threatened. Labour knows no national boundaries. If one member of the proletarian body suffers then all the members of that body must suffer with it. The manoeuvres of Entente diplomatists can only be met in one way. We must have an International Council of Action, so that at short notice the organised labour of all countries can be called out.

THE assertion that the independence of Poland is threatened by Soviet Russia is probably sincere in spite of the fact that the Bolshevik Government's repeated assurances on this point have all the marks of sincerity. The Allies are judging others by themselves. Their promises of self-determination have been so repeatedly broken in the

interests of imperialistic ambition that it is difficult for them to understand the disinterestedness of Russia. The failure to realise that Democracy has other standards than those of Plutocratic Governments is at the root of our blundering diplomacy in Ireland and elsewhere.

SIR H. H. JOHNSTON has some terrible things to say in an article in Sunday's "Observer" on our rule in East Africa. "The culminating incident," he says, "is this. Some two months ago there occurred at Nduru, in British East Africa, cases of flogging and torture so severe that according to a medical officer's report, 'fat had been crushed out of the muscles' of the wretched victims; in other cases, 'the flogged natives died from the torture and flogging.' These crimes seemingly were committed on a European plantation . . . the Europeans in what is now termed a 'colony,' apparently take the law into their own hands and administer punishment as they please." There is much more to the same effect in the article. It will be remembered that Germany was deprived of her colonies mainly for the reason of alleged German barbarities inflicted on the negroes of South-West Africa and the Cameroons. Can we wonder that, as Sir Harry Johnston says, the foreign Press declares we are of all nations the most hypocritical?

THE "Appeal to all Christians" issued by the Lambeth Conference is referred to on another page. But wide-fung as is the programme of Reunion therein stated, it is not wide enough. There are many thousands outside all churches honestly striving to serve the Cause represented by the various ecclesiastical bodies. Unless they also are included in schemes of Reunion those schemes must fail of achieving the complete unification of the Christian world. To unite the different churches, consideration for the conscience of such bodies on questions of government and ordination is counselled. To reconcile the people referred to, the Church as a whole must pay more respect to the social conscience, the violation of which, in so many cases, has made rebels of those who might have been loyal and devoted servants.

At ye Signe of ye Broken Sword



The Art of Begging.

A certain fellow tramp, of no small reputation as a poet, once dilated to me on the art of begging. He had studied the psychology of charity in the school of experience, and

would tell you, with the fine discrimination of the expert, how to touch most skilfully the chords of pity. By his knowledge of this art he had won his way, to and fro, a score of times across the continent of America. His wit in the matter had been quickened by the dire necessity of living.

At first, as one who must confess to having re-entered the ranks of respectability, my first instinct was to scorn him for the shamelessness of his confessions. But later thought persuaded me that the art whose principles he expounded was indeed the supreme accomplishment without which no man may live truly. For in very deed all things come by charity, and never yet did any man earn, by his own labour solely, the good things of life.

Chiefest of these I place love, which none may obtain by toiling for it. As the wind bloweth where it listeth, so is love. To force it is to spoil it. By sheer power of will it is impossible to win the gift of loving. Men have toiled like galley slaves to make themselves righteous yet failed, because the fulfilling of the law is love, and love is a gift. Herein do you perceive the futility of all schemes whereby man is bidden to earn salvation. The poets have pictured love as a winged Cupid shooting his darts from a safe distance, and there is truth in the picture. Winged he is and cautious of approaching too near, and never yet has he been caught and imprisoned so that he might do the bidding of his captors.

So is it with faith. When I was a boy there was a hymn we used sometimes to sing, the refrain of which was—

"I will believe!

I will believe!"

I suppose many have worked themselves into a sweat in trying to carry out that pledge, but I am very certain that they failed. When at last belief came (if it did come) it was as a vision of truth which no human will-power could have compelled. There is much which I would like to believe, and which, somehow, I know that some day I shall believe, which so far my inner self has not vividly realised and grasped. I am sometimes tempted to hasten the process, but I am learning that Truth must come to me not I to it.

Surely it is but common experience that it is not by the labour of the mind that flashes of wit and gems of wisdom, and creative thought are produced. These things happen and cannot be manufactured. Who but the fifth rate writer or speaker

says to himself "now I will be pathetic," or "to-night I will overflow with humour"?

But if this be so are we not in a parlous state. Does it not condemn us to a passive waiting upon Chance? Are we not back again at predestination. Must we not go our ways content to know that, to-morrow it may be fine or wet, so love may carry our hearts by storm, faith open the gates of Heaven to us, or genius flash its rays from our mind?

That would be so were it not for the Art of Begging.

That there is an art in the matter I need go no further than the New Testament to prove. Our Lord loved a good beggar. Some people could win his largesse sooner than others. The Phœnician woman who answered wit with wit, likening herself to a dog that licked up the crumbs beneath its master's table, was a past-master of the art. The importunate widow illustrates the theme, as do also the words, which might almost be called the beggar's motto: "Ask and it shall be given you, knock and it shall be opened to you." The centurion who declared that he was not worthy of the honour of receiving the Master into his house had somewhere acquired the very genius of successful begging.

It is difficult to learn this art if one has, or imagines that one has, money in one's pocket where with to purchase, for cash down, the necessities of life. Most of us need to be "stony-broke" before we can bring ourselves to ask alms. Pride clings to the last penny. The shamelessness of utter poverty would appear to be the first principle in this curious art.

But though begging be learned in the school of poverty it must take care not to strike the whining note. Some prayers impress one as lacking the dignity that a true sense of poverty confers. They are an insult to the God to whom they are addressed. In these cases poverty has demoralised without humiliating, for the whine is not the cry of a broken heart; it is the language of the beaten slave. The Lord loveth a cheerful beggar.

From all of which it would appear that a certain spiritual tact is required in approaching the Guardian of life's treasures. Once acquire it and the universe is open to you. The stars are to be had for the asking. Pitch the right note and all the birds of the heavens will flock around you. Earth and sky are bursting to give. It is only because man is so poor a mendicant that he goes in rags and suffers the pains and penalties of the present order of things. Let him learn the art of begging and all will be well.

I am told that the future belongs to the worker as the past has belonged to the idlers. For my part I believe it will belong to neither. The first have lived by stealing. The second purpose to live by the strength of their own right arm. But I was neither the callousness of the thief, nor the self-righteousness of the self-made man. The future believe me, belongs to those who shall learn the art of tapping the bounty of the Creator, and are humble enough and brave enough to live upon the charity of God.

THE TRAMP.

Labour's New Era.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

"WITHOUT ANY DOUBT, THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT HAS TO-DAY ENTERED ON A NEW ERA. ONE MAY LIKE IT OR DISLIKE IT; THE FACT IS THERE."

Thus wrote the special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* after the great Labour conference in London last Friday. And in that sentence is summed up the result of the events of the last fortnight, which reached their climax in what is probably the most significant conference ever held by British Labour. Few of us who were compelled to choose prison to the trenches because of our belief that war and Internationalism were incompatible terms, dared to hope that within a few months of the release of the British anti-militarists from prison the whole Labour movement would have turned C.O.! For nothing less than that has happened.

By its decision to "resist any and every form of military and naval intervention against the Soviet Government of Russia," and to give full power to the "Council of Action" to "call for any and every form of withdrawal of labour which circumstances may require" to give effect to this policy, the British Labour movement has taken the first step towards the League of Free Peoples which alone can prevent future war. The workers of France and Italy and many other countries have already made a very clear response to the magnificent call of British Labour, and in spite of the difference of opinion on the question of the Second v. the Third or Fourth International, a spontaneous movement has been made by the workers of all lands which has united them in one common pledge to use every means to bring peace to a war-weary world.

The resolution passed at Friday's conference comes like a "rushing mighty wind" in these days of intrigue and "hankering" after war on the part of the grey-headed "patriots" of Europe.

"The Conference . . . calls upon every Trade Union official, executive committee, local Council of Action, and the membership in general, to act swiftly, loyally, and courageously, in order to sweep away secret bargaining and diplomacy, and to assure that the foreign policy of Great Britain may be in accord with the well-known desire of the people for an end to war and the interminable threats of war."

The Labour News Service declares that "the action of the workers during the present crisis will form one of the most glorious chapters in the history of Labour," and that verdict will be endorsed by everyone who is anxious for the future peace of the world. As I write the news comes to hand that representatives of the British "Council of Action" have left for Paris in order to consult with representatives of the French Federation of Labour and the French Socialist Party with regard to the Polish-

Russian crisis. This is the logical step to take, and the next step should be that suggested by the "Nation"—

"The next step should be to strengthen the international side of the peace movement, and to enlist French, German, Italian, Austrian, Dutch, Polish, and Scandinavian workers in a kind of Peace International ad hoc."

Such a Peace International would be all-powerful, especially if, coupled with its declaration against war, there would be a definite pledge taken by all individual members of its affiliated bodies never to participate in the murder of their fellows in any circumstances. In the present state of public opinion in all countries it should be possible to secure an enormous number of signatures to a pledge on similar lines to that taken by members of the No-Conscription Fellowship.

It is, indeed, a glorious thing that Labour's first really revolutionary step should be taken, not on a question of hours and wages, but on the vital question of world peace; and, as the "Labour Leader" rightly reminds us, the fact of this step being taken is the greatest possible tribute to the work of Keir Hardie and Bruce Glasier and other Socialists who have held aloft the banner of real human brotherhood in the early days of the Socialist movement. It was at the International Socialist Congress held at Copenhagen in 1910, that Keir Hardie urged upon the International Socialist movement the necessity of facing up to the question of militarism. He then advocated exactly the course adopted at Friday's conference—and was laughed at for his pains. The vast majority of British Socialists who resisted militarism during the greatest war in history did so because of their steadfast adherence to the Socialism of those early pioneers. I can remember now the thrill that passed through me when I read Keir Hardie's inspired message to that Congress of ten years ago, which concluded with the prophetic declaration:—

"The nation that has the faith and courage to first resign its arms will win a big place for itself in history and will be safest from attack."

I have been looking through the Press comments on Friday's Conference, and, as I expected, with one or two exceptions, there is a practically unanimous condemnation of Labour's "revolutionary" step. Those papers which, up to last week, were going out of their way to laud such "sane" Labour leaders as Thomas, Clynes, Henderson and Co., are now endeavouring to prove them Bolsheviks of the deepest dye.

I sincerely hope that these Labour leaders will continue to merit the condemnation of such papers, for only thus can they merit the trust of those who have made up their minds to march forward in the New Era of Human Brotherhood.

The
Crusader

Friday, August 20th, 1920.

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Business Communications
To the Secretary,
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Rate of Subscription:
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Peace Sunday

AUGUST 22nd.

The Council of Action has issued a recommendation that Sunday, August 22nd, be observed as "Peace with Russia" Sunday.

"All local Councils of Action, where they may exist," it says, "and local Trades Councils or local Labour Parties are recommended to organise mass demonstrations next Sunday to oppose war by this country on behalf of Poland or General Wrangel, and to insist on an immediate peace between Great Britain and Soviet Russia."

In consequence all over the country meetings will be held and large audiences collected. These people need the "Crusader." Will you see that they have an opportunity of getting it?

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The Meaning of the Crisis.

MESSAGES FOR CRUSADER READERS.

We have received, in response to a request for a few words for our readers at the present critical time, the following messages:—

Miss Margaret Bondfield writes:—

"In this crisis the churches have one more opportunity given them to come out definitely and strongly on the side of Peace. It is not the open and declared actions of our Government which are the source of the greatest danger: It is the secret intrigue—the commitments of the national honour made by individuals on whom the people as a whole have no effective check—that is the real danger. There can be no guarantee of peace short of the withdrawal of the Navy from the Baltic and the Black Sea, the recognition of the Soviet Republic, and the opening up of trading relations with her.—Yours very sincerely,
MARGARET E. BONDFIELD.

From **Mr. Jerome K. Jerome** comes the following:

"The events of the last few days have shown that war or peace lies no longer on the lap of those little tin gods, the politicians, the Parliaments and the newspapers, but in the hands of the people. In future the responsibility will be at the door of the working classes. In every country a permanent Committee of Public Safety, constituted from the leaders of Labour, should be established to control the foreign policy of every government. In this way only can the mischievous militarism of the ruling classes be kept in subjection."

Rev. Walter Walsh, D.D., Leader of the Free Religious Movement, writes:—

To the Editor of "The Crusader."

August 15th, 1920.

Sir,—The immediate call is to defeat the design to destroy the Soviet Government in Russia by a new war in which Mr. Churchill summons the whole of Europe to embroil itself, and the swirl of which would inevitably suck in Asia, Africa and America. Russia is still the acid test. Equally for all Britishers the acid test is Ireland—the right of Ireland as of Russia to determine its own form of government, for Ireland is also the potential vortex of a world-wide war. How to defeat the junto of imperialistic bounders and irresponsible autocrats who hold office in Great Britain by the destruction of Parliamentary and constitutional government? First, to recognise the fact that constitutional and parliamentary government no longer exists in the British Islands—let alone the British Empire. Second, to recognise the right of Trade Unionism to withhold labour in the defence of justice and the world's peace, so giving check to the arbitrary dictators who are driving Britain, Ireland, Russia, and the world to destruction. Third, to recognise the right of citizenship to withhold taxes for the same reasons, to the same ends of righteousness, brotherhood, and the peace of the world. Fourth, but permeating all the rest, to cultivate a chivalrous and fraternal and international mind which would make the golden rule prevalent in world-politics.—Yours faithfully,

WALTER WALSH.

The following message was sent to all its societies by the **London Federation of Brotherhoods:—**

Dear Brother or Sister,—May I suggest to you the advisability of passing a resolution at your next meeting deprecating any action on the part of the Government in regard to Russia which might lead to another war? The position is serious and as a Brotherhood Movement we should let our voice be heard on the side of peace.

If you pass the resolution it ought to be sent to the Prime Minister, and your local member so as to reach them by the first post on Monday morning.—I am, yours fraternally,

JOHN MCINTOSH, Hon. Sec.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

So that naughty thing, Direct Action, has saved us! It is really rather amusing—after what has been said and written against it—that we have all been compelled to accept its timely help, and that the peace of this country, and the peace of Europe, at a terrible moment of crisis, have been magically secured by its means. I have turned curiously to the pages of the Religious Press this week to see if they are crowded with grateful expressions for the blessings that have come so unexpectedly from Direct Action. But I find a pooh-poohing of the crisis, or a discreet and puzzled silence, or a shaking of wise heads lest our venerable Constitution has been damaged. I suppose it would be too much to ask that these religious papers should frankly and generously acknowledge what has been done for the peace of the world. A great secular journal like the "Nation" can plainly say that "the 'down tools' movement was less of a political than a moral act." And I longed to see some such acknowledgment in the Religious Press. Perhaps it may yet come. I confess it makes me a little proud of the "Crusader" when I remember that it has steadily preached the necessity for, and the need of, just such moral acts of refusal to co-operate with evil policies—even if they be ever so Constitutional.

* * *

There can be no doubt that a new political force has arisen with the arrival, at last, of this, the people's "No." And how small the rulers look! Did a great man ever cut so pitiable a figure as our Prime Minister did when facing that deputation of Trade Unionists? He had been careful to tell them how valuable his time was, and they had politely promised him not to be long. But that thirty minutes was quite enough. At a single stroke it took the government of affairs, national and international, out of his hands (and out of the hands of Mr. Churchill and M. Millerand with their terrible Marshals Foch and Wilson) and placed it in the hands of the working people of Britain.

* * *

I am one of those, and they are many, who believe that the action of Labour during the past three weeks has begun a new era in the history of politics in this country and throughout the world. There is now, on the part of the Press generally, and of many public men, an attempt being made to cover up the facts. But thoughtful men know better. The facts remain and cannot be altered: they will not yet disclose themselves in all their fulness, and it may be that the newly asserted power of the people will be checked for a time. But we can be quite certain that the old diplomacy which has for so many centuries held the people in chains has received its "knock-out blow." Even if the people do not as yet realise this, you may be quite sure that the Governments do. And it is very significant to note that this thing did not come by violence,

but quite otherwise. In fact, it came simply by the refusal to be violent.

* * *

Is the religious world going to be awake to the new situation? Are the churches now going to come in with all their power, and their international organisation, on the side of the peoples who are now suddenly and dramatically challenging the rulers? The rulers have drenched the world in blood and are bent on a continuance of their schemes of ceaseless cruelty, conquest and greed? The working-classes are now beginning to refuse to do the work and the fighting which these schemes demand of them. Are our churches going to say that the workers are wrong and that they must continue to work and to fight because to "strike" is unconstitutional? Surely we are not going to be so absurd. Let us find courage now at length to recognise the essential morality and spirituality of this refusal on the part of the workmen when they declare that they will no longer co-operate in evil courses. Let us join them when they make a stand against their rulers and betrayers. Let us, as Christians, be with them when they utter their great "No" to the profiteers in human blood. Let us recognise in these late events the moving of the Spirit of God on the face of the waters.

* * *

But it is quite clear that the fear of Bolshevism has to be reckoned with in the churches. A friend has kindly called my attention to a letter in the "Times," signed "X," which reads in part as follows: "The Church, by the oncoming rush of Bolshevism, is faced with the greatest menace to its existence which it has ever experienced. To say the least of it, the whole future of Christianity is at stake. . . . Bolshevism is nothing less than the reincarnation of the devil, and it must be fought, if Christian ideals are to be worth anything." The writer of the letter is convinced that if Poland yields, then "the waves of Bolshevism will inundate the globe." He further says that, "For two and a half years Bolshevism has been a canker spot on the face of the earth; now the imminent danger exists of its being no longer localised, and of its erupting and affecting the health of all countries." And then "X" calls upon the Bishops of the "Church militant here on earth" to cause the Bolsheviks to be denounced from every pulpit in the land as "the enemies of Christianity." We may laugh at this hectic nonsense, but we shall be very silly if we do not see that "X" is the representative of many similarly-minded people, men and women holding positions of influence in our modern organised Christianity. Such is the pass to which we have come. It is well to recognise this. There is no need to be unduly discouraged by it, however. The Spirit of God now moves again on the face of the waters!

"The Unknown."

DRAMA DISCUSSES WAR-THEOLOGY.

The gallery has certain advantages over other more highly-priced parts of the theatre. The gallery audience lets you know what it thinks. Elsewhere you may be only dimly aware of your fellow auditors. Among the "gods" such isolation is impossible. You find yourself surrounded by men and women who are thinking and feeling audibly. Their gusts of passion smite you like a rush of hot air. Their contemptuous criticism is like the draught from an open door. Besides, what the gallery thinks and feels matters. It represents the millions. It stands for that section of the community who rule because they work.

War Creates Scepticism.

At the Aldwych Theatre, the other night, I was as much interested in what the gallery thought and said as I was in the play itself. The play in question is called "The Unknown."

The theme is startling. It is nothing less than the effect of war in robbing a man of his faith. Major Wharton has returned home on leave and shocks his highly respectable family and their friend, the vicar, by his refusal to partake, as had been his wont, of the Holy Communion. Explanations, arguments, entreaties follow. The vicar, in particular, waxes eloquent in the defence of his Anglican god. It is highly interesting to hear him repeat all the phrases with which the pulpit and the religious press have familiarised us concerning the purifying effects of war. "Our brave boys," we learn, have not died in vain. The soul of England has been reborn. But Major Wharton is a realist. He breaks through this sentimental make-believe with the declaration that war is a filthy, stinking, damnable thing. That such things should be argues, for him, that there is no such God as Christianity proclaims.

The same effect has been produced by the tragedy of war in the case of Mrs. Littlewood. The loss of her two sons has dried up the springs of faith and affection in her soul. When people talk to her about forgiveness she declares that the one who most needs forgiveness is God Himself.

Pietism versus Realism.

Plainly the intention of the author—Mr. W. Somerset Maugham—is to ridicule and expose the kind of thing which has passed in England as religion. You see, before your eyes, the type of Christianity believed in by patriotic vicars shrivel up in the fierce flames of the battlefield. That this household of well-meaning middle-class people has been living in an unreal world is one of the chief impressions which the play leaves. That the greater part of the sermons preached and articles written during the war by people like the Vicar of Stour does not stand the acid test of experience is another impression. It is a pity that the author, having shown the blasting effect of militarism on conventional faith, is not able

to provide us with any adequate substitute. The doctor who, in the last act, attempts some kind of positive creed gets no further than Mr. H. G. Wells' "Invisible King," with his pathetic attempt to enlist mankind on his side in the struggle with ignorance and selfishness.

As to sin—that is a myth. Men can be no better than they are made. All moral lapses are to be attributed to the imperfection of human nature.

What the Gallery Thought.

And what did the gallery think of it all—that gallery which doubtless, a short while ago, would have applauded these pious unrealities? The gallery, to speak the astounding truth, laughed at the pietism and was mercilessly scornful of the vicar. Its sympathetic indignation rose to fever heat when the hero, in bursts of hot anger, brushed aside the sentimentalism of his complacent relatives. And when he called war damnable it would have clapped and cheered had it not been afraid to interrupt him.

But it must also be admitted that it showed itself perilously receptive of the scepticism with regard to faith and morality with which the play teemed.

Never tell me again that people are not interested in theology! This gallery craned its neck to catch every syllable of the argument between the clergyman and the soldier-sceptic. They might have been following a prize fight. Theology, when it touches live issues, can prove a theme of absorbing interest to a theatre audience.

"The Field is White unto Harvest."

But what a call this play makes to us! Every day of my life I pass thousands of such people as were packed that evening in the Aldwych gallery and as I pass them I find myself constantly asking: "What do all these men and women think of the great problems of life and death? Where has the war left them? The answer to these questions was there that evening in the theatre.

The war has disillusioned them, stripped them bare. Church, clergy, sacraments, ideals, God Himself have been destroyed. They are left with the untrammelled instincts of human nature.

It is useless for conventional religion to try to recover its place. Rev. Norman Poole has suffered irrevocable defeat—he and his little world of retired colonels and parish ladies are nothing now but a laughing stock for those whose minds have been seared by the conflagration of the Great War.

Unless a faith compatible with intellectual honesty, a faith that shows God's real relation to the tragedy which statesmen invoked in 1914 can be given them civilisation is at an end.

"The Unknown" makes clear as daylight the need of proclaiming a conception of Christianity which shall as positively condemn the crimes of militarism as it authenticates and defines the ideals of peace and goodwill.

The Great Struggle Begins.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

"The crisis is over: the Government has climbed down!" Such were the words by which a tensioned public expressed its relief in the early days of last week. We were not surprised at them; they are but a further proof of the dangers of British insularity, of the total failure of the people of this country to realise the trend of events, what the actual state of the world is, and what portends.

The gist of the events of last week is that our rulers attempted to convert a secret and unconfessed war, which they have been carrying on for nearly two years, into an open and full-fledged war, and the workers, suddenly realising what this might mean, roused themselves into thinking; whereupon they expressed their minds in a way which made their rulers think also. Indeed, the real value of the "crisis" is that it has made a large number of people think. It has made the workers think; it has made the capitalists think, and it has made the politicians think. The magnificent campaign of the "Daily Herald," followed up by "lightning" action on the part of Labour leaders, of all sections, and the thousands of public meetings for which these were responsible, has had a tremendous moral effect upon the community, and almost awakened the war-weary, war-spent British public.

That I regard as a great triumph for direct action. It is something to have defeated the Government, but it is infinitely more to have defeated the apathy and indifference that were spreading throughout Britain like a tropical sickness, and to have set people pondering plain facts. Also it was done without the excitement and even the trouble of an election. Re my recent advocacy of direct action, a friend wrote me the other day to ask if I did "not really think that education was the only hope of social salvation." Of course I do; and for that very reason I believe in direct action. Indeed, I know of no better method of stimulating and focussing thought than that of a personal appeal such as one has in an issue where it may be necessary to lay down one's tools. To be called upon to decide the issue of a strike is to be compelled to go to the moral roots of the question which is the cause of the trouble. And that is what has happened during the last few days. I am under no delusion as to what the situation really was, for I had much personal experience of it. The thing that caused working men to think was the possibility of having to return to the trenches. But it did not make them think. It caused them to make inquiries, to attend meetings, to discuss; whence they gathered facts which appealed to their moral sense and caused them to express their willingness to go even further than they had been asked to go. Thus the campaign which started with the object of preventing an open war with Russia, led to a powerful demand for the ending of a secret war with Russia.

As a result of this conflict we are a morally healthier nation, the feeling it everywhere engen-

dered being distinctly moral and pacific. And it is well to discuss and understand what actually took place, for it marks a turning point in the history of this country. The principle that a fortnight ago was regarded as dangerous and unconstitutional has, by a simple declaration of the people's will, been transformed into a practical and constitutional principle. For, seeing Britain has no written Constitution, that is constitutional which her people wills; and last week the British people took a firm hold of affairs, and struck a blow at Parliamentaryism which may prove fatal. In any case the omnipotence of Parliaments and Cabinets in Britain has been destroyed. Quite suddenly the real power in the State has been transferred from a minority of autocrats and plutocrats to the workers. In other words, a constitution revolution has taken place, which is but the prelude to a social revolution.

The simple fact is that the great struggle between Capital and Labour has commenced. The first step was taken by the Right, but it has been met by an even bolder move from the Left. It cannot be expected that the situation will remain as it is. Bluff, threats, lies, and insinuations will be used to induce people to believe that the action of Labour was foolish, and, in any case, unnecessary. And if these methods fail more desperate ones will be tried.

Also we must remember that this new action on the part of British Labour has been a source of great inspiration to the Socialist movement throughout Europe, and in America also. In Central Europe, e.g., where the cause of Socialism is impotent by reason of the power of the Entente, it must have been like the coming of a great hope. By a single stroke, Britain has given to the cause of European Socialism a unity and a strength never before known. For let there be no mistaking the significance of Labour's new determination. Neither logically nor in fact can it mean that British Labour is only concerned about the protection of Socialism abroad. It means that Labour is going to be equally vigilant about the cause of Socialism at home.

In the near future great national and international problems are going to test the new principle established by Labour. If, after the Russian army has taken Warsaw, the Poles set up a Soviet Government there, what will the reactionaries do—and what will British Labour do? Will the latter still hold firm amid the complications that would thereupon arise? And what will Labour do if the miners carry out their threat to strike in order to reduce the price of coal and to secure higher wages? If in both cases Labour stands firm, then it is possible that the first steps in a real world-wide revolution will be taken.

And what is OUR duty in these great changes? Surely to help create the right spirit and to keep the spiritual issues clear—to the minds of the capitalists as well as of the workers.

CHRISTIAN

I.—An Appeal to the Christian Imagination.

Several years ago I was led openly to declare my desire to become "an apostle of material things." An apostle is "one sent," and needless to say my desire was, and still is, to be sent by the Spirit.

More recently, two or three of us came to frame the basis of a possible "Christian Communist Order," part of the declaration of which was as follows:—

"We recognise that all good things in the earth, the corn, the coal, the oil, flowers and fruits, forests and precious stones, iron and springs of water, are a gift to all men and women and children, and are thus common possession. A way must therefore be found by which they can be enjoyed by all. As the human family is one and the treasures of Nature are irregularly distributed throughout the earth, we believe that the true dawn of Christian Communism can only come through an international movement."

Such, then, is the genesis of my present concern, and under the pressure and bewilderment of the present time, the conviction increases, both in clearness and in power, that the time has come for the Christian imagination to bear upon its shoulders the whole weight of the raw materials of the world. It must come to see them as they lie in the very fabric of creation—as they pass through the great looms of industry and art—and, finally, in what should be their wonderful service of all mankind. What we shall need then is light from heaven, great clearness of atmosphere in mind, and a realisation of the concrete facts of nature. Such undoubtedly was the threefold experience of the author of the Book of Job when he wrote that marvellous passage:—

"Surely there is a mine for the silver and a place for gold which they refine. Iron is taken out of the earth, and brass is molten out of the stone. Man setteth an end to darkness and searcheth out to the farthest bound. As for the earth out of it cometh bread and underneath it is turned up as it were fire. The stones of it are the place of sapphires and it hath dust of gold. He putteth forth his hand upon the flinty rock, he overturneth the mountains by the roots and his eye seeth every precious thing."

If the Christian imagination had been refreshed in its labours by a similar sense of the magnitude and wonder of the Creation, should we not have seen in the story of the bringing of gold and myrrh to the Infant Son of Man a parable filled with prophecy of the day when to every child should be yielded its right share in the true wealth of the world? But instead, whilst installing ourselves more or less deeply in material prosperity, we have preferred to despise, disregard, or to relegate to a secondary inferior place the consideration of material things. For the satisfaction of the few to the distress of multitudes we have allowed the evolution and establishment of a system of false merchandise "of gold and silver and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and of brass and iron, and marble; and cinnamon and ointments, and odours, and wine and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts and sheep and

horses and chariots, and slaves and souls of men." By this very attitude we have shown ourselves strangers to the widest sacramental vision of life and have obscured the truth, with which the universe is radiant, that God is the divine materialist.

Yet a great joy is awaiting all those who are willing afresh to enter into the mystery of "the Word made flesh," and who are able to realise in however small a measure the truth of the immanence of God in the material universe. Then and then only will our hearts be enlightened sufficiently to sing with St. Francis "the Canticle of Created Things":—

"Praised be my Lord for our sister water, who is very serviceable unto us, and precious and humble and clean."

"Praised be my Lord for our brother fire, through whom Thou givest us light in the darkness; and he is bright and pleasant, and very mighty and strong."

"Praised be my Lord for our mother the earth, she which doth sustain us and keep us, and bringeth forth divers fruits, and flowers of many colours and grass."

II.—"Bread, Sapphires and Dust of Gold."

"As for the earth, out of it cometh bread,"—I have in remembrance a wide stubble field in Berkshire, covered with corn marigolds and open to the sky, with here and there a band of four or five furrows of newly-turned earth. Along one of these seams of brown in the dull gold, a man was ploughing. He had a splendid refinement in his face, and the soil was so light his share parted it without effort and without sound. And yet I have seen the bread he was thus preparing to bring out of the earth sought for in the dustbins of our streets.

The sight of scavenging, like that of ploughing, numbers amongst my early recollections. As a student of art, in the days when I delighted my mind in the works of such masters as Francois Millet, William Blake, and Michael Angelo (who "in the flinty rock" on the mountain side heard "the voice of beauty crying to be released"), I used constantly to pass a bent old Irish woman with sky-blue eyes, pathetically unconscious of the indignity of her pursuit. More recently I have seen a little old man and a little old woman at the same task, each at a separate dustbin. At one moment the woman chanced upon the clear-cut crown of a cottage loaf, and with an appearance of almost awe went to the other to show her find. Being too deeply engrossed, however, he hardly observed it as she thrust it mutely before him, and without comment she returned to her own bin.

On another occasion, visiting at a house in a court leading from a mean and narrow street, the abject character of the scene was singularly impressive. On a heap of rubbish by the curb a small black cat lay dead, upon which I tried to look with compassion, but the sense of sordidness was hard to dispel. Deliverance came, however, in the appearance of a large open barrow of shining Jewish bread, a clean and wholesome heap of loaves, translatable by imagination into the "Bread of Heaven." But the

IMUNISM.

realisation followed swiftly that to many it was just a bare necessity they could ill-afford to buy.

Yet in the same cities in which such sights are to be found, sapphires and precious stones are to be seen in almost vulgar display on velvet throats in jewellers' windows behind iron bars. It has seemed to me that these bars, wherever we encounter them, should be an occasion of inward grief to us all, since they signify the spirit of theft that is in the world and the spirit that tempts to theft, which is worse. And in so far as we are all one with all human life (in a mystical unity of which Jesus Christ was wonderfully aware), are not those bars set up against us?

Again, as I paced to and fro one day on a pavement, awaiting a friend, I saw on the other side of the road two rough lads swinging along with a nervous energy which seems peculiar to overgrown and underfed boys. As they went, one of them coughed and spat out, and seemed already in consumption. Their old, dilapidated boots, however, were covered with dust of gold. This appeared to me a sort of Hans Anderson sight, but glancing up I saw tattooed upon the brown window screens of some offices "Gold Lace Manufacturers" and in explanation the trumperies of Lord Mayors' shows and the sumptuousness of Courts came swiftly to my mind. Of a truth they were not "gold dusty with tumbling amid the stars." And the question arises—What have we done—what have we done with "the chief things of the ancient mountains and the precious things of the everlasting hills," and, above all, what have we done with human lives?

III.—The Way to Peace.

The most urgent task that is pressing upon us at the moment is the discovery of a way to peace. I am convinced that this can never be found so long as we continue theoretically to despise, disregard, or relegate to a secondary and inferior place the consideration of material things.

"Modern war," writes a leading thinker of the day, "rests on industry, and its evolution has all but abolished the 'non-combatant,' emptied the idea of 'innocent' trade of meaning, and made even of neutrality a barely tenable status."

And this is so. Modern war is not a cancer destroying the health of any part or parts of the body; it is a fever which circulates (whether men are actually fighting or not) in the very blood of our civilisation. But we shall need to distinguish between a fever caused by a poison germ from some local quagmire, and one resulting from false mental activities. It is to the latter that war is analagous, as St. James saw with great penetration in his time also.

"What causes wars and contentions among you?" he asks. "Is it not the cravings which are ever at war within you for various pleasures? You covet things, yet cannot get them; you have passionate

desires, and yet cannot gain your end; you begin to fight and make war." If we substitute the word "calculating" for "passionate" we could hardly find a more exact exposition.

If, then, in the desire to accumulate more and more of these things—and to this end the determination to control the hands and feet that mine and scatter seed, and weave and build—lies the chief source of strife, may it not be in the DISPOSITION TO SHARE THE GIFTS OF CREATION lies the great divinely appointed alternative?

"Raw materials, including the staple foods, have become the pivot of world politics," continues the writer quoted above. "If Horace could rewrite his ode he would speak not of auri sacri fames, but of the hunger for iron ore. Either we shall distribute the cotton, the metals, the rubber, the wool, the oil, and the grain, to each according to his need, or we must face a generation of turmoil and intrigue and war to determine their allocation. There is a 'right to work' for nations as for individuals, and the new mercantilism which would monopolise the raw materials of industry for one power or one group of powers would make a cause for future war."

Yes, there is a "right to work" for all and also for all peoples "a right to rest," which are but two parts of the universal "divine right to live." May it not be that "raw materials, including the staple foods," must become not alone the pivot of world politics, but also the pivot of world religion? Or, to put it another way, may it not be that politics must increasingly become the manifestation side of the spirit of pure love in human affairs? Is there not required of us a wide advocacy for an effective international administration in the light of the Christian Communist ideal?

But we shall need to qualify to take our part in this advocacy, the greatest mark of qualification being perhaps that we should show forth increasingly in our personal relations that disposition to share which we believe is to play so large a part in the salvation of the world.

R.W.H.

Rev. W. L. Robertson, M.A., general secretary of the Presbyterian Church of England, in reply to a query from the "Crusader" as to what action, if any, that body had taken in the present crisis, wrote as follows:—
Rev. Stanley B. James.

Dear Sir,—If you will be kind enough to name the person, or persons, whom you apparently know to be engaged in "the attempt to embroil the country in war with Russia," I may be able to answer your question.

If, however, you wish to know whether the Presbyterian Church of England has, as a Church, intervened in the present very difficult international situation, the answer is: No.—Yours faithfully,

W. LEWIS ROBERTSON.

RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

The Bible, its Nature and Inspiration.—By Edward Grubb, M.A. The Swarthmore Press, Ltd. Paper edition 2/6 net; cloth 5/-.
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Mobilise for Peace!

GREAT GATHERING AT CENTRAL HALL APPROVES DIRECT ACTION.

In the course of my lifetime I do not remember ever to have attended a more momentous gathering than the special Labour Conference at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Friday last. Consider the occasion!

An International Event.

Trade Unions have been told frequently that the fate of the Russian Revolution was none of their business. They were warned not to interfere in international politics, but to concentrate on the conditions of industry in this country. It almost seemed as though they had listened to this advice. But the unscrupulous behaviour of the Government, its flouting of the conscience of the community, have at last proved too much for the most patient, and Labour has registered a pledge to use every means in its power to see that Russia is allowed freedom to develop in her own way.

It is a great issue, and it leaves far behind the questions of wages and hours with which the movement hitherto has been mainly occupied. To-day we are moving in a bigger world with wider horizons.

Again and again it has been asserted that the future of the revolutionary movement lay with the British workers. That has been said in Russia. It is said in Germany. Well, we have accepted our international responsibility. Friday's meeting at the Central Hall was an International event and will be recognised as such throughout the world.

As One Man.

The unity prevailing in the ranks of Labour is sufficiently evidenced by the unanimous votes on these resolutions, but its full significance is not seen until there is taken into account the varied sections who are represented in this revolutionary act. That Smillie and Bob Williams and others of the Left Wing should approve of such a policy, might be expected. But on Friday morning the most fiery speeches, the most revolutionary statements came from men like J. H. Thomas and J. R. Clynes. "We have to thank our comrade, Winston Churchill, for uniting the British workers," said Smillie, "we have often tried to do it but have failed. He has succeeded."

Nothing was more striking than the self-effacement which enabled men who had differed and do differ on important points to sink their differences in the great movement now initiated. Organised Labour speaks to-day as one man.

Direct Action.

This unity has been achieved by the rapid manner in which the more moderate leaders have come into line with the advocates of Direct Action. The change was openly confessed by J. H. Thomas. And when Williams affirmed that he would rather be statesmanlike in the conduct of an unconstitutional

policy than "go to hell according to the British constitution," it was evident that he had the whole audience with him. Thomas' assertion that "a desperate and dangerous situation calls for desperate and dangerous remedies," probably expresses the feeling of the meeting. The insufficiency of Parliamentary methods for dealing with a situation such as the present was the assumption underlying every speech.

It must be realised that the conference was not theorising. What gave it such tremendous importance was the fact that it was setting up a Council of Action with power, at a moment's notice, to call out the whole body of workers of the country. As was broadly hinted, it might prove that they were even then setting up the provisional government which in days not far off would be called upon to sit in permanent session and direct the course of the revolution.

Labour's Responsibility.

If anyone imagines that the delegates acted hastily and without realising the responsibility they had assumed, let him rest assured that, to one at least who was present, next to the joyful sense of victory, the dominant note was one of solemnity. This was no Albert Hall demonstration, nor was it an assembly of people gathered to hear their favourite speakers. The thousand odd delegates who passed those resolutions knew what they involved, and when they passed them they meant business.

The silence which followed the carrying of the second resolution was like a prayer of Consecration to the Cause to which those present have pledged themselves.

I believe that in that solemn moment the British Revolution was born.

The White-Hot War.

Peace? When have we prayed for peace?
Over us burns a star
Bright, beautiful, red for strife!
Yours are only the drum and fife
And the golden braid and the surface of life.
Ours is the white-hot war.

Peace? When have we prayed for peace?
Ours are the weapons of men.
Time changes the face of the world,
Your swords are rust! Your flags are furled
And ours are the unseen legions hurled
Up to the heights again.

Peace? When have we prayed for peace?
Is there no wrong to right?
Wrong crying to God on high
Here where the weak and the helpless die,
And the homeless hordes of the city go by,
The ranks are rallied to-night.

Peace? When have we prayed for peace?
Are ye so dazed with words?
Earth, heaven shall pass away
Ere for your passionless peace we pray;
Are ye deaf to the trumpets that call us to-day,
Blind to the blazing swords?

ALFRED NOYES.

Peace Efforts.

We are happy to report the efforts made during last week by various organisations to witness against the crime of war.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation came out with a letter to the Press as follows:—

A CHRISTIAN INTERNATIONAL.

Sir,—Amid the many loud protests that come from the world of Labour against the chance of war's renewed horror we listen to catch the voice of the Church of Christ.

For the sake of the women who are not yet widows, for the sake of the boys who have not yet seen the red horror, for the sake of our civilisation that totters even now on the brink of the chasm, shall not Christ speak through His Church the word that restrains and saves?

Eight thousand of us, members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, call to our fellow-Christians of all the Churches to make their voice heard, their influence felt, in this critical hour for reconciliation and peace.

Last month seventeen nations met in Holland in a Christian International, pledged nevermore to take up arms against their brethren or make preparation for war. For true service of humanity, for deeds of reconciliation, their countries shall summon them not in vain, but no design of ruler, no passion of peoples can break their Christian unity.

In the name of the Fellowship of Reconciliation,
OLIVER DRYER (Gen. Secretary).

The National Peace Council urged some thirty organisations to take action on the lines of the following protest:—

The National Peace Council, representing a large number of pacifist organisations in this country, protests with all its power against entering into any new war.

It calls upon the Government to refuse, without delay, to be a party to military action against Russia, and demands the immediate and complete conclusion of peace with the Russian Soviet Government.

The Peace Society has issued an appeal to the Churches urging them to utilise every opportunity of co-operating with the forces that are opposed to a war with Russia.

The Church Socialist League has sent the following appeal:—

Kindly permit me to urge all Church Socialists to write their M.P.'s., Churchill and the Prime Minister at once to the effect that the spilling of British blood or treasure in support of the Polish Imperialists or French rentiers will not be tolerated.

I would also urge all League branches to do all in their power to ensure the success of the campaign to thwart the efforts of our Government of bloody-minded militarists and profiteers to commence a new European war to make the world safe for capitalism.

The Resist-the-War Committee issued an appeal in the form of a manifesto and pledge against taking part in a war against Russia—they have printed 100,000 copies, and have pledge cards for individuals and local groups—and they are sending pledge forms to all Trade Union Branches in the country. Address: G. G. Hunter, 5, Yorks Buildings, W.C.2.

National Council of Evangelical Free Churches issued the following cautious appeal ("Daily News," 14/8/20):—

Sir,—At this eventful crisis, when decisions are being formulated and steps taken that will affect the history of this country and of the world for all after time, it is imperative that the Church should help to create an atmosphere in which these momentous issues shall be discussed temperately and with goodwill.

It is not within her province to invade the arena of politics, but hers is the paramount duty of lifting the consideration of these fateful problems to the high levels of spiritual discernment and temper.

The interval of Sunday affords a unique opportunity for this purpose, and we venture to suggest, through your courtesy, that either in public prayer or by direct exhortation, all our pulpits, throughout the Free Churches, should urge the people to avoid hasty and intemperate judgment, and use every means in their power to foster a spirit of right judgment and good understanding.

F. B. MEYER, President.

J. SCOTT LIDGETT, Hon. Secretary.

THOS. NIGHTINGALE, General Secretary.
National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches.

The Catholic Crusade solemnly welcomes Mr. Lansbury's recent pronouncement on the official Church, and says boldly:—

The Catholic Crusade says it welcomes Mr. Lansbury's recent article, and feels the justice of his criticism of the official Church in its attitude to the people's Republic in Russia, but there are some at any rate, among the priests who have publicly raised their voices against the anti-Christian attitude of our imperialist rulers.

We would like it to be known that the Crusade feels it to be the duty of all Christians to follow our Lord's example and support and strengthen any rising of the people against a system that enslaves them. We see in Russia and in Ireland an attempt, conscious or unconscious, to apply Christian principles to politics and economics; we see in the rulers of Britain, France, and America a cynical disregard of justice and freedom and a betrayal of the people; we see a deliberate campaign of lying to blind the workers as to the real issues at stake.

PRACTICE. NOT PRECEPT.

It is not the profession of Christianity but its practice that matters. Our ruling classes are rich and prosperous through the blood and sweat of the workers, and they maintain the official churches. The workers, oppressed by wage-slavery and the growing burden of taxation, are rising against the rulers, and are shaking themselves free from a religion that says and does not.

We believe that God is on the side of the Russian Revolution though it, in words, denies the God of the churches; and we believe that God is against the official churches which in their deeds deny God as He showed Himself in the person of Jesus, Who, "stirred up the people" to demand freedom and justice for themselves and for their fellows. We see that a struggle to fill the hungry and to send the rich empty away is of God, for the Mother of God exulted in it, and the Son of God died for it. We believe that should we help in fighting Soviet Russia we should be betraying the people's cause which the Red armies are fighting to maintain, and we expect that if the leaders of Soviet Russia could know our Lord as He really is, and not the Jesus of the churches whom they know and despise, they would accept Him as their Leader, and from Him would get an incentive and power to build, on the ruins of Capitalism, the International of God.

Which International?

The growth of the international spirit is as certain as the form which it shall take is uncertain. The term international is likely to become as "blessed" as the word Mesopotamia. Even the League of Nations is a recognition of the fact that the day of insular self-sufficiency is past. Capital itself is international, as the revelations of Mr. Street in "Foreign Affairs," referred to in our last issue, amply testify.

The Second and Third International.

Socialists have been in keen controversy as to the rival claims of Moscow and Geneva, or, rather, of Moscow and some unnamed body. For the Second International has few defenders, and those who withhold their allegiance from the organisation meeting in the Russian capital, pin their hopes on some fourth attempt to bring the Socialists of all nations into line.

It is not the intention of this article to discuss the merits of these competitors. Their existence is sufficient evidence of the desire of Socialists of all parties to forget the racial feuds that have been the plague of mankind. The failure on the part of so many Socialists to withstand the war fever must not be taken too seriously. This was but the effect of the régime they are destined to overthrow.

On the other hand, the bitterness of the controversy between the two bodies is an indication that internationalism itself may become a cause of division and strife.

The Christian International.

We have referred on several occasions in these pages to the meetings held in Bilthoven, Holland, in connection with the movement toward a Christian International. The striking message recently issued by those connected with this movement has been published in the "Crusader," and indicates the fine spirit of idealism animating those responsible for its publication. That they were drawn from seventeen different countries is a good augury for the power of Christian fellowship in the future to create a brotherhood as wide as humanity itself.

The Oldest International.

But it must not be forgotten that there already exists, and has existed for nineteen centuries, a body professing to be a Christian International. The Christian Church, from its inception, claimed universality. Jesus declared that men should "come from the East and the West and the North and the South and sit down in the Kingdom of God."

It was for this internationalism that He suffered. "The gravamen of Christ's charge was, that what was intended to be a house of prayer for ALL NATIONS had been turned into a den of robbers." It was a vision of the international character of the Kingdom of God seen by Peter which, from the start, gave the Christian movement its all-comprehensive character.

The Church has never foregone its claim to be international, and, though for long years it has lacked the moral power to give effect to that claim, it still stands for the ultimate union, within its fold, of all the races of men.

Roman Catholics, those who call themselves Anglo-Catholics, and Nonconformists are loud in their assertions that the authority of the Church, as a divinely created Society intended to include all men, is superior to that of any State.

Fictitious Ignorance.

We cannot ignore this fact and pretend that the ground for a Christian International is unoccupied. To draw up schemes for societies uniting all men on a religious and moral basis, while making no mention of this historic attempt, is to display what has been called a fictitious ignorance. We must face the fact and deal with it. Either the Christian Church has completely sinned away its heritage and is no longer to be regarded seriously, or we must refuse to join any other body which pretends to be the Christian International. Either we must build, de novo, as though the Church did not exist, or we must build on its foundations.

Now that creates a problem difficult of solution, and yet a solution is not impossible. Rev. Leslie Walker, S.J., M.A., in his recent book on "The Problem of Reunion," speaking from the Roman Catholic point of view and upholding the claim of his Church to be the true foundation, is, nevertheless, of the opinion that all movements among other Churches towards unity between themselves are in the right direction, inasmuch as they make it possible that there will arise a united Protestant Church with which Rome can negotiate. With the many sects now in existence it is, he says, impossible for her to treat. This gives new force to a plea on behalf of all movements towards reunion, and shows the place occupied by such bodies as that which met at Bilthoven.

THE CAPITALISTS' INTERNATIONAL.

According to the New York "Nation" (April 3, 1920), a Norwegian ship, carrying nickel from France to Hamburg, for Krupps, was stopped in September, 1914, by a French warship, and taken back to Brest. It was subsequently released by order of the French Government, and allowed to carry its cargo to Germany. Herr Bernstein, a week before the Kapp rising, told the German Socialist Congress that Dr. Muelhon had declared that a quarter of a million tons of steel was exported from Krupps to England during 1915!

CORRESPONDENCE.

Dear Friends,—For a friend, a lad whose moral nature may be deeply impaired by present conditions, I am in need of a little bed, with, if possible, some bedding in the way of a sheet or so and a blanket or two. I fear that the Kingdom of Heaven in this lad's heart is already being overshadowed by experience such as a child ought never even to touch in imagination. Kindly reply to a "Would-be Disciple," c/o "Crusader" Office, 23 Bride Lane, E.C.4.

The Reunion of Christendom.

THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE'S APPEAL.

For five weeks the bishops of the Anglican Communion throughout the world have been meeting in the sixth of what are known as Lambeth Conferences.

Among the many matters on which they have deliberated none is of greater interest or importance than that of Re-union. Concerning this there has been issued by the Conference, in advance of the full report, "An Appeal to all Christian People." It is almost sure to attract wide attention, for it is a pronouncement of the utmost importance. Following upon the opening paragraph the bishops say:—

We acknowledge all those who believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and have been baptized into the name of the Holy Trinity, as sharing with us membership in the universal Church of Christ which is His Body. We believe that the Holy Spirit has called us in a very solemn and special manner to associate ourselves in penitence and prayer with all those who deplore the division of Christian people, and are inspired by the vision and hope of a visible unity of the whole Church.

I. We believe that God wills fellowship. By God's own act this fellowship was made in and through Jesus Christ, and its life is in His Spirit. We believe that it is God's purpose to manifest this fellowship, so far as this world is concerned, in an outward, visible and united society, holding one faith, having its own recognised officers, using God-given means of grace, and inspiring all its members to the world-wide service of the Kingdom of God. This is what we mean by the Catholic Church.

II. This united fellowship is not visible in the world to-day. On the one hand there are other ancient episcopal communions in East and West, to whom ours is bound by many ties of common faith and tradition. On the other hand there are the great non-episcopal communions, standing for rich elements of truth, liberty and life which might otherwise have been obscured or neglected. With them we are closely linked by many affinities, racial, historical and spiritual. We cherish the earnest hope that all these communions, and our own, may be led by the Spirit into the unity of the Faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God. But in act we are all organised in different groups, each one keeping to itself gifts that rightly belong to the whole fellowship, and tending to live its own life apart from the rest.

III. The causes of division lie deep in the past and are by no means simple or wholly blame-worthy. Yet none can doubt that self-will, ambition, and lack of charity among Christians have been principal factors in the mingled process, and that these, together with blindness to the sin of disunion, are still mainly responsible for the breaches of Christendom. We acknowledge this condition of broken fellowship to be contrary to God's will, and we desire frankly to confess our share in the guilt of thus crippling the Body of Christ and hindering the activity of His Spirit.

IV. The times call us to a new outlook and new measures. The Faith cannot be adequately apprehended and the battle of the Kingdom cannot be worthily fought while the body is divided, and is thus unable to grow up into the fullness of the life of Christ. The time has come, we believe, for all the separated groups of Christians to agree in forgetting the things which are behind and reaching out towards the goal of a reunited Catholic Church. The removal of the barriers which have arisen between them will only be brought about by a new comradeship of those whose faces are definitely set this way.

The vision which rises before us is that of a Church, genuinely Catholic, loyal to all Truth, and gathering into its fellowship all "who profess and call themselves Christians" within whose visible unity all the treasures of faith and order, bequeathed as a heritage by the past to the present, shall be possessed in common, and made serviceable to the whole Body of Christ. Within this unity Christian communions now separated from one another would retain

much that has long been distinctive in their methods of worship and service. It is through a rich diversity of life and devotion that the unity of the whole fellowship will be fulfilled.

V. This means an adventure of goodwill and still more of faith, for nothing less is required than a new discovery of the creative resources of God. To this adventure we are convinced that God is now calling all the members of His Church.

The basis of union proposed is set forth in the sixth paragraph:—

VI. We believe that the visible unity of the Church will be found to involve the wholehearted acceptance of:—

The Holy Scriptures, as the record of God's revelation of Himself to man, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith, and the Creed commonly called Nicene, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith, and either it or the Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal confession of belief:

The divinely instituted sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion, as expressing for all the corporate life of the whole fellowship in and with Christ:

A ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body.

The paragraph which perhaps will arouse the greatest amount of discussion is that in which it is suggested that Anglican clergy should submit to reordination:—

We believe that for all, the truly equitable approach to union is by the way of mutual deference to one another's consciences. To this end, we who send forth this appeal would say that, if the authorities of other communions should so desire, we are persuaded that, terms of union having been otherwise satisfactorily adjusted, bishops and clergy of our communion would willingly accept from these authorities a form of commission or recognition which would commend our ministry to their congregations, as having its place in the one family life.

Closely linked with this is the further suggestion to Nonconformist ministers "who have not received it, to accept a commission through episcopal ordination as obtaining for them a ministry, throughout the whole fellowship."

Whether on the lines here proposed or not, it is certain that the day is not far distant when a great fusion of Christian forces will take place. There has been already a large amount of discussion. Perhaps the next step is the appointment of a Council of Action!

MINISTRY OF WOMEN.

Many people will remember the controversy which agitated the newspapers some time ago: Should women speak in Church? The Bishops have answered that question, and in the affirmative. Laywomen may speak and pray in Church, and ordained women, that is to say, deaconesses, may read the Sunday services and preach the sermon, with the consent of the Bishop. In these days when the clergy are wholly insufficient to man the Church's posts in all parts of the world, and when many women are keen and capable, many will rejoice that they should have this new liberty to use for the glory of God and the service of the Church the gifts which they possess. Such are the conclusions which the Bishops at Lambeth have reached. It remains with the Church Assemblies in the different parts of the Anglican Communion to act.—The Bishop of Peterborough, Secretary of the Lambeth Conference, in the "Observer."

If only Someone had Told Me!

I had occasion to go out very early this morning; it was the sort of morning that people in the country call a mushroom morning—misty and moist. Passing a series of box-hedged front gardens, I noticed a number of beautifully spun cobwebs. I saw quite fifty. Each web was smothered with dew and caught the rays of the morning sun which was trying to break through the mist. It was an unexpected and beautiful sight to behold. I had an irresistible desire to touch one—to hold it. I endeavoured to do so, but as I grasped it, it was no more.

There is one phrase which I am learning to distrust, one kind of person who belongs to the cobweb class. How often one hears, AFTER an occasion for some piece of work has passed, "If only someone had told me I would have helped," or "If only I had known before I could quite easily have done just what was wanted." One notes a remark of this kind for future use, but when one attempts to grasp it one is often forced to realise that it is not to be taken seriously.

One instance I have in mind is the question of National Kitchens. Some of us talked and wrote and urged people to support them. And then when a resolution deciding to close them had been passed, when it was quite impossible to alter that decision, the inevitable cobwebby person came along and said: "If only someone had told me I could have persuaded heaps of people to purchase food there regularly. Can't we march to the Town Hall and protest?"

Why do people wait to be told or to be asked? We want people who are prepared to take responsibility and to use initiative. We want, for instance, thousands of people who would be willing to sell "Crusaders" at special meetings in their locality. It isn't fair to leave it to Secretaries always. They invariably have 101 things to attend to. We want a "Crusader" Agent in every town and village. Can you help, either by selling yourself, or by getting someone else to do so. If by any chance the Editor stated next week—which, by the way, he will not do—that as Crusaders were not keen enough to sufficiently increase the circulation of the "Crusader," publication would cease, what would happen? I am pretty certain that dozens of people would say: "If only I had known," or "if only someone had told me, I could have made the paper known to several of my friends." There never was a time when the "Crusader" Message was needed more. If you feel this, can you help to pass it on?

We acknowledge with thanks 10s. donation from a friend at Greenock, and a contribution from a novelist friend—Mrs. Violet Tweedale, of Turriff, N.B.

THE PLOUGHMAN.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

AUSTRIAN CHILDREN'S GARDEN PARTY.—We are arranging a garden party for the seventy children who have been brought to London from Vienna under the Children's Hospitality Scheme, as we are most anxious that our members should have an opportunity of meeting the children and their hostesses, and that the children themselves should have a reunion. We have very kindly been lent the garden of Westfield College, West Hampstead, for Saturday, Sept. 4th, from 3 to 6.30 p.m. We are inviting all the children and their hostesses as our guests and, as this will involve rather heavy expenses, we would appeal for promises of help in the refreshments and for gifts of money. It will greatly assist the work of organisation if all who can aid us in either direction will write immediately. There will be a short address by Beatrice Hoystead on conditions in Vienna, while a children's entertainment is also being arranged. Tickets for adults 2s., for children under 14 1s. 6d. All communications on this subject should be addressed to Miss E. Quarmby at this office.

OPEN-AIR MISSION.—We are glad to be able to report that some very successful meetings have been held during the week, "The Crusader" sales being particularly satisfactory. In September we are expecting to hold a series of missions for a whole week in different parts of London, as a result of which we hope to bring people into closer touch with our work during the winter. The following meetings are arranged:—**FRIDAY, 20th:**—At 6.30, Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon, Muriel Lester; at 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. **SUNDAY, 22nd:**—At noon, Leytonstone, The Green Man: C. Paul Gliddon; at 3.30, Hampstead Heath, Jack Straw's Castle: Dorothea Strevens, Basil Tritton; at 8.15, Tottenham, outside the Friends' Meeting House: Alfred Cordell. **MONDAY, 23rd:**—At 8, Leytonstone, The Green Man: H. W. Green, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. **TUESDAY, 24th:**—At 6.30, Marble Arch: Dorothea Strevens, Basil Tritton; at 8 p.m., Forest Gate, G.E.R. Station: H. W. Hancock, Winifred Wood; at 8, Clapton, corner of Kenninghall Rd. and Upper Clapton Rd.: Rev. R. W. Sorensen. **WEDNESDAY, 25th:**—At 8, Catford, near the Town Hall: Horace Fuller, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. **THURSDAY, 26th:**—At 6.30, Marble Arch: Rev. R. W. Sorensen, Basil Tritton; at 8 p.m., Kentish Town, corner of Leighton Rd. and Kentish Town Rd.: J. B. Lief, Rev. Lewis MacLachlan, Dorothea Strevens. **FRIDAY, 27th:**—At 6.30, Marble Arch: Alfred Cordell, H. W. Green, H. W. Hancock; at 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Rev. R. W. Sorensen.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

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Christian Commonwealth Fellowship.



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscriptions for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, pendants, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Postage 2d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

Our Fellowship Responsibilities.

For many among our members Fellowship has become the open sesame to the "Magic Land" which lies all about us and within us. They have discovered "Divinity in common things, angelhood in common people, heaven on earth"—the whole world aflame with God. "The sparkling hedgerows and the clamorous towns have become miraculous"; and in the light of the new joy and splendour with which Fellowship has filled their own lives, they have caught wonderful glimpses of the revolution the Fellowship spirit could work in the world-life if only it were brought into the social, industrial, national, and international relationships of that life, as Fellows are bringing it into individual lives. Holidays especially, for some among us, are times of such discoveries and re-discoveries. This is what 2851 (Glasgow), who has been spending hers with one of her links, a Bradford Fellow, writes:—"We had never met before, but we gave each other many joys. But I think the greatest joy was just the ideal comradeship all the time." Then, in sending her subscription, she adds:—"Five years ago when I first joined I did not know the happiness that awaited me. And I think we have to learn that happiness, like love, is elusive—we cannot grasp it to ourselves, or the vision fades. We must create it and give it to others, just as we must radiate love on others. Morris says 'Fellowship is Heaven,' and, indeed, it is." Yes, and to live the life of this heaven here and now, putting its spirit into ALL the relationships of our own lives, is to help build it into the social structure of the world. The wonderful things Fellowship brings us, which can so transform our own lives, are the "bricks" of which the world-wide City of Friends is built. Another of our members, 2775 (Barry), realising this, says, when expressing her gratitude to the C.C.F. for the links it has given her:—"The kind hearts and loving thoughts of the Fellows are wonderful. It is no small thing to have the real loving sympathy of one whom we cannot see, and it is so beautiful to find a heart that understands. These surely are the things that help to build the City Beautiful which the world so sorely needs at present."

Heart-understanding.

Fellows, should not letters such as these, together with our own experiences of Fellowship, give us furiously to think? "A HEART THAT UNDERSTANDS." Surely here we have the very foundation of that Kingdom of Heaven of which we dream;

for is it not largely due to the lack of real heart-understanding of the lives and feelings and needs of others in different spheres of life to our own, that there continue around us to-day the countless forms of man's inhumanity to his fellows, both human and sub-human? And it is only through Fellowship—which means "Friendship and Identification"—with these other brethren of ours, "the living of their lives as intensely as our own," that we can come to that loving heart-understanding of what their lives are, and can feel in their cry all that underlies it. Listen to these words of Sir Oliver Lodge, and try and BE for the time those whose cry he voices:—

"The bitter cry of the victims of competition, of the outcasts of civilisation, and of the children who are born to sin and wretchedness, when they are not born to death—the cry of multitudes with hardly any chance of decent happiness, and no outlook upon the beauty of this world—this cry must be ringing in the ears of God. The spirit of greed is abroad, its net has gathered human beings together in heaps, has removed them from the fields and hedgerows, and has forced them into crowded dens."

The Call of Joy.

Our very joy in our own Fellowship brings with it a tremendous responsibility for the continuance of the state of things so vividly described. As our badge reminds us, our lives are linked with all humanity, and, therefore, we cannot escape responsibility for the life of humanity, cannot adopt the "laissez-faire" policy as our own. And "there is a big fight ahead for those who do not believe in the doctrine of laissez-faire," as an overseas reader, 2395 (Concord), writes:—"We need to push on the Fellowship, for it has a tremendous part to play in the remodelling of the world." Fellows, let our own joy in the blessings of Fellowship be as a fire in our veins, urging us on to ever more strenuous efforts of work and prayer for the building of the new world. "One loving spirit sets another on fire."

Introductions.

5423 (Walthamstow), a postal employé interested in Spiritualism, Socialism, Dickens and Tolstoi, wishes to correspond with members of kindred interests. He can read and write French.

5425 (Chelsea), on the "Friends' War Victims Relief" staff, once a member of the Progressive League, now wishes to become one of us in Fellowship; she is interested in Mysticism, Higher Thought, the Simple Life, Home Industry and all social questions.

Fellowship Wanted.

4553 (Kingsthorpe), living a very sad and lonely life with two aged relatives, would welcome Fellowship with other members.

1467 (Forest Hill) wishes to get into touch with some ladies of humanitarian interests who would share a home with her; she is over 60, fond of music and longing to join with others in propaganda work.

Will 2876 (Highgate) link with 3257 (Mill Hill), who is anxious to get into touch with a Fellowship Circle?

5083 (Willington) is an invalid who would welcome neighbour Fellowship; will 829 and 1623 (Newcastle) try to see her?

A CALL TO CHRISTIANS.

It is clear that to-day the peoples of all nations are struggling to free themselves from the yoke of war and from all those national and commercial ambitions which cause war, and that the present crisis is the direct outcome of centuries of false ideal and value. If yet another war is declared, it will but sow more dragons' teeth as a menace to future generations.

A very solemn responsibility is, therefore, laid upon all of us who profess and call ourselves Christians to make every effort to break this evil entail, for we are convinced that the processes of war and blockade are a denial of our Christianity and a complete barrier to the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth.

War without the active support of Christians in every land would be impossible. That is a fact we are bound to recognise.

We, therefore, urge all who read this appeal to join us in doing everything possible to create public

opinion against the declaration of war and against supporting any war, even if declared, in any way whatsoever.

(Signed):

Anna Barlow (the Hon. Lady); C. J. Cadoux, D.Lit.; John Clifford, D.D.; Claude Coltman, M.A. (Rev.); Constance Coltman, B.D. (Rev.); F. Coop, Lulielina Crosfield; Henry T. Gillett, M.D.; C. H. Grinling, Katharine Bruce Glasier; Henry Harris; John Morgan Jones (Rev.); Stanley B. James (Rev.); Emily Kinnaird (the Hon.); F. W. Pethick Lawrence; W. E. Orchard, D.D.; Helen Peile; Frances Peile; Marian E. Parmoor (the Lady); Mary E. Phillips; Edith Picton-Turbervill, O.B.E.; Maurice Rowntree; Ada Salter; Alfred Salter (Dr.); Louise B. Swann; E. Claude Taylor (Dr.); Reginald Sorensen (Rev.); Alexander C. Wilson; Theodora Wilson Wilson.

SIDELIGHTS.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation and Ireland.

An earnest appeal is being made by the F.O.R. for reconciliation in Ireland. This is primarily directed to those persons who are in especially responsible places—e.g., the heads of the Churches and members of the Government. Meetings on the Irish question are being arranged by the Fellowship, but a wider appeal is now being made to those outside its membership, to enable the campaign to go forward. Any offers of help will be gladly accepted at 17 Red Lion Square. Speakers, meetings and funds are all urgently and immediately needed.

Conscripting Horses.

Little attention seems to have been given to the fact that, according to the following extract from the "Daily News" of August 7, by the Census of Horses Order the registration of farmers' horses for military purposes is still required:

Maurice Knaggs, a fruit grower, put in a novel defence when charged at Ross, Herefordshire, yesterday with failing to furnish the Board of Trade with a return specifying the number of horses belonging to him in accordance with the Census of Horses Order, 1920.

The defendant stated that he was a member of the Society of Friends, and unable to supply the details asked for on the return because he held religious views which did not allow him to take part in war or in any preparation for it.

"As ambulance and Red Cross workers," he added, "we are only too willing to lend our two farm horses and one farm mare to be used in civil extremity or for ambulance purposes."

The Clerk to the Court explained that the defendant had written giving particulars of three horses, but not on the specified form.

The Chairman (to defendant): You refuse to put the particulars on these forms?

Defendant: I do. It would be contrary to the services of reconciliation to which we have dedicated our lives.

The Chairman: As you distinctly refuse to put the information on the specified form you will be fined £1. The particulars in your letter will be sent to the Board of Trade.

The War and the Revolution.

Writing in a recent number of "La Voix de l'Humanité," M. Augustin Hamon, professor in social science at the Free College, Paris, says, in support of his contention that the war has rendered a world revolution inevitable, "Such a result was seen very early by the sociologists, and indeed by everybody who had sufficient calm to observe, compare, reason and deduce. In July, 1915, I declared it to my audience in King's College, London. I wrote it in 1916. At that time it was plain to see that the world approached a general revolution. That is why socialists and communists, etc., everywhere, wished to carry the struggle to the end, first to break the might of the Central Powers, and to let that be the sign of the fall of capitalism throughout the world. When the reactionaries and conservatives observed this they hastened with all speed to end the war and make peace. . . . Naturally the capitalist world is too solidly built to be pulled down so rapidly. . . . but it knows without doubt that all resistance is vain. . . ."

Chinese Labour Again.

The New Zealand House of Representatives, by 33 votes to 11, have endorsed the Government's policy in regard to Chinese indentured labour being used on the Samoan plantations. Five hundred Chinese are now en route for Samoa. Labour members in the House strongly opposed the importation of Chinese workers, but were unable to prevent the Government from carrying their proposal.

Christian—Anarchism, the non-political and spiritual basis of Social Reconstruction. Five booklets by Tolstoy and others. Post free 1s. 6d. from The Free Age Press, Tuckton House, Bournemouth.

C. PAUL GLIDDON will conduct the service at Burghley Hall, High Road, Leytonstone, on Sunday, August 22nd, at 6.30 p.m. Subject of address: "The Sword of Jesus."

The Crusader

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Twopence.



The Outlook.

THE promise of withdrawal from Egypt looks hopeful. But it must not be taken as a sign of grace on the part of the Government. The fact is that the military resources of the Empire are being taxed to the utmost by the mad policy of imperialistic ambition to which we seem committed. If Egypt is evacuated it can only be in order that troops stationed there may be utilised elsewhere.

WE are prepared to withdraw this assertion if the policy of evacuation is followed up in places where the need is just as great. Mesopotamia is seething with rebellion, and in spite of the fact that we have, according to the War Office, over 65,000 troops there, this is evidently not enough to prevent our whole position in that part of the world being jeopardised. It is evident that the point has been reached at which further military enterprises would necessitate conscription, and conscription, in the present temper of the workers, is not to be thought of.

SAYS the Labour News Service:—The Prime Minister stated in the House of Commons in reply to a question last Monday that "the policy of the Government in regard to Poland and

Russia would appear to differ in no way from that enunciated at the Labour Conference." If the Prime Minister really means that he and his Government are in complete accord with Labour on the Russian question, why is it that the negotiations which they opened with Krassin, and to continue which Kamenef and Krassin are now in London, are not being carried forward? It is well known that these negotiations are in a state of suspense, and that the Russian delegates are at the best just marking time until the Government show a disposition to get on with the business. Is it merely a case of the Government entertaining a pious hope that at some future date, vague and unspecified, peaceful relations with Russia may be established? If the aspiration is sincere, they seem to be in no hurry to bring it to fruition.

THE Trade Union and Labour fight against war has found ready response in other countries. France, Belgium, Italy, together with Germany, Austria, and several other countries, have demonstrated the solidarity of Labour by uniting their voices with that of our own movement against war with Russia. The attempt to prevent Messrs. Adamson and Gosling conferring with the French workers had the happy result of uniting two sections of the French movement which up to then had acted separately. A clear understanding was arrived at between them and the English leaders, and collaboration promised.

JUST as in Britain all sections from the great trade unions to the new Communist Party rallied behind the Council of Action, so in Germany the Majority Socialists, Independents, and Communists joined for the first time in a common demonstration for neutrality, and the German workers have been actively doing their part in stopping munitions being sent through to Poland. Belgian and German workers have been at one in this task; and the Belgian trade unions have been so resolute in refusing to handle loads of munitions for shipment to Poland that the Belgian Government has found it wisest to forbid altogether the passing through of munitions. The French Confederation of Labour has issued an order against any work on war supplies or the handling of war material. The Italian Confederation of Labour has wired to the British Council of Action pledging its solidarity,



The Inner Circle.

It is the custom, I am told, of certain happy lovers—God bless them!—to spend their evenings travelling on the Inner Circle of the London Metropolitan Railway.

For a few pence they are thus assured of an evening together in comfort. Resisting all temptations to alight they pass and repass, in a daze of bliss, the various points of their subterranean paradise. It may be objected that the scenery is monotonous, but is it not possible that, while the body goes round in a circle, the mind may go round in a spiral, revisiting each point in the circumference on a higher plane than before? The lights of Charing Cross, under those circumstances, would grow brighter and the hoardings at the Mansion House more screamingly funny at each visit. The last round would be, probably, a dizzying experience, leading the lovers to imagine, not that they are going round London, but (what is, as a matter of fact much nearer the truth), that London is going round them.

Obviously only lovers could do that sort of thing. Other people would be bored to death. To travel incessantly without wanting to go anywhere in particular is, to the modern mind, incomprehensible. It is a violation of our most sacred faith that the object of life is to "Git thar"—whether "thar" be Westminster or Mark Lane. The passenger to Charing Cross, frantic with anxiety to reach the theatre where he hopes to see some love-drama played, eyes with amazed contempt the couple in the corner indifferent to passing stations. But the lovers are wiser than he, for they have their love-drama already. The idea of travelling through life in order to get somewhere is utterly false. The journey's the thing. If you have got into the vortex of love you have reached your destination. There is then nothing more to do than to continue going round it with increasing velocity and with deepening appreciation of the recurring and familiar scenes along your circular route.

I venture to suggest that love can even travel round the circle of Faith without any need or desire to break off at a tangent.

The most concise statement of the Christian Faith is that He Who came from God returned to God. In the procession of the God-Man from Heaven to Earth and Earth to Heaven you have the supreme example of this rhythmic movement. In that circular journey, ever repeated, the chief points of

which are Incarnation, Crucifixion, Resurrection and Ascension, you have the life of God Himself.

The great creeds of Christendom are complete. They argue in a circle. The premisses depend on the conclusion. The whole constitutes a system interlocked and finished—an order to which you may add nothing, from which you may subtract nothing. Because they argue in a circle they are endless in the joy they afford. The creeds say all I want said and what they say is so wonderful that I want nothing more than that they shall say it over and over again. It gets more wonderful each time. Like children, Love wants the story repeated and is offended if any change be made in the recital.

As we develop spiritually the speed with which we encircle the truth increases so that we are able to take in the complete system in one glance. It is no longer in parts, but presents the spectacle of an unchanging circle of inter-related truth. The illusion of time has vanished; eternity has commenced.

"I saw Eternity the other night
Like a great Ring of pure and endless light."

Why should we think of this circular travelling as monotonous? We talk of the common round although the repetition of familiar things was necessarily wearisome. The domestic circle should be no more monotonous to lovers than the Inner Circle, nor is it. When we wanted excitement in our childhood we clamoured for the roundabouts. We liked them because they made us giddy. We never got giddy going along the sober highway. When we want to give a name to the most exciting kind of social and political crisis we call it a revolution. That, too, makes us giddy. If you imagine I am playing with words, just think for a moment of the people who spell progress with a big P, "as though it were a new god," and contrast them with those to whom has been given the intoxicating joy of travelling in the Inner Circle of Truth, and see which of them appears the more light-hearted and care-free.

There is some mystic significance in going round and round. It is not for nothing that dervishes spin themselves like tops. They do it, probably, for the same reason that God spins the world like a top. Rhythm—the recurrence of the same note at stated periods—is the secret of poetic intoxication. Rhythm is the very soul of beauty. Serious astronomy commenced with the discovery that the Earth was not a flat surface but a globular body circulating through space. Modern physiology begins with Harvey's announcement of the circulation of the blood. Our understanding of life is in proportion to our participation in the rhythm of life.

Microscopic science gives us the dance of the molecules. The circulation of Love on the Inner Circle is one of the forms of celebrating the rhythm of life.

THE TRAMP.

British Labour and Sovietism.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

most interesting article by Mr. Robert Dell in week's "Nation," in which he gives his impressions of the great Labour conference at the Central, suggests that in forming the Council of Action setting up similar Councils all over the country. British Labour Party has quite definitely broken Parliamentaryism and has set up what is equivalent to the Russian Soviet system in this country. About going into the question of Parliamentaryism vs. Sovietism, I think it is quite safe to assert in spite of the events of the past few weeks, British Labour is by no means as "fed up" with Parliamentary methods as Mr. Dell would have us believe.

Readers of the "Crusader" will be familiar enough with my own attitude towards our system of so-called "democratic" Government, and I hope nothing I am about to write will be construed into an apology for or advocacy of Parliamentaryism in its present form. All I am anxious to do is to point out that whatever resemblance there may be between the Council of Action and the Soviet, the overwhelming majority of the rank and file who have elected these Councils have not at the moment the slightest desire to relegate to the Council of Action anything like the power enjoyed by the Russian Soviets. This may be a good or a bad thing, according to one's views on Sovietism; but I believe it to be a perfectly true statement of the position.

I happen to be one of the persons elected to serve the Birmingham "Soviet," and I know that the Birmingham Labour and Trade Union movement is representative of the movement as a whole. The thing at which the local Council of Action was elected was the largest, most representative, and most impressive meeting ever held in the history of the movement. More than 100,000 members of the Unions, Labour Parties, Socialist and Communist parties, and Co-operative Societies were represented (these, with their families, comprise over 50 per cent. of the population of Birmingham), and in every respect it was a replica of the London conference—the same earnestness and the same grim determination to have no more war, whatever the consequences may be for the "unconstitutional" movement taken to prevent it. At that meeting there were two or three speakers who talked about the "Soviet," but they were practically ignored; and there would have been nothing like the unanimous approval given for the principal resolution if it had contained the suggestion of the formation of a permanent Soviet instead of a temporary Council called together to perform a certain definite piece of work. The proof of this came when an amendment was proposed with the object of moulding the constitution of the Council of Action on more definitely Soviet lines; the amendment was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

I cannot imagine the British Labour movement being weaned from Parliamentaryism by the Council

of Action. It is unthinkable that Labour leaders of the type of Messrs. Henderson, Clynes, Thomas, Adamson, and their followers all over the country, who are at present leading the Council of Action movement, will keep such an organisation in existence a day longer than the present Russian-Polish crisis warrants. I can imagine, however, that when in the opinion of these leaders the time has come to disband the Councils of Action, there will be a very stiff fight put up by the Communist and left-wing elements inside the local Councils in an endeavour to retain the organisation for purposes other than that for which it sprang into being. It is too early to say what the result of that struggle will be, but in the event of the Council of Action becoming a permanent institution in this country, it would only be by a complete change in the personnel of the movement.

Terrible as may appear the prospect to most of us of the Left, I believe that the British Labour movement will have to go through many stages of development before it will agree to any alternative to the present Parliamentary system—and one of those stages will certainly be a period of Labour Government by men of the Henderson-Clynes-Thomas type. Local Labour parties from Land's End to John O'Groats are concentrating all their energies on securing the return of Labour men and women to the next Parliament with the object of "capturing the Parliamentary machine." And until this method has been given a trial and proved ineffective, those trembling folk who cannot sleep at night for fear of being murdered in their beds by members of the local "Soviet," may calm themselves and wait patiently for the return of the first Labour Government, secure in the assurance that, provided they keep their Churchills in hand, there is not likely to be any very drastic change in the British "Constitution" in the meantime.

But all this in no way affects the fact that on the one great question of world peace International Labour has entered on a new era. It has given a clear warning to the warmongers that if the choice is to be between world war and world revolution, then the workers will—as a well-known man in the Labour movement remarked last week—"break every Constitution in the world if by so doing it can ensure the peace of the world." And every attempt made to divide International Labour, or to hamper it on this issue, inevitably has the reverse effect. The absurd action of the French Government, for instance, in expelling Messrs. Adamson and Gosling from France had the immediate effect of uniting the two sections of the French Trade Union and Socialist movement which have been disunited since the disastrous railway strike.

Mr. (now Sir) A. Bodkin's prophecy has been fulfilled. War has become impossible because "all men believe that war is wrong"!

The Crusader

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Whose Fault?

In the book, reviewed in this issue, on "The Bolshevik Theory," we are again told that the decay of Parliamentary Government is due largely to the fact that Capitalism owns and controls the Press, and so is in a position to mould public opinion. Quite apart from the rival claims of Parliamentarism and Sovietism, is there any reason why Capitalism should have it all its own way in the matter of periodicals? If those who can see through the lies of the hireling Press were determined, they could have a Press of their own. Whose fault is it that Northcliffe and Co. have the monopoly of public prints?

The Only Christian Socialist Weekly.

The "Crusader" is the only weekly paper standing for Christian Socialism. It is the only weekly organ in the field which links up religion and revolution. If all those who believe in the things which it says were to make a serious effort to increase its circulation, we should be able to do something adequate in the work of influencing public opinion. What is the use of complaining that Capitalism runs the Press if we don't do what is possible to run it ourselves?

A Lost Opportunity.

During the recent crisis we printed extra copies, and some of our readers gave valuable help in assisting us to dispose of them. But there were large areas of the country (including London) where great gatherings were being held from which no specially large demand for "Crusaders" came.

It was a lost opportunity.

In order that such a thing may not occur again, we suggest that you enrol your name as agent for your district, and on the occasion of any special meeting send to us for extra copies.

We want a Council of Action in every large centre that on the occasion of a sudden crisis we may know, at an hour's notice, with whom to communicate.

Thou shalt have all things common with thy neighbour and not call them thy private property, for if ye hold the imperishable things in common, how much more the perishable?—THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS.

It is absurd for people to say that they do no harm when they claim God's common gift of food as their private property. . . . Really, when we administer necessities to the poor, we give them their own; we do not bestow our goods upon them.
—GREGORY THE GREAT.

MANSLAUGHTER.

The wives looked on sadly and wondered if men-folk would ever be civilised enough not to desire to fight out any small difference. Was that the men had both had just a glass too much? Or had they both become so accustomed to kill in a wholesale way that they regarded a hand-to-hand fight as mere child's play?

The small crowd cheered and encouraged with the passion and energy of the two thick-set men expended itself. They called a halt. The two looked sheepish for a bit and finally rallied and shook hands and prepared to forget the incident. The wives resigned themselves and tried not to feel that their men so persistently disregarded their feelings.

That incident, however, destroyed the happiness of two families. During the evening one of the men became seriously ill as a result of the fight and during the night he died.

The next day his opponent was arrested on charge of manslaughter.

They fought. They shook hands. One died, one was arrested.

Our rulers fight and blockade, and when the people is roused, join in screaming at the feet of forcing "an open door."

THE PLOUGHMAN

THE THREE CROSSES.

When the dark Cross, like a fierce and mighty lord
Opens its arms, and woos thee for its own;
When the first sharpness of its kiss is over,
Look up, look up, thou dost not hang alone.
Never a single cross yet crowned a Calvary,
But crosses three.

For the great world hangs bleeding at thy side,
With outstretched, empty, pierced, beseeching
hands;
And lifting high a Whiteness Crucified,
The great, veiled, awful, lovely Third Cross
stands.
For Calv'ry's crown must ever jewelled be
With crosses three.

See thro' the veil the crimson wound prints gleam
Read thro' the veil, with sorrow-sharpened eyes
Man's sum of grief writ red upon His Brow,
And tread with Him pain's mystic paradise.
And evermore thy heart shall branded be
With crosses three

—DORIS CANHAM

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

Labour's Council of Action is under the X-rays of the papers. The various writers have now had time for second thoughts, but I do not find their second thoughts are essentially different from their first thoughts. There is still an inclination to pooh-pooh the crisis, or to maintain a discreet and guarded silence, or to shake the head in nervous apprehension at what is called unconstitutional action on the part of a mere section of the community, and a party-political section at that. I search in vain for any hearty and generous appreciation of the really moral and idealist quality of Labour's brave stand against the threatened war. The "Methodist Times" comes near to such an appreciation. It says in its Editorial Notes:—"In view of this unique demonstration relating to imitable opposition to war, we endorse it heartily and emphatically. We do not regret in principle the dramatic and deliberate declaration of the workers' insistence on Peace." However, in the next paragraph the writer is not satisfied that the circumstances demanded "such an unqualified and unequivocal support of the policy of Direct Action," and he concludes with these words:—"The appearance indicates that Labour has exploited the unanimous desire of the country in the interests of Direct Action—a policy which we believe the good sense of the British people will not tolerate. There is an astute one, but it savours of party methods which we hoped the professedly high ideals of Labour would have repudiated."

The "Challenge" writes editorially:—"We do not doubt that for the purpose of PREVENTING WAR, Direct Action is a defensible measure, though it must not go further than prevention. It is, indeed, the logical conclusion of the right of conscientious objection. . . . Moreover, while we strongly hold that we have not yet arrived at the time when we are at any and every price is a practicable doctrine, we believe that the issues of peace and war undoubtedly transcend methods of constitutional procedure."

But the "Challenge" is not content to leave the Council of Action without severe criticism. It holds that the Council was formed when there was very little, if any, serious danger. It points out that Direct Action, or even the threat of it, is a very serious thing; it argues that "sane and secure government has gone if it is going to be possible for any group in the community, however important, to intervene and suspend the accepted method of democratic expression when ANY measure or action is contemplated of which it disapproves, or even which it sincerely believes to be wrong." It concludes: "We hope the Labour Party will cease to rely on the Direct Action weapon."

The "Church Times" says:—"By far the most interesting political development of the last few years has been the first appearance of the self-styled Council of Action." Members of this body, in their

interview with the Prime Minister respecting the Government's attitude towards Poland, hinted that they regarded their Council as the 'provisional government' of the nation. Certainly they have been encouraged to think of themselves more highly than they ought to think. Quite openly they are challenging the authority of Parliament, and it can only be taken as an indication of the parlous state into which we are come that this self-constituted body of men and women is bargained with by the head of the Government."

Then the paragraph proceeds to lecture Mr. George as follows:—"By his own cynical disregard of Parliament, Mr. Lloyd George has done more than anyone to bring about the present discredit of the House of Commons. It has suited statesmen to use the House of Commons as a recording-machine duly registering the *faits accomplis* with which it is from time to time presented. Foreign policy in particular is almost entirely removed from the domain of Parliament. The Supreme Council makes decisions, Parliament accords a helpless acquiescence. The moment is thus opportune for such a testing of power as our first Soviet has begun." (Italics mine in this last case).

The lesson is then rubbed in a bit: "The attempt of the manual workers to control the administration in the interests of themselves and their class will only be rebutted by the restoration of Parliament to its rightful character. Another manoeuvred general election, any further display of electioneering hypocrisy, and the dignity and authority of our Parliamentary institutions will have received a blow from which they will not recover."

Let us gather together the various points made in the foregoing extracts to see what they amount to. They seem to me to come to something like this:—In showing itself to be the opponent of war, there can be no doubt that Labour has done a good thing, but there was no need to do it, for there was going to be no war. And, besides, this good action of Labour, when rightly understood, is no more than a treacherous, cunning, party-political trick to exploit cleverly the unanimous desire of the country for peace. It is sometimes (only sometimes) right to prevent war; but if the Government by any means manages to start war, then it is wrong for those who will have to do the main part of the paying, the dying, and the killing, to unite to stop the horrible thing by simply refusing to carry it on. The ideas of war and peace certainly transcend questions of Constitutional procedure; but those who have proceeded unconstitutionally in the question of war and peace must be severely criticised, and they had better beware if they dare to try it on again. Conscientious objection is quite valid; but if any body of persons act in accordance with their consciences it will be all up with sane and secure government. The Prime Minister is guilty of utterly queering Parliament; but he is not to be withstood OUTSIDE Parliament.

A Labour Liturgy.

The Labour Conference which gave authority to the Council of Action was unique in more senses than one. I was struck especially by the spontaneous singing of the "Red Flag" and the "International," and still more by the impressive silence which followed the passing of the main resolution. That last episode came as near an act of prayer as anything I have witnessed at a Labour meeting.

It struck me then, and has occurred to me with greater force since, that it might be possible at a time like the present to introduce into Labour and Socialist gatherings, as a regular feature, the elements that contributed so powerfully to the impressiveness of the assembly at the Central Hall. Our meetings, as a rule, are sadly deficient in those characteristics which give to the humblest religious service an air of solemnity and a touch of beauty. We depend for inspiration almost wholly on oratory which is an individualistic performance. We need something in which the whole body of those present can take part.

The matter is a difficult one owing to the diversity of views represented in our meetings. But no assembly could be more diversified than the Conference referred to. Where it has led the way we shall, I think, be wise to follow. It should not be impossible to contrive forms that would hurt the susceptibilities of none present.

The serious nature of the times in which we are living afford a fitting opportunity and, indeed, constitute a demand for the introduction of some such form as is appended below. We are on the eve of events that will try the spiritual and moral fibre of all. It is well that we should meet this crisis in a manner befitting the occasion. The suggestions I make are not to be regarded as requiring rigid and mechanical adoption, but are rather to be considered as hints towards something not yet clearly defined.

The Note of Reverence.

The Leader of the Meeting, having secured silence, shall announce some such Labour hymn as Ebenezer Elliott's "When wilt Thou save the people?"

Following this, a brief reading, of an inspirational character, might be given by some member able to render it effectively. The works of Edward Carpenter, Tolstoy, and others whose names will occur, afford ample material. Portions of the Bible would sometimes be found suitable.

These introductory items will supply the necessary note of reverence.

A Confession of Faith.

After the reading the audience might be asked to stand while the Leader led in a confession of faith expressing the ideals and convictions of the Labour movement, such, for instance, as:—

"We stand here united in the solemn belief that the Earth and its fruits, the means by which man

labours for the creation of wealth, and all its ministers to the development of human nature should be vested in the community. We declare that there is laid upon each the obligation of rendering service according to his abilities, and that upon the Community as a whole rests the responsibility for the care of each individual within. We proclaim that the unity of the workers of the world overrides in importance all national claims. We believe that the Present System is doomed and that mankind may, if it will, see replaced by one in which the spirit of fellowship shall find expression in the ordering of our social, economic, and industrial life."

There should follow a brief silence.

Remember the Pioneers!

The Leader might then call for an act of remembrance of all those who have laboured and suffered in the Cause of the People but who passed away without seeing the fulfilment of their hopes. "In gratitude," he might conclude, "we recall the sacrifices, remembering that we are entered into the heritage of their labours and reap the fruits of the toil."

Again, a brief period of silence should be observed.

An Act of Dedication.

Finally, the whole company, still standing, might be asked to unite in an act of dedication:—

"Conscious of the perils besetting the movement in which we are enlisted, and foreseeing that only as we are loyal and united in its service can it triumph, we desire to rid ourselves of all self-seeking, jealousy, and divisiveness, and to dedicate ourselves and our powers to the Cause of the People and the Revolution by which they shall at last enter into their heritage."

After further silence the gifts of those present to the Cause might be taken. Then might come the Leader's introductory remarks, the speaker's address, and an opportunity for questions and discussion on the part of the audience.

The meeting would then close with the singing of another hymn.

Christian—Anarchism, the non-political and spiritual basis of Social Reconstruction. Five booklets by Tolstoy and others. Post free 1s. 6d. from the Free Age Press, Tuckton House, Bournemouth.

Mrs. Winifred Wood will conduct the service at Burghley Hall, High Road, Leytonstone, on **SUNDAY, 29th**, at 6.30 p.m. and will give an address.

TWEEDS.—Any length cut. Suitings, Costumes, Overcoatings. Patterns sent on application.—**R. A. Anderson**, 21 St. Andrew Street, Galashiels.

C.O. GARDENER, would be pleased to do garden work for any North London readers by hour or day.—**A.S.H.**, "Crusader," 23 Bride Lane, E.C.4.

The Romance of Communism.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

The romance of money is in being without it. A life is so prosaic as that of the rich man; imagination and effort are stifled at every turn. There is no romance, for instance, in desiring to go to America and forthwith digging one's hand in one's pocket for £50 with which to pay the fare. The romance comes in wanting to go to America and having no money to go with.

I used to believe that only rich people travelled. Later I discovered that some of the world's greatest travellers were poor men. Missionaries are nearly always poor, and explorers usually get their expeditions financed for them. I am inclined to think that the common people of Europe travelled more in the Middle Ages than they have ever done since. When the Church provided a common table and refused a meal to none who asked, it was possible for any man who desired to see the world, to gather knowledge and convey it. When, later, commercial principles converted the poor man's leisure into crime, and politicians brought the Church under the control of the State, the romance of Church communism, i.e., of the common table, was abolished. And, seeing man's life on this earth is intimately bound up with the earth, there is little scope for romance when material considerations are put out.

To find out what Communism really is, one must not read such documents as the Manifesto of the Third International. Such statements deal solely with the means of establishing the conditions in which Communism can flourish. But I was interested to observe that at a recent Communist conference held at Stockholm, the question of Communism itself was discussed. To the charge that Communism was only possible in Russia because the people were simple and uneducated, it was replied that the Western nations had become so artificial, so "spoiled," that they would have much to unlearn before they would be fit for the natural life of a Communist society.

The point is worthy of consideration. In the month of May I met a medical doctor in Munich who confessed to having become a changed man through certain experiences he had had as a prisoner of war in Siberia. He was by birth an Estonian and a nobleman, and had lost all his property as a result of a Socialist revolution. But he was perfectly at ease about it, especially after what he had witnessed in Siberia. "We simply do not know what life is here, in the commercial West," he said, "and I have learnt more of the art and romance of life from simple folk in Siberia than I have done from twenty years' study of Western literature." It appears he had come across a people who had practised Communism for generations. They did not know what it was to possess land, and when they were told that in the West men bought and held up the land, they immediately asked if they bought

and held up the air, too. That men should possess land surpassed their comprehension. My friend had been so impressed that he had decided to give up all in order to experience the romance of life under Communism. Indeed, as a result of his preaching, he has gathered together a number of German students to go out to Siberia to found a Communist Colony on the lines of those in existence there.

On a very hot day in the spring of the present year I knocked at the door of a farmhouse in the South of Germany. I had been seeking that house for hours; it was the headquarters of a Communist Settlement. The man who opened the door I knew; I had met him in Berlin during the Kapp Putsch. There were eight or nine persons in the Settlement. Three or four of them were squatted on a huge board at the end of the room I entered, amongst a jumble of rags. I laughed at them, and they explained that they were mending and making garments for four or five of their number who intended setting out next day on a five or six weeks' journey. "Where are they going?" I asked. "Oh, we don't quite know, but probably to Switzerland, Italy, and then through Austria and Saxony to Berlin." It was very interesting. They showed me their travelling outfits. Afterwards they took me over their land, showed me their animals and explained their crops. I visited their storehouse and saw the remains of last year's crop of apples, potatoes and grain, etc. They had no private property, and, strangest of all, they had practically no money. "No money? Then what about this expedition?" "Oh, we go without money. We may have a few marks for an emergency, but usually we don't require it." "But how do you live?" "We just gather herbs and cook them, or we beg turnips or potatoes—the farmers always give us some. Besides, we are handy people and are not above lifting our hands to a job." "But you will want money for your passports?" "Passports? We don't use passports; we are internationalists." "But what do you do with the gendarmes at the frontiers?" "We never meet any on our routes." "Then how about taxes?" "And why should we pay taxes? We mend our own roads, live peaceably with our neighbours, and have no private property. Happily, in Germany, farmers are rated and taxed according to their profits, and as we have neither profits, money, nor banking accounts, they cannot tax us. We are a problem to the Authorities, and the police are always looking us up; but we treat them well, and they really like coming. One or two of them seriously talk of joining us." "Then you do engage in propaganda?" "Yes, always, and especially on our expeditions. Besides, whenever some of us go away, friends come down from other Settlements for a change, and from such cities as Berlin, to see if they like being free; and they usually do." Then my mind flew off at a tangent—
—if all the world turned Communist . . . ?

The Peasants' Revolt of 1381—

ITS MESSAGE FOR TO-DAY.

Some men when they feel tired and in need of fellowship and stimulus find their way to church; more gravitate to the public-house; others find what they want in Book-shops. Some day we hope the influence of the Church and the Book-shops will supplant or, at least, counteract the worst features of the present public-house and help to make it what it was originally intended to be—a place of simple, innocent recreation.

In Glasgow we are not blessed with a superfluity of good book-shops. But workers are fortunate in The Reformers' Book-stall, 224 Buchanan Street. It is a shop which no person of progressive views can afford to neglect. On counter and tables every type of advanced literature is displayed—including "The Crusader"—and the shelves are burdened with the choicest selection of books on every subject that has a social bearing, all accessible for examination by purchasers.

Rummaging there the other day, I came across a charming booklet issued recently by The Bloomsbury Press, London. Bound in stout cream-paper cover, it bears on its breast, in plain but impressive black lettering, the title "Wat Tyler"—a play in three acts by Halcott Glover (price 2/6 net).^{*} Print, paper and general "get-up" are all that the most æsthetic book-lover could desire. Artistic printing is coming into its own again in the hands of the Pelican and Bloomsbury Presses.

The book deserves the attention of all Crusaders. It is an ancient story with a modern meaning. It transports us at once to the England of Chaucer and Langland, and unfolds for our delectation and edification an incident in the age-long drama of man's struggle for freedom. It is a story of the Peasants' Revolt in 1381, inspired chiefly by John Ball, "the mad priest of Kent," who for twenty years found audience for his sermons among the oppressed agricultural labourers. In his preaching, writes John Richard Green, "England first listened to a declaration of natural equity and the rights of man."

"Good people," cried the preacher, "Things will never go well in England so long as goods be not in common, and so long as there be villeins and gentlemen. By what right are they whom we call lords greater folk than we? On what grounds have they deserved it? Why do they hold us in serfage? If we all come of the same father and mother, of Adam and Eve, how can they say or prove that they are better than we, if it be not that they make us gain for them by our toil what they spend in their pride? . . . They have leisure and fine houses; we have pain and labour, the rain and the wind in the fields, and yet it is of us and of our toil that these men hold their state." "It was the tyranny of property," comments Green discerningly, "that then as ever roused the defiance of socialism. A spirit fatal to the whole system of the Middle Ages breathed in the popular rhyme which condensed the levelling doctrine of John Ball: 'When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?'"

^{*}Reviewed in "The Crusader," June 11th.

To defray the heavy expenses of continental wars a poll-tax was imposed by Parliament in 1380 on every person in the realm, with the result that it goaded into action precisely the class which was already seething with discontent, and its exaction set England ablaze from sea to sea. But, as Gibbons remarks: "The poll-tax itself was not the real cause of the revolt. The rising had long been foreseen and arrangements had duly been made among the peasants' unions by the poor priests, their agents and messengers, who formed the connecting links between all the Labour organisations of the land." But the poll-tax was the occasion of the revolt under Wat Tyler.

Mr. Glover, in the play, gives a sympathetic picture of the times and of the men who led the revolt. Wat Tyler, Jack Shaw, John Ball, are all depicted with imaginative insight. The question of violence as a means of redress is discussed incidentally. And perhaps the most moving passage in the play is Ball's soliloquy on London Bridge, the night after the capture of the city, expressing his penitence and sorrow for the excesses which had resulted; and, later, his rebuke to Tyler: "I command you to put down your arms and take your people out of this city." Men create circumstances, but are not able always to control them as they would. And violence, the play shows, is a dangerous thing to trifle with. There is another way to which, as Crusaders, we are pledged—the only way that has never been fully tested.

There is no doubt that Ball was a true Christian, A REVOLUTIONARY CHRISTIAN, as was William Langland, the author of "Piers Plowman," whose message Ball expounded, exhorting men to be patient, reasonable, kindly; calling them to defend Conscience who is closely besieged by the Seven Deadly Sins; and praying them to walk in the steps of Do-well, Do-better, and Do-best, the types of holiness, uprightness, and well-doing.

As Crusaders it gives us new heart to look back across the centuries to those brave preachers of old, who found their warrant for Justice in the conception of God, and their inspiration for love to men in their love for Jesus Christ. I am indebted to the author of "Wat Tyler" for sending me back to a significant epoch in English history. As I read I was amazed at the lessons it holds for us to-day, and surprised to find Labour's recent intervention against War closely paralleled in 1395, when the Lollards presented a petition to Parliament demanding, among other things, that War might be declared unChristian, and that trades such as that of the armourer might be banished from the realm. The next step for Labour in every country is to refuse to manufacture munitions for their own destruction at the bidding of Capitalism.

G.Q.

The Plumb Plan.

English and Americans and a few from other countries were able to compare notes as to conditions regarding Labour, Education and Economics in their respective countries at Oxford last week.

Some of us who had heard vaguely of the "Plumb Plan" were glad to listen to Albert Linton's lecture on how the "plan" arose and at what stage it had arrived, though the lecturer went at such a tremendous pace that a mere Englishwoman found it difficult to keep up with the gallop.

The Expansion of Trade in America during the latter half of the 19th century and the consequent railway development from about 1890 inaugurated a system of private profit and speculation, versus the public service, which was realised to be increasingly dangerous.

The public alarm voiced itself in a demand for more public control, and large powers were given to a body entitled "The Interstate Commerce Commission," to regulate rates, railroads and dividends.

As the railway companies developed they required more capital to provide the necessary income. They might get it by the issue of bonds upon which interest would have to be paid, or by the simple expedient of raising the rates. This latter plan appealed most, and public hostility was aroused. When the war broke out the companies could not stand the strain of the mobilisation, and in 1917 the Government took control under a Central Bureau.

The result of the consolidation was an increase in the traffic of about 40 per cent., owing to the enormous saving in duplication and the waste of "lost motion; for rolling stock, instead of being privately owned by companies and returned 'empty,' found itself at home wherever it was."

The control was, in the opinion of the lecturer, a great success, even though shortly afterwards, owing to the rise in prices and wages, the rates had to be raised.

In the Spring of 1919 it became clear that owing to the increase of prices the industry could not be conducted satisfactorily without some sort of re-arrangement, and organised Labour was asked to produce a programme. In three days the Railway Unions presented the "Plumb Plan," named after Mr. Plumb who fathered it. Immediately an outburst against the Russianising of railways broke out.

The Plumb Plan. (a) That the Government should take over the title to the railways by compensation according to a valuation on a fair basis, giving Government bonds in exchange.

The valuation is a difficult proposition, as money value has altered so enormously. For instance, an

engine bought before the war could to-day only be purchased at a greatly increased price. Which price is to rule? Naturally there exists a difference of millions of dollars between the Railway Unions' ideas as to the value of the railways and that of the companies. It is to be noted, however, that the Railway Unions desire COMPENSATION TO BE PAID FOR "EVERY HONEST DOLLAR" IN THE CONCERN.

(b) **Control.** It is suggested that the control should be threefold: One-third in the hands of the "classified" employees, i.e., managers, experts, higher officials; one-third in the hands of the "unclassified" employees, i.e., the working railwaymen; and one-third in the hands of the American Government.

In effect the Plumb Plan is an effort to "enter into partnership with the community." A strong suggestion is being advanced that there may be a danger of the "classified" and "unclassified" groups going to overthrow the "community" or Government section, and that, therefore, the proportionate control should be one-fourth, one-fourth, and half respectively.

The idea of a "community of conference" as between the "served" and the "servants" is part of the essential foundation of the "plan."

Capital is not represented. It is considered that capital is a "passive servant and not a dominating factor in control."

Fears. In America the fear of a bureaucracy prevails, together with a fear of "State Socialism," which always leaps to the mind when any reorganising plan is attempted.

Devolution is vital, and the suggestion is that all surplus should be divided between the trade and the community.

The lecturer frankly admitted that it was possible that the power of the industry as against the community might turn out to be the "fly in the ointment," but the Plumb Plan has **touched the imagination** of the workers, who will no longer work under private conditions. The return on capital is to be strictly limited, and the capitalist is no longer to be the residuary legatee of industry.

The Plumb Plan is an attempt at the recognition of human personality.

The opposition to such a plan was organised in the usual way by Press campaign. The Plumb Plan still awaits the public approval. Instead, America has handed back the railways to private ownership under the Esch-Commins Bill, which provides a Government guarantee for stock, watered and unwatered.

Bookland. Are the Bolsheviks Right?

Nothing is so much talked about as a new social theory; especially a revolutionary theory that someone has had the audacity to try and apply; yet about nothing is it so difficult to learn the truth. Enthusiasts laud it as a lover, enemies curse it as a fiend; nobody takes the trouble to explain it. We, therefore, thank Mr. Postgate for his book on the Bolshevik theory (*The Bolshevik Theory*, by R. W. Postgate; Grant Richards, 7/6 net), by which he helps to lift perhaps the most vital subject of current thought from the fetid atmosphere of vicious controversy into the cool air and clear light of reason.

The author is very anxious to explain—in fact, we are told before we open the book—that his book “is neither pro-Bolshevik nor anti-Bolshevik. It is mere exposition.” At the same time he justly points out that “a certain amount of intelligent sympathy is necessary for the understanding of a point of view. The marks of some such sympathy may be traced in this book.”

I cannot say that Mr. Postgate is not justified in his claim of independence, but when I laid down his book I felt that he had made out a strong case for Bolshevism, and that the spread of the belief in the Bolshevik faith—for it is a faith—would be the outcome of its circulation. Yet it must be said that a spirit of fairness, and the absence of passion characterise the book from beginning to end.

Bolshevism, as Mr. Postgate points out, is “Socialism now”; it thus implies revolution. Opposed to it is Revisionism or Reformism, or what we might call Socialism by instalments. The book before us is a study and statement of the case for “Socialism now,” and involves comparisons not only with Reformism, but with other revolutionary forms, such as Syndicalism and different types of what the author calls industrial pacifism.

The Bolshevik case against Parliamentarism is an impregnable one. By reason of their power to control elections, which is theirs through their possession of the Press, the Capitalists are safe so long as they can keep alive belief in Parliamentarism. The discovery by the workers that bourgeois democracy is not real democracy will be fatal to the capitalists. Mr. Postgate has two important statements on the power and significance of the Capitalist Press. The first refers to the achievement of that Press at the last election, when it secured one of the greatest and extremest majorities ever heard of, by the basest and most foolish cries. About this achievement he says:

“The astonishing thing, and the thing to observe, is not the fact that this was done, but that it was done perfectly easily and naturally, as an accepted thing and with a minimum of protest. When the trade unions threatened to intervene on the question of the Russian war they were told and apparently believed that they were in some way attacking the democratic will.”

The second passage runs:

“The Press is simply a form of capitalist enterprise, and as such must inevitably defend capitalism and speak in terms

of it. For Socialists to compete successfully with a Capitalist Press is not merely difficult; it is entirely outside the range of possibility. The individual who arrives at a Socialist outlook must do so in face of all the facts, as stated unanimously by all his sources of information. And all this is true, and we have not yet considered the more direct means of pressure that can be applied to a dependent class!”

What, then, has the ordinary man to do? He must either revolt or make the best of the situation that capitalism assigns to him. And that position will probably grow worse rather than better, for he is becoming increasingly class-conscious, which means that he will not be content with remaining where he is. If he revolts he may succeed and enter into a new liberty. If he submits to Parliamentarism the capitalist is sure to get the better of him. Upon this latter alternative our author makes the following comments:

“Rapidly, and in spite of glib assumptions that ‘the workers must win’—idiotic fallacy—the Capitalist world under cover of Parliamentary democracy is drifting into a well-organised feudalism. There is no reason whatever why society should not settle down into a capitalist caste system, in which the autocrats of industry and swarming gentlemen idlers would be supported by the many enslaved. It is only necessary for them to give the workers in certain favoured and essential industries a privileged position, to get the Air Force and other unanswerable means of coercion in their hands, to have laid the foundations of a slavery which dynamite will not move.

“So long as Socialists work within the cadres of bourgeois society, nothing is possible but unessential reforms and a measure of State capitalism. Their successes will be limited by the veto of declining and effete middle class. Never can the proletariat free itself.”

Having thus stated the case for a revolution, the author proceeds to an analysis of the Bolshevik theory and method, shows its historical development, and finally compares it, as I have already said, with other revolutionary theories. All of which is intensely interesting and well done.

Mr. Postgate is a clear thinker and a master of the subjects with which he deals, whilst his method of presentation is simple and illuminating. His book will be found helpful in these days of excitement and confused thinking, and will, I am convinced, have the effect of creating or stimulating belief in the inevitability of a social revolution in the near future. And certainly it were better to face the facts, notwithstanding that they point to unpleasant conclusions; for in doing so we may be led to do some superhuman thing which will change both the facts and the conclusions.

W.W.

“RECONSTRUCTION.”

Readers of “The Crusader” who would like to be better informed on conditions in Austria and the surrounding States, should write for a sample copy of “Reconstruction,” to the Editor, Peter Jordan Str 27, Vienna XIX, Austria. The Editors are pacifists and earnest workers in the cause of international brotherhood. It is printed in English.

Peace Efforts.

The Student Christian Movement and the Crisis.

In response to our enquiry as to whether the above organisation was taking any steps on behalf of International Peace, the Secretary wrote as follows:—

17th August, 1920.

Dear Mr. James,

In reply to your letter regarding the present Russian crisis, I have to say:—

1. That as the Student Movement is scattered to the four winds during the vacation it is impossible for it to take any concerted action, especially during the month of August, and

2. That in any case the Student Movement being a body whose members are mostly in statu pupillari it is not proper for it to make pronouncements on public questions.

I would add that the Student Christian Movement is a constituent part of the World's Student Christian Federation, which has just held a meeting in Switzerland, at which 37 nations, including all the belligerent nations, were represented. I do not think that any body of persons comprising not only pacifists but those who took part in the war on both sides, has yet gone so far along the path of International understanding as the Student Movement.—Yours very truly,

W. PATON.

A similar enquiry addressed to the Secretary of the Baptist Union elicited this reply:—

August 17th, 1920.

Rev. Stanley B. James.

Dear Sir,—The Rev. J. H. Shakespeare, D.D., is away on his holiday now, and will not be back until the middle of September. As he is far from well, we are not troubling him with business matters, and I cannot, therefore, submit your letter to him till he returns.—Believe me, yours faithfully,

A. W. SHAKESPEARE.

Another Message.

The following letter from Rev. T. Rhondda Williams, B.A., was received too late for publication in our last issue:—

I rejoice greatly in the solidarity of the Labour movement against war on Soviet Russia. Our policy in Russia has been wrong from the day we refused the Stockholm Conference proposal. I sincerely trust that the example of British Labour will be followed in all countries. The workers of the world have got the peace or war issue in their own hands if only they will combine. Hitherto they have been amazingly willing to be pawns in the game of the war-makers. The meeting at the Central Hall, August 13th, was to me the most deeply religious that I have attended for many a day, though not a word was said about religion. The singing of the "Internationale" instead of the National Anthem is prophetic of the time when we shall emerge from narrow nationalism into the wider consciousness of humanity.

Mrs. Despard.

Mrs. Despard sends the following message to "Crusader" readers:—

THE WAR CLOUD.

There is nothing new in the present crisis. Over and over again in our late history the same sort of thing has happened. Incidents have come to pass, imminently threatening the

peace of the world. Sometimes the menace has passed; on other occasions there has followed a small war, which has left behind it bitter memories that in their accumulated mass, make for hatred, fear and general suspicion. And this, with a certain degree accounts for the piteous helplessness of the peoples in 1914 when the war clouds burst in devastating fury.

That which distinguishes the present menace—the Entente's attitude towards Russia—is that the workers of this country for the first time in our political history, have taken the business into their own hands. War shall not be. No help whatever, either in money, munitions, or equipment shall be given to the aggressors. They, the people—producers, mechanics, organisers, fighters—refuse to enter again into the base trade of war. And since, without them the war trade cannot be carried on at all; since moreover the workers of other nations are taking up a similar course of action, we may venture to hope that the present crisis is over.

We must not be too sure. Until our Government takes a definite stand, until peace is made with Russia, until adventurers like Wrangel and his predecessors are compelled to understand that no help or even countenance will be given to them by Great Britain, we cannot be said to be standing on sure ground.

We rejoice, none the less, that so fine a departure has been made. The formation of the Councils of Action, may, and I believe, will mean much for the world. The Prime Minister and his adherents say vehemently that the course pursued by Labour is unconstitutional. On that theory a man should allow an incendiary to set fire to his house while he was hunting high and low for a policeman.

Our house of life—the future—we are trying to make fair and happy for our children, is too dear to our hearts for us to allow ourselves to be deafened by sophistries so blinded by illusions. Through the mists with which our pseudo-statesmen would surround us, the light of reality is shining. We go out, in full assurance, to meet it.

C. DESPARD.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TOO OLD AT 31 YEARS OF AGE.

Dear Friend,

I am in full sympathy with the aims and objects of the Fellowship and until quite recently I was a member, but resigned from membership seeing that I was quite unable to attend meetings, etc., in furtherance of the principles.

Through the curse of war I lost a fairly comfortable situation as clerk.

For the past two years I have had a few clerical positions of a temporary nature, sometimes with very unfeeling and unprincipled employers or superiors, with the result that to-day my health of body and brain is impaired.

Again having to leave a situation I applied at a railway station for a post this week, clerical or manual. The official informed me that it would only be possible for me to obtain a position as a porter. I was accepting such a position thinking I could just manage to carry on till things became brighter and that my overworked brain would find a little repose, when informing him of my age being 34 he said that I was too old as persons over 30 years of age were not engaged and showed no printed matter to that effect.

My object in writing these few lines is to acquaint members and friends of the Fellowship, who are railway shareholders, with the fact that railway companies in general refuse to employ a man after 30 years of age—even in unskilled work—which is a denial of the right to live, and I trust they will use whatever influence they have to try to rectify this unjust law.—Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) WALTER H. BROADBENT.

19 Cluny Street, Cheetham, Manchester.

August 7, 1920.

A Moulder of Men.

THE STORY OF AN ARTISTIC TEMPERAMENT.

Ben's earliest memory was that of being laughed at for his craving to see the sea. He was one of a large family, and his father, a potter, had more than he could manage to secure the ordinary necessities of life. A visit to the coast was an unheard-of luxury in those days. Yet the boy could talk of nothing else for a while than the sailing of ships, and waves breaking on the shore. He dreamed of them at night.

The phase passed.

One day in his early teens he discovered Milton. His absorption in "Paradise Lost," like his dreams of the ocean, was the occasion of much ridicule. Such tastes in a child no one in ——— had ever known. But laughter did not trouble Ben. He had discovered a new world. He was rich beyond the dreams of avarice in the wealth that imagination wins. What mattered a few jests?

But the pressure of his daily labour on his growing mind was a more formidable antagonist. The long hours (almost forbidding the luxury of reading), the coarseness of his companions, the petty tyranny of foremen dulled the edge of his sensitive nature. His dreams became less frequent. It was like the slow extinction of a light. He performed his tasks mechanically like a draught horse.

Then, once more, came escape. His talents as a designer were discovered. He was now able, in some small measure, to exercise his gifts and to translate his dreams of beauty into clay that could be handled and shaped. Life became a new thing to him. He had discovered another world—the world of creative art. How he gloried in the capacity to make things! It seemed to him that he had touched the zenith of human bliss. Surely there could be nothing greater than this power that had come to him of making beautiful things.

But all this while Ben's soul was hungry, though he did not know it. He stood strangely alone among the other "hands," as he had been alone among his brothers and sisters. And a day came when he realised that even the most beautiful of his creations lacked something. It could not be conscious of the beauty that had been given it; it could not love its creator in return for his workmanship. To love things could never satisfy a heart that was meant to love persons.

But all that was changed when Sadie came. A little blue-eyed wisp of a girl—she seemed different to the others. There was that about her which asked for protection. She was so frail, it struck him as shameful that she should be exposed to the roughness of the place where they worked. She was like one of his delicate vases. She needed care, affection, the strength of a man's arm.

It was not long before he found himself going out of his way to see her home at nights. It was winter and the streets were dark, and it was not safe, he told himself, for her to go alone. Then came the spring days and, sometimes, on a Sunday, they passed together beyond the boundaries of the

Five Towns and trod the quietness of country roads and saw fields yellow with buttercups and old thatched cottages—things that made Ben's heart grow strangely soft and tender. Sometimes he wanted to touch her hand or caress her as he caressed the things he made. Then he saw her in imagination growing up into womanhood, and flushed with the desire to mould her life and be moulded by her. That would be artistry indeed! Divine days! Divine dreams! The heritage of youth from the beginning of the world.

* * * *

The Potteries is not a good place in which to realise the dreams of youth. Ben and Sadie found that out. From the first days of their married life it seemed as if Fate plotted against them. The clay of their design broke again and again as it whirled on the wheel of time. First came a spell of unemployment with all its heart-breaking accompaniments. Ben missed his work, not only because it meant an empty exchequer, but because it left his mind inactive. In the middle of it all was born their first child, and Sadie was left, when the tide of pain and weakness receded, a limp and colourless thing. The world was so big and rough for so frail a creature, and Ben found that all his strength could not defend her against the crashing breakers of misfortune.

Employment came at last. It was not the kind in which he could renew his joy in creation. Hard manual labour that turned him once again into the beast of burden was his lot. But he accepted it. What else could he do? Sadie's life was at stake. He must sell the dreams of his youth if so be he might, in some measure, realise the dream of his manhood and mould her into the woman she was meant to be.

But he laboured in vain. The monstrous thing that had aimed its blow at his dearest treasure proved victorious. Its brutal strength crushed out Sadie's frail life, and, as it were, with ironic gesture, flung him back her corpse.

* * * *

There are some periods in a man's life when he does not live; he simply goes on existing. Such a period Ben, the dreamer, now entered upon. He was no longer an artist, scarcely a man, little more than a sleeping and eating animal. The child just kept alive in him a flicker of human life.

The awakening came to him as it has come—thank God!—to many another. He listened one night, beneath a gas lamp, to a Socialist speaker. And as he listened he understood more clearly than he had ever done before the nature of the Monster that had robbed him of life and love. He knew that he was not alone. That the uncouthness of his mates, the brutishness that had won his scorn, was due to the same cause. And he began to see, too, the changes that might be made, the new world that

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Our Empty Churches.

The following is from an amended version of an article, in the form of an undelivered address, by T. J. Faithful, which appeared recently in the "Suffolk and Essex Free Press":—

We, of the Church Council of this parish, have decided to discuss to-night the problem of empty churches. I am aware that many of you consider that the fault in our own case lies with the rector, that if we had someone who could preach a different sort of sermon the church would fill as it did in the nineties of the last century. I believe, however, that you are wrong. The young men and women of the town do not go to church, and we must make far more fundamental changes if we are to interest the new generation.

When you come to think of it, the eight or ten ministers of all denominations in the town represent all types of preacher, and if it were a matter of being suited with some particular style of sermon, everyone would go somewhere. No, my friends, the gifts of the Spirit are various, and if our rector were an apostle, prophet, or evangelist, instead of being a pastor, the larger number of people would, in the course of time, get tired of his teaching. I could take you to a church where the priest in charge is an evangelist in every fibre of his being. He would stir you in a wonderful manner, yet his congregation would give much they value to have him removed. I could take you to another where the priest in charge is a prophet: his flock, except a select few, are sick of his teaching, and his unbusiness-like behaviour in ordinary matters of life jar the nerves of the commercial and business members. I could take you to other churches where the ministers, being pastors, perform as far as is physically possible their pastoral duties, but where the congregations languish for the food which can only be supplied by a prophet or evangelist.

In all these churches you would find the spiritual teaching erratic and one-sided and the work of the parish disjointed owing to the want at the head of things of a man with the apostolic gift of authority.

Lastly, I could take you to churches where the priests are thoroughly trained professional men, trained from their youth up for this office, with their own particular gift not developed as it should be, but subdued until it is almost impossible to find out what it is. In fact, they are thoroughly efficient machines, as efficient in their way as were the Jewish priests when our Lord came to show them the way.

I realise that many of you do not read anything more than a daily or weekly paper; so still look to the weekly sermons as your chief source of instruction. But the younger generation are reading more and thinking more, and what has satisfied you living at the tail end of the commercial age is not enough to satisfy them.

For centuries Christians throughout the world have been satisfied with "one man shows"; or if we have not been satisfied with the "one man shows" offered by the established churches, we have grouped ourselves together and set up "one man shows" of a kind which appealed to us.

But this state of affairs must be ended. Not until we have the Church of Christ in England in place of the Church of England, the Church of Wesley, the Church of Ebenezer, and the Italian Church, shall we be in a position to overpower the forces of evil.

Take now our own town. Imagine eight of our places of worship closed, and imagine each of the other five well supplied with ministers. Now, for the moment think of one only (shall we say) of St. Bede's. Let me carry you forward some years. There are seven priests there now. Let us go in quietly at 11 o'clock Eucharist. The rector, or ruling priest, has, of course, been chosen because he is a deep and clear thinker, a man who can speak with authority. Yes, it is Mr. Brown who was the minister at the old Presbyterian Church; he has been ordained priest. Sitting next to him is a Pastor, Mr. Robinson, the solicitor; yes, he is a priest, too, not paid, of course. The congregation, though they give liberally, cannot pay more than two whole-time men. Exactly opposite sits Mr. Harris, the man who was rector when the changes were made. He is the prophet, though he is not rector now; he is adequately provided for the happiness which has come into that man's life when first the deacons took over the whole of the financial burden of the parish, and then he was freed from responsibility by the

appointment of Mr. Brown. He only preaches about once a month now, but he occasionally speaks a few words of prophecy, and he helps many of the congregation by his individual explanation to those who go to him for help. Next to him sits the Evangelist. He was a Salvation Army captain. He only preaches at St. Bede's about once a quarter, but he visits a lot of churches in the district which have no Evangelist amongst their staff of priests. The other priests are pastors: some of them you must have known as young men. They are all either in employment or in business in the district. They have each been in the diocesan school, and are still studying under the rector and by means of correspondence classes. You will understand that as the work is divided up, none of the priests are over-worked. Further, as they were chosen for their gifts, there was no need for the intensive training which used to be given to young men caught young for the ministry and given a super-training in order to try and make them everything to everybody. Those other seven on the lower bench. No, they are not part of the choir; there is not room in the chancel for the choir now. They are the deacons. On the other side of the chancel sit the deaconesses. They are elected to the office by the Church Council. Occasionally they become priests, but you must understand that the diaconate is not now just a probationary period for the priesthood as it used to be; it is a separate office to which men are ordained. They are responsible for all the finance of the church, run the church institute, and assist those who desire it with advice on worldly matters. You will notice how full the church is, almost as full as it used to be at the harvest festival. If we remain you will see nearly all, except the smaller children, will go up and receive the bread and wine. They realise that the service has its corporate as well as its individual side, and only a few turn out for the early service. Why should they on the day of rest? Have there been any changes in doctrine? No, only reinterpretations of old truths. Of course the researches and discoveries of the 19th century made restatement essential, but the Godhead of the Master remains as the fundamental truth unimpaired, and it is His Spirit which has guided the formerly warring sects to form His perfect body, and leads us still.

(Continued from Page 12).

could be created, the finer manhood and womanhood that might be built up. The wind blew mercilessly round the corner of the street. Ribald songs came from a "pub" over the way. The speaker had descended from his improvised platform and was talking with "comrades." But Ben was not conscious of these things. The flame of the artist was burning up his very soul. He had seen a great creative work that he, and such as he, would have to do in the days to come. Something like the joy and freedom of those far-off spring mornings came back to him. He would be a moulder of men.

* * * *

At first the artist in him was repelled by the sordidness of the material with which he had to deal. Wage-standards, Trade Union rules, economic laws; the class-struggle, the proletarian revolution—the very phrases grated on his ears. But the artistic temperament was fast becoming the artistic purpose. The discipline of thought was being added to the sensitiveness of feeling. This idea of moulding a world and creating a new type of humanity was awakening depths of artistry he had not realised in himself before. He who had once rejoiced in the fashioning of vases set himself now to fashion men. He who had once taken into his hands the life of one woman took up now, with infinite tenderness, the broken clay of our marred and distorted humanity.

THE CRUSADE.

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS IN DORSETSHIRE.

The enthusiasm of some of our open-air speakers seems to be inexhaustible! This is shown by C. Paul Gliddon—surely renowned for his enthusiasm and gift of enthusing others—who during his ten days in Swanage held seven, if not more, open-air meetings.

On Saturday, August 7th, he spoke at the local I.L.P. meeting, having arranged to do so previously. The principal subject that night was Ireland.

On Sunday evening, August 8th, he spoke "off his own bat" for more than an hour and a half in the pouring rain. The heavy shower probably kept many people indoors, who otherwise would have been there. Most of those who were present showed their keenness by remaining to the end of the meeting.

One felt at that meeting that the majority of those present were "seekers of the light," and were eager to listen to anyone who has a vision of what the world might be, and who is willing to share that vision with them. No doubt there are crowds of men and women to be found everywhere to-day eager to listen to our message, hence the necessity of going out into the high ways and byways, and sharing our vision and revealing our light.

On the following Tuesday, Thursday and Friday evenings, Paul Gliddon again spoke from the I.L.P. platform. Each succeeding meeting attracted larger crowds, and on Friday there were between two and three hundred eager listeners when he spoke of the stand Labour in this country was taking in regard to Russia.

After speaking and answering questions for nearly an hour and a half the speaker was asked "what he had done during the war." On learning that he had been a C.O. the crowd became somewhat rowdy, and one rough fellow showed signs of using physical force to remove him, but the indifference and courage of Paul Gliddon, as he calmly showed them that the way of abolishing war, was not by might, but by enthroning the Prince of Peace, had a great effect upon that noisy crowd, and that pugnacious fellow put on his coat again!

GLADYS OWEN.

AT MARBLE ARCH.

6.30 on an August evening! The Park is thronged with people enjoying the gentle breeze and the mellow sunshine. All the seats are taken and quantities of leisurely folk crowd round the various speakers. Here is a fresh meeting about to begin. A stand is put up with a copy of "The Crusader" fastened in front of it. Several people who have been hanging round waiting for this brighten up, and they are joined by a few stragglers.

The meeting begins. The people come nearer and their numbers swell. One recognises a good many faces from previous evenings. Everyone seems interested. On some faces, to begin with, there is a slightly amused expression which seems to mean—"I may as well hear what they've got to say anyhow!"—"Dreamers, dreamers!" mutters a woman with a white disillusioned face.—The "dreamers" keep on, delivering their message and the crowd swells, pressing closer and closer. The space in front of the stand is now hardly bigger than the living-room in an East End home, and the people are packed maybe 20 deep. The slightly amused expression has faded. All the faces express deepest absorption. Occasionally someone mutters "Hear, hear," but mostly there is silence.

The meeting has been going on for a couple of hours, and there is no space at all now in front of the stand, and the crowd is bigger than ever. It is getting chilly, but they seem in no hurry to depart. On either side of us there is enthusiastic singing of hymns in shrill voices. It is hard to speak against it,—but still the questions are coming in. Some of the crowd, in eager little knots, are arguing out various points on their own. The expressions of approval are growing in volume. They are quite sure of one thing—that they want no more war!

"You've read the Bible, miss, I presume?" demands a sour-faced man in the crowd. "So you know that nothing, even in this war, was more bloodthirsty and savage than what Bible people did in the time of Joshua." What a splendid opening for a Bible lecture on Higher Criticism to a crowd of 600 eager listeners! "You talk a lot about brotherhood! What about

sisterhood?" remarks a woman. "Get along with you. He's all right!" answers the crowd. "You shut up, I didn't ask you!" replies the woman, "This young man understands me." "Then I'm the only one who does," the speaker remarks sotto voce, annoyed. "Ain't that enough for you?" "He went to prison for women's suffrage. She still interrupts, and the crowd is annoyed. "Ain't that enough for you." "He went to prison for you!" they shout. "No man went to prison for me," answers the woman, "I went for myself!" But the crowd is too interested in the rest to heed her. "I did that too," mutters the speaker, and turns to answer more questions.

Nine o'clock! It is almost dark! "This must be the last question," says the speaker.

The stand is put away, but the crowd does not go. They are still arguing and discussing on their own, and several come up to put yet further questions. The arguments seem interminable, but the crowd dwindles gradually, and at last it is possible to get away.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

AUSTRIA CHILDREN'S GARDEN PARTY.—We are arranging a garden party for the seventy children who have been brought to London from Vienna under the Children's Hospitality Scheme, as we are most anxious that our members should have an opportunity of meeting the children and their hostesses, and that the children themselves should have a re-union. We have very kindly been lent the garden of Westfield College, Kidderpore Avenue, Hampstead, for Saturday, Sept. 4th, from 3 to 6.30 p.m. We are inviting all the children and their hostesses as our guests and, as this will involve rather heavy expenses, we would appeal for promises of help in the refreshments and for gifts of money. It will greatly assist the work of organisation if all who can aid us in either direction will write immediately. There will be a short address by Beatrice Hoystead on conditions in Vienna, while a children's entertainment is also being arranged. Tickets for Adults 2s., for children under 14 1s. 6d. All communications on this subject should be addressed to Miss E. Quarumby at this office.

EIGHT DAY MISSIONS are to be held in different parts of London during September in connection with the open-air work. We are trying to arrange these more especially in places where in-door work is to be carried on during the winter. If any friends would care to have one arranged in their own locality and could assist in organisation we should be glad to see whether this could be done.

OPEN-AIR MISSION.—FRIDAY, Aug. 27:—At 6.30 p.m., Marble Arch: Alfred Cordell, H. W. Green, W. H. Hancock; at 8 p.m., Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Rev. R. W. Sorensen. SUNDAY, 29:—At noon, Leytonstone, The Green Man: Muriel Lester, Dorothie Stevens; at 3.30, Hampstead, Jack Straw's Castle: Dorothie Stevens, Basil Tritton. MONDAY, 30:—At 8, Leytonstone, The Green Man: Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. TUESDAY, 31:—At 6.30, Marble Arch: Alfred Cordell, Dorothie Stevens; at 8, Clapton, corner of Kenninghall Road and Upper Clapton Road: H. W. Green, Basil Tritton; at 8 p.m., Forest Gate, outside G.E.R. station: W. H. Hancock, E. Oakes. WEDNESDAY, Sept. 1:—At 8 p.m., Catford, near Town Hall: Horace Fuller, W. H. Hancock. THURSDAY, 2:—At 6.30, Marble Arch: E. Alcock Rush, Dorothie Stevens; at 8, Kentish Town: J. B. Lief, Rev. Lewis MacLachlan, Basil Tritton. FRIDAY, 3:—At 6.30, Marble Arch: Alfred Cordell, Winifred Wood; at 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Rev. R. W. Sorensen.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

THE EXPLORER.

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Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscriptions for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship for all who can) to send more.

than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, pendants, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Postage 2d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

The Spectacles We Use.

It may be the weather, or it may be our state of health. In England both factors probably have to be taken into account. But we all know what it is to wake up one morning to find the world quite a delightfully cheerful place to live in, and every person we meet made in a friendly mould. The next day it rains, or we have a headache—and all is changed. There are a few people with whom this expectation of kindness from the world is a more or less permanent attitude of mind. And they get something out of life that we others only dream of. Listen to this story of one who has travelled half across the world:—

The International.

"I met him on the cars between Niagara and Jersey City. I had been badly smashed and was convalescent—a lad returning home to England and mother, to get fixed up. We were passing over the bridge of the Portage Falls. He was a big muscular fellow, to all appearance a 'commercial,' his face so masked in furrows and grisly hair that I had not noticed he had watched me. Anyhow, he came to me and said: 'Laddie, have you seen the Rainbow?' Together we stood and watched that glorious halo above the falling water. But what I remember most was the change in the face of this 'International'—the sun came out with the magic word 'Laddie.'

"I met him again after midnight. Raining and cold it was, in New York City. He stood beside me, a lad of my own age, quick, cute, shabby to a degree. In less time than it takes to tell, he had taken my bearings; he told me the boat was laid up for a time. It made no difference to him when he knew that I had made no provision for the boat being 'laid up.' He insisted on my going home with him, and that night I made my first acquaintance with a windowless room in a New York slum. Together we visited the shipping office to secure the dollar-a-day allowance, together we tramped New York, and together we went to that crowded home of his, with that wondrous assortment of men; the roughest were kind, but the boy was a perfect imp of kindness.

"The old boat had been patched up; and she was rolling heavily on her fourteen days' struggle to reach Glasgow. In less than four days the fact leaked out that I had shipped with a whole crew of 'Internationals,' headed by the doctor and two miners. It seems to me at this distance that there

must have been a conspiracy . . . I sat with a group of Scotsmen. We were steaming up the Clyde. I tried to catch a familiar word; they were all new friends of mine—we had had long talks—but the nearer we came to Glasgow the less intelligible was their language to me. But as now and then one or the other looked at me there was something in their eyes that reminded me of mother, when I had hurt myself.

"He was a porter somewhere in the North. Looking in the carriage he said: 'Laddie, I should put your leg on the seat if I were you.' The train was moving before I could find out how he knew; I had no crutch or splint to betray me. Reaching London the Internationals appeared everywhere. A porter on the Underground shouted: 'Leave your bag for me, I'll fetch it.' The last train was gone at London Bridge, but a policeman, with gentle roughness, found me a corner on a doorstep where I slept. And that night I probed the depths of a man's heart—it was a glimpse of the great Maker's mind. And so this long four thousand miles of kindnesses continued. To mention so few among so many is saddening, because, as I think of one, others crowd in. I have seen the milk of human kindness flow. Fellowship, our Divine heritage, is the true and only strike-breaker—the coming International."

Holiday-time, when we go on our travels, gives new opportunities for meeting the "Internationals"; will you write and tell us of your experience? We want to hear from everyone by Fellowship Day (October 4th).

Fellowship Wanted.

Will 5175 (Active Service) kindly write to 5375 (Forest Hall, Newcastle), who has been a district nurse but who is now housekeeping and finding life rather dull.

3257 (Mill Hill)—Pte. W. G. Smith—gratefully thanks all Fellows who helped him during the war by their letters. He has lost all war correspondence and therefore cannot reply personally to his friends. He is interested in New Thought and would be glad to meet other Fellows similarly interested.

5351 (Kettering), once on the staff of the "C.C.," will be glad to link with Fellows "who have not stopped growing." He is interested in courageous thinking, social history, the drama, and various other things.

2491 (Tessein, Switzerland) asks if London and Manchester members will take her as a paying guest during part of August or September; she offers a return visit to her home in Italian Switzerland.

League of Prayer.

All members of, and sympathisers with, the League of Prayer are asked to remember daily a Fellow who is in great distress of mind and who has to make decisions during the next few days which may make or mar his own future and that of another. After constant struggles with temptation and nervous strain, he has no strength of his own.

Fellows are also asked to think of the whole C.C.F. These days are full of portent for its future.

Annual Subscriptions and New Members.

We acknowledge, with thanks, the following annual subscriptions:—K.B. (Willington, 2s.); B.C. (Oxted, 1s.); H.L. (Walthamstow, 2s.); W.G.S. (Mill Hill, 5s.); H.E.H. (Keswick, 4s.); M.T. (Chelsea, 2s.); G.M. (Forest Hill, 2s. 6d.); C.J.J. (Kirwani, 2s. 6d.); L.W. (Moseley, 2s.).

We welcome the following new members:—E.M. (5427, St. John's Wood, 1s. 6d.); G.R. (5429, Winchester, 2s.).

SIDELIGHTS.

The Horrors on the Rhine.

The details given in Mr. E. D. Morel's recently published pamphlet "The Horrors on the Rhine" (U.D.C. Offices, 3d.) are almost too terrible for publication. Yet it is surely necessary that the public at home should know what the Allied occupation actually means. Exposure alone can cure this kind of evil.

Here are two passages from the pamphlet in question as quoted in "Forward":—

"One of the inevitable factors in the permanent establishment of an army of occupation in a foreign country is the brothel. Under the French occupation the brothel ranks as a military institution. The French Command is much concerned about this institution, and has impressed upon the Civic Authorities of the occupied areas outside the absolute essentiality of setting aside houses in the towns for the purpose, especially in the case of African troops. Many a small German town which never boasted a brothel has been compelled to set one up. In the great majority of cases the Civic Authorities of the town must pay for their upkeep—it is part of the cost of the army of occupation, which is a first charge upon German revenues, and which amounts to a fabulous figure. In some instances houses are selected out of which the inhabitants must needs be bundled neck and crop. In Ludwigshafen the inhabitants of the selected houses were turned out to live in cubicles in the school gymnasium. * * *

Maximilian Harden, the famous Editor of the "Zukunft," has recently published a French Army Order setting out the regulations for the brothel at Munchen-Gladbach (Gasthausstrasse 7). It has been reproduced in other German papers, and in "Le Populaire" of Paris. Here is an extract from this document, which begins by explaining that 'owing to the shortage of Municipal funds' no more than two women are available to 'do the work,' and that they complain of being overworked. So the Brigadier-General who signed the order, moved by a desire to avoid the disorderly scenes which he alleges to be taking place, elaborated a time-table:—

Working Days in the Brothel.—All week-days; on Sundays the house is closed.

Maximum Limit.—Each woman receives daily ten men. . . . Visiting hours from 5 p.m. to 9 p.m.

Scales of Charges.—For a quarter-of-an-hour's visit (including entering and leaving), 5 marks. . . .

Distribution.—The six week-days are apportioned as under:—Monday, 1st Battalion of Regiment 164; Tuesday, 1st Battalion of Regiment 169; Wednesday, 2nd Battalion of Regiment 164; Thursday, 2nd Battalion of Regiment 169; Friday, 3rd Battalion of Regiment 164; Saturday, 3rd Battalion of Regiment 169. . . . In each battalion there will be delivered on the respective days twenty tickets by the Sergeant-Major, five for each company. Men desirous of visiting the brothel must apply for the ticket which will give them priority on that day."

Munitions for Poland Still?

The attempt is being made to give the impression that munitions and supplies are no longer being sent to Poland to use against Russia. But the vigilance of the workers in one country after another is revealing case after case that gives the lie to this suggestion. Only the other day came the news of the shiploads of munitions for Poland at Antwerp, and the Belgian Government itself has said that they were intended for Poland. On Monday, the 16th of August, the day on which the British Prime Minister was declaring his pacific policy, Reuter reported the holding up at Schneidemuehl in Germany of an Entente "provision" train en route for Poland manned by a mixed crew of British and French soldiers, and containing among other things four machine-guns. On Wednesday the "Matin" reported the holding up at Carlsruhe by the German railwaymen of two hundred and forty wagon-loads of French munitions destined for Poland, and containing uniforms, rifles, ammunition, armoured cars, portions of tanks and provisions. How much longer can the pretence of a pacific policy be maintained?—Labour News Service.

The Churches and the Crisis.

Philip Snowden writes in the "Labour Leader":—In the critical times through which the country has been passing, when the issue of peace and war trembled in the balance, the Christian Churches, as usual, have been too cowardly to make the voices heard on behalf of peace. Their silence has been broken only by the publication of a letter from the officials of the Free Church Council, which for pusillanimity is worthy of the record of this organisation as the expression of the Nonconformist conscience. It will come as something of a surprise to those who remember how nearly every pulpit in the land was used during the war as a recruiting platform, and for the purpose of exciting brutal hate and passion, to be told by the leaders of the Free Churches that it is not within the province of the Church to invade the arena of politics. In this letter there is not a single word of appeal for peace. The Free Church Ministers were asked to devote last Sunday to prayer and exhortation to foster a spirit of right judgment and understanding. The writers of this letter were quite clearly waiting to see what policy the Government would eventually adopt, before they instructed the Churches to invade the arena of politics in support of whatever policy might be found to be popular. By its action during the last six years the Church has lost all claim to the spiritual guidance of the nation.

The Silence of the Church.

Quoting a passage from the "Crusader," a writer in the "Croydon Times" says:—

"The silence of the churches is causing considerable discomfiture. There must be at least one hundred parsons in Croydon and not one of them had the pluck; or the desire, to support our demand for peace. One would have thought that those whose mission it is to preach the Gospel of Peace and Goodwill would have led the way in any war protest. I consider that the Labour Party has given the churches and the parsons a lesson in practical Christianity. For what in the world is the use of preaching the gospel of love and then declining opportunities to stay a campaign of hatred and greed?"

The Hidden Hand.

In a pamphlet published by the Protestant Truth Society designed to show that the Roman Catholic Church is at the bottom of the Labour unrest occurs this passage:—

"The workers are better educated than ever before: but education has not sobered them for they are more discontented when there is less cause for discontent, and they are more truculent when there is less cause for truculency. Thoughtful students of the times in which we live realise that there is a unknown power behind the scenes which has been successful in representing Satan as an angel of light for thirteen hundred years in religious matters, and therefore can turn this experience to account in industrial affairs with the same object in view, namely to fetter the mind, control the federation, paralyse the Senate, and dominate the State."

Now we know!

The Church Socialist League's Telegram.

The Church Socialist League has forwarded the following telegram to the Chairman of the Council of Action:—

"The Church Socialist League fully endorses the action of Labour in mobilising for peace and will heartily support it." (Signed) PAUL BULL, Chairman; DENT, Secretary.

Langwidge!

"The hammered-down, sawed-off, knock-kneed, bow-legged wall-eyed, lantern-jawed I.W.W. or Socialist agitator is too rotten for hell!"—From a sermon preached in Washington U.S.A., by Billy Sunday.

The Cinema Public.

The "Observer" states that twenty millions visit the cinema weekly.

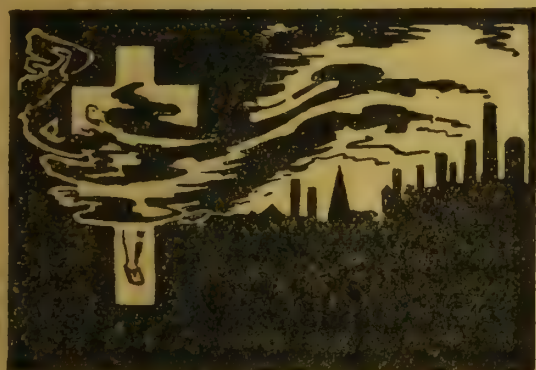
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The Outlook.

THE mandate of the Council of Action does not go beyond matters related to Russia and Poland. By concentrating on that issue we have been able to unite and organise the whole force of Labour. But other questions are now looming largely on the horizon. Irish feeling has been roused and intensified by the Government's callous refusal to release the Lord Mayor of Cork. The coalminers have indicated in unmistakable fashion their approval of a strike policy. These are both matters demanding the attention of the whole Labour world. And the question now arises whether the scope of the Council of Action cannot be extended without losing the unity which it is so necessary to maintain. That such an extension must come sooner or later there can be no doubt. Is the time ripe now for a forward move?

THE confession of the Government that were it to release Mr. MacSwiney it would forfeit its power of maintaining Law and Order is not only inconsistent with its former policy, but is a clear confession on what foundations, in its view, Law and Order are established. A country that can only be governed by persecuting its leading

citizens is far better allowed its independence. Ireland could not be a greater danger to the Empire than it is at present.

* * *

THE Government, we may imagine, is not wholly sorry that the miners have diverted attention from Russia. The Capitalist Press, foiled in its military designs by the Council of Action, has seized with avidity on the threatened strike to reproduce all its old slanders regarding the greed and laziness of the workers and thus prejudice the public against Labour's international policy.

* * *

THE "COMMUNIST" suggests the same reason for the evacuation of Egypt as was put forward last week in this page. It writes:

"The evacuation will release a large number of troops for use elsewhere; and the parallel that leaps to the eyes is supplied by that steady withdrawal of the Roman legions from outlying countries which marked the beginnings of the decline of the Roman Empire. The stars in their courses fight for freedom, and when Egypt emancipates itself, why should not Ireland hope?"

* * *

THE Russian withdrawal of that point in its peace conditions to which our Government raised objection leaves the road clear for an understanding. What new excuse will be found for delaying the conclusion of peace? What new attempt will be made to fool Labour?

* * *

ON Monday, August 23rd, in Scotland, between two and three hundred thousand men observed a one-day strike in support of the movement to resist the 40 per cent. increase in rent which landlords are permitted to impose under the new Rent Restrictions Act. The Lanarkshire, Fife, and Lothian coal miners, the shale miners, at the West Calder shipyards, the tramwaymen both in Glasgow and Edinburgh, the workers in the great engineering shops on the Clyde, dock labourers, brass finishers, building trade workers, vehicle builders, and locomotive employees, all united in a common protest. In one case, at Paisley, even the bakers joined the strike. And many co-operative societies closed their shops in sympathy.



Passion and Power.

There is the problem of what to do with one's passions. The common advice is to repress them. Moralists warn us that anger must be checked. Lust is to be doused with

cold water. Covetousness—pace St. Paul!—is to be overcome by a stern denial. Now repression is not only a very painful process; it is a very dangerous one. Volcanoes are not good things to sit on. But repression is even more dangerous when it succeeds in destroying passion than it is when it fails to do so. The de-vitalised conditions of the ordinary person is due to the fact that the inhibitions set up by our conventional society have been only too successful. The tame peoples of our suburbs and slums are a more depressing sight than the head-hunters of New Guinea, for the same reason that the cab-horse is an inferior creature compared with the unbroken steed of the prairie or the pampas. The destruction of human vitality, whether it be the work of a capitalist factory or a Sunday School, is a crime.

On the other hand, the people who preach abandonment to the untrammelled impulses of our nature do not, surely, know what they are talking about. No one who knows what forces are brewing in the crater of the human heart could talk like that. "Playing with fire" is a mild term to use concerning the course they advocate. Fire can sweep over plains yellow with ripening corn and leave only a wilderness behind, can wipe out a whole townful of men, women, and children in a few hours. But passion burns more than material things and destroys more than physical life. The diplomatists who played with fire in 1914 not only killed millions of men; they seared the world's soul and left a scar on human nature that will be visible for centuries to come.

What, then, are we to do with our passions? What is to become of this volcanic energy?

There is all the difference in the world between repression and transmutation. The latter process destroys nothing. Light can become heat, and heat motion without the loss of any energy.

Let us take a familiar example. At the present time, owing to the numerical preponderance of women over men, there is a vast amount of wifely and motherly instinct going to waste. Thousands of healthy, normal women can never hope to marry. Either this sexual and maternal instinct is going to function in a manner harmful to the individuals concerned and to society at large, or it is going to be repressed, causing untold suffering, or—it will be

transmuted. Transmutation in this case will mean the spiritualising of sex and maternity. Have you never come across an individual in which the process has taken place and seen in the mystical personality thus produced the effects of a self-restraint that has yet not been destructive? Many of the Church's finest saints have been transformed lovers. All the longing that once functioned only on the physical plane has learnt to direct itself towards the Lord and Giver of Life, and, through Him, to all men. Religion, in these cases, has acquired the romance and beauty of a love story. Some of our richest and noblest art is nothing but the transmuted metal of a passion that, had it expressed itself in the ordinary way, would have left the world but little better. We owe Dante's *Paradiso* to such a passion. Large tracts of Shakespeare's dramas must be due to a similar cause.

Perhaps it is along this line we may find a solution to the problem concerning religion and politics. I fancy that the spiritual power of the early Christian movement can be traced to the impossibility, for the unprivileged multitude, of entering the sphere of politics. Certainly the spiritual quality of the Hebrew nation in the days of their greatest prophets may be attributed to the fact that the Jews were a conquered people and thus prevented from expending their strength in imperialistic designs.

That what took place, both in the case of the Jews and in that of the Christians, was not repression but transmutation, is seen in the fact that the ideal of world-conquest was not lost, but that it acquired a spiritual significance and power which has given to Christendom as its heritage the grandest conception of a world society ever known.

Here lies the difference between a true and a false asceticism. To kill out any instinct or impulse, to deny any part of human nature, is to be guilty of infidelity, it is to be afraid of that which God Himself created. As all garden flowers are but the developed forms of species that once grew in the fields and woods, so all our "virtues" are but the results of transmuting the wild instincts of barbarism. On the other hand, lack of self-discipline means running to seed, a dissipation of energy, and, finally, extinction of the very thing to which freedom has been given.

For me the truth lies in F. W. H. Myers' suggestive line:—

"Forge and transform my passion into power."

THE TRAMP.

HIDE THE "TROPHIES"!

The Matlock District Council and the Matlock ex-service men deserve hearty congratulations for their decision last Tuesday to hide from sight for five years all German gun trophies, with the object of allowing time for public feeling to soften. The suggestion was first made by the local Union of ex-soldiers.—"Labour Leader," August 26, 1920.

The Labour Report on Russia.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

An advance copy of the Report of the British Labour delegation to Russia has come to hand to-day (Saturday), and although most of its contents are ground already covered by recent publications on life in Russia, it is in many ways an exceedingly interesting document. Those who were expecting to find most of the Report taken up with an attack on the Bolshevik theory of government and its practical application will be disappointed; for the delegation very wisely decided to confine its Report to a statement of the facts as they found them, and leave open for the present the question as to whether the Bolsheviks were or were not justified in the various "undemocratic" methods employed in constructing a new Russia on the ruins of the old.

It is impossible to do more than briefly summarise the chief features of this Report, which runs to thirty pages, and is signed by the whole of the delegation.

It is inevitable, but scarcely necessary in these days, that the delegates should assure us that they "feel it necessary to begin by pointing out that the accounts of Soviet Russia which we have seen in the capitalist Press of our own country, proved to be perversions of the facts." They saw no violence or disorder in the streets, no Chinese soldiers, no interference with the religious life of the people, no "riotous living" on the part of the Soviet leaders, and did they see any "nationalised" women or children?

With regard to public order, there was "little to choose between one side of the Russian frontier and the other." Peasants were tilling the fields, railwaymen worked the trains, and, in short, the daily life of the country was very much akin to that of any other country. "In Russia, however," says the Report, "there are evident signs of illness and under-feeding to be seen in most crowds that one looks at." The following extract from a later portion of the Report dealing with the health of the Russian people deserves quoting in full:—

When to the tale of typhus is added that of Spanish influenza, of cholera, of smallpox, and of other diseases, when it is realised that there are practically no drugs at all in Russia because of the blockade, that all hospital supplies are reduced to practically nothing, and that linen and blankets are lacking, the indictment of the blockade becomes blacker still. It should be realised that on the medical side of Russian life we are dealing with a question outside ordinary politics. Very few of the doctors are Communists, but all are Russians; they are as doctors professional humanitarians, they have worked to the utmost, as their tired faces and haunted eyes tell plainly, but they destroy lice and disease germs without soap and disinfectants they cannot. And thousands of people have been sacrificed for want of those elementary medical necessities. . . . IN THE DEVIATION OF THESE PRIME NECESSITIES OF PUBLIC HEALTH THE ALLIED POLICY OF THE BLOCKADE STANDS CONDEMNED AS THE CAUSE OF THOUSANDS OF DEATHS."

Dealing with the changes brought about by the Revolution, the report declares that while the richer classes have been dispossessed of their houses and other property, "large masses of the town population are now enjoying a share of the national wealth (including house accommodation) greater than they enjoyed before; and new possibilities of life and culture are opening out before them; and this is true in a very special degree of the child population." This does not mean that social equalisation is complete. There are still many classes who are privileged in various ways, e.g., soldiers and "responsible workers" in Government departments; on the other hand, there are persons who are still able to make small fortunes out of illegal trading in foodstuffs and other things. The general conclusion of the delegation is that—

"Broadly speaking, a single standard of living has been established. The glaring inequalities of fortune which from so great a scandal in capitalist countries and which are maintained even in distressed countries such as Austria and Poland; the striking difference in economic position between the rich and the poor; these things no longer exist in Russia. This equalisation applies to education and entertainment as well as food, housing, and clothing. Opportunities of education are now open from the elementary stages up to the University. . . . The greater part of the tickets in the principal theatres which formerly the poor never dreamed of entering, are now allotted to the various Trade Unions for distribution to their members at low fixed prices."

The Report pays a tribute to the finer side of the Communist Party by quoting the extract from the decree which lays it down that "it is the business of the Party to explain to every one of its members that at the present moment when the Russian Communist Party is responsible for the economic life of the country, the most inconspicuous and roughest work in the economic sphere is of the greatest importance, and is to be considered responsible party work."

There are interesting sections dealing with education, women and the family, transport, etc., but my space has gone, and it may be worth while dealing with these sections in another issue. The concluding paragraph of the Report sums up the view of the whole Labour movement on the question of Russia:—

"The Russian Revolution has not had a fair chance. . . . The conditions have been such as would have rendered the task of social transformation extraordinarily difficult, whoever had attempted it and whatever had been the means adopted. We cannot forget that the responsibility for these conditions resulting from foreign interference rests not upon the revolutionaries of Russia, but upon the capitalist governments of other countries, including our own."

The Crusader

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CORRESPONDENCE.

CONCERNING PHARISAISM.

Pharisaism may be defined as the spirit of one who "thinks of himself as being better than other men are." It is a very common and very often unconscious attribute of those whose lives are devoted to causes and the pursuit of ideals. Very often it is no more than a desire to appear to have superior ideas, short, to be "uncommon," and to be numbered with the "intellectuals." It is rather tiresome and monotonous that in the parlour window of every house in our street there should be a little table containing a plant pot. We also have a little table, likewise a plant pot; but we don't put them under the window, although it is the most convenient and obvious place for them. We have no reason for not doing so, except a vain desire to be different. That is incipient Pharisaism. It is a spirit which, if not efficiently checked, leads on to the despicable and eventually to the patronising of so-called common people. Perhaps a word in season on this subject, uttered in a sympathetic spirit, to pacifists, conscientious objectors, and of a pathetic spirit, to pacifists, conscientious objectors, and of idealists, may be timely. It is a far too common feature of F.O.R. open-air, for instance, to hear the speaker in the course of an otherwise excellent address, with the substance of what most of his hearers are inclined to agree, to hear him, in a spoilsporting way, by a glowing tribute to the sufferings and martyrdom of conscientious objectors, probably richly merited. It usually turns out that the speaker has himself been a conscientious objector, and there is too often a tone about it which suggests a consciousness of superior enlightenment, and an attempt to tempt the outer darkness in which the crowd, which allows itself to be duped by an unscrupulous Government and a more unscrupulous Press, has lived and does live. Is there room for more modesty in these matters? Or might not the speaker make a more generous and deliberate recognition of the fidelity to a principle, mistaken it may be, which actuates numbers of intelligent people who went to the war well knowing what it would cost? Many of them know now by bitter experience that they were mistaken, and their minds lie fallow for the pacifist seed. Are we likely to get the seed in by insinuating that if they had only been as wise as the conscientious objectors were in 1914, they would not have had to call themselves fools now? Does not this "We-told-you-so-we-said-from-the-beginning" spirit rather savour of Pharisaism? At least, I think it is the impression which the returned soldier of the thinking sort, too often gathers. It was the private writer's lot, after his discharge from the Army, to live and work with a number of conscientious objectors, and they were all of them excellent fellows. But they had a habit of talking down from a superior mental and spiritual attitude, to the few Service men in a way which was very difficult to bear, in which I happen to know did their cause incalculable harm. One of them especially talked a lot about his artistic temperament, which it is fair to say he possessed, but apparently it had been at least as big a barrier as his conscience to military service. Somehow he always managed to insinuate that inferior people not possessed of an artistic temperament, might manage to get along in the Army. Of course, if one were sensible and superior and a Pharisee, one could estimate all that at its proper value and dub it pure snobbishness or Pharisaism; but in consideration of one's knowledge of some genuine artists, met in France, and put their "temperaments" in their pockets, it hurt not a little. Altogether superior people can be very difficult to live with; one is often tempted to exclaim in words oft quoted by a good "Tommy" of happy memory: "It that's your Christianity, I say, God I'm only a Jew," which, when one comes to think of it, may also be Pharisaism.

Anyhow, the movement for which the "Crusader" stands in danger of being limited by this spirit and practice, and as a Pharisee to his fellows, may, I say "Let's be more moderate." And if we can't feel the publican is just as good as ourselves, don't let's tell him so!

C. UTTLEY HALSWORTH.

Groups for Action.

Below we print the names and localities of those who may be regarded as agents in their respective districts for serving the interests of the "Crusader."

Friends who perceive opportunities in those districts for increasing our circulation should notify our representatives.

In this way there may come into existence all over the country groups of live men and women pledged to do what they can for the "Crusader" and the Crusade.

The Crusade.

Such persons or groups should be able to render invaluable service to any speakers connected with the Crusade visiting their neighbourhood. For such speakers to know, in whatever part of the country they may be, to whom to turn for local information, would be a great help.

Those who have the leisure may even feel called to go further and to assist in organising meetings for speakers, or securing a hearing for them from local platforms.

A Democratic Basis.

We are sure that the creative and inventive spirit present in the movement will discover ways and means of furthering the cause. One thing is certain. We have no desire to dictate methods or to supply the initiative and to build up a centralised organisation. The impetus for service and ideas for work must come from those acting in the capacity named. We want to see a democratic movement—not a bureaucratic oligarchy.

Now for the "Crusader" and the Crusade!

LONDON.—Mr. G. Bickers, 133, Geere Road, Stratford, E.15.

Mr. G. P. Coverdale, 38, Glengall Road, S.E.15.

Miss E. Martin, 18, Avon Road, Walthamstow, E.17.

Mr. C. H. Offley, 43, Eastbourne Road, Tooting, S.W.17.

Rev. R. W. Sorensen, 31, Palmerston Road, Walthamstow, E.17.

NEWPORT.—Mr. Trevor C. Griffiths, 40, Oakfield Road, Newport, Mon.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

A Nonconformist who attended a Church of England service during the holidays has been writing about it in the "Christian World," and I am glad to see that he very pointedly protests against the fact that the choir and congregation, following the order of service prescribed for them by law, are called upon to chant the utterly unChristian words of Psalm 109. There can be no doubt that any people in the Church of England, as well as any Nonconformists, will welcome such a protest whenever it is made. In this psalm an enemy is utterly cursed, and the cursing is not merely a sudden uprising of volcanic anger, but a studied and carefully elaborated scheme of revenge incited by spirit of hatred and murder.

These are some of the words the people were required to sing in that Church consecrated to the religion of the Jesus who said "Love your enemies":—"Set thou an ungodly man to be ruler over him: and let Satan stand at his right hand. When sentence is given upon him, let him be condemned; and let his prayer be turned into sin. Let his days be few: and let another take his office. Let his children be fatherless: and his wife a dow. Let his children be vagabonds, and beg for bread: let them seek it also out of desolate places. Let the extortioner consume all that he hath: and let the stranger spoil his labour. Let there be no man to pity him: nor to have compassion on his fatherless children. Let his posterity be destroyed: and in the next generation let his name be clean put out. Let the wickedness of his fathers be had in remembrance in the sight of the Lord: and let not the sin of his mother be done away. Let them always be before the Lord: that He may root out the memorial of them from off the earth."

And it must be remembered that these murderous words of cursing were sung that evening by thousands of congregations similarly assembled! And they have been so sung for centuries! It is really marvel how men and women can be brought to do this in a Christian Church. Does it mean that they do not know what Christianity is, or does it mean simply that they do not think what they are saying? Perhaps it is a mixture of both. The writer in the "Christian World" suggests that the use of such words cannot be without some evil effect, even if only sub-conscious, upon a people which has used them for generations. "How far," he asks, "has the religious temper of this nation been determined by the Old Testament, taken as though it were of equal authority with the New?"

Our experience during the war showed us that the hopeless confusion regarding this matter of the relative values of Old and New Testaments still exists even in the minds of ministers and clergy; and the average religious journal seemed never to have even

heard of the command, "Love your enemies." It delighted in cursing the foe in the name of the Lord. And, alas! the average Christian loved to have it so.

But, says the writer of the article now under notice, "Christ said that we should not curse enemies but bless them; and His word supersedes all others. It is impossible for contradictions to live side by side. We cannot mean at the same moment the 109th Psalm and the Sermon on the Mount." But, nevertheless, I am sure that this is precisely the thing that many people in our Churches do try to mean. They are so muddle-headed that they can name the Treaty of Versailles and Jesus Christ in one and the same breath and never feel the least bit shaky.

The case of the Lord Mayor of Cork, hunger-striking in Brixton prison, is touched upon by several of the papers now before me. The comments are mostly very feeble, with one leg in the Gospel and the other in Psalm 109. The "Challenge" discusses the problem the prison authorities have to face when they meet a hunger-striker. "The hunger-striker should not go unpunished," it says. "He has broken the law, and by his conduct in prison has defied the power of the law to punish him; and committed a grave offence in threatening his own life." The "Church Times" carries this question of suicide in prison on to ecclesiastical ground, and writes warningly to those who administered the last sacraments to the dying Lord Mayor. I quote: "A grave moral issue is raised. A man who neglects to use the ordinary means for preserving life is held, by Roman Catholic moral theologians, to be guilty of indirect and negative suicide. By some such process of reasoning as that which at one time brought the Jesuits into disrepute, the authorities seem to have persuaded themselves that the last sacraments may be given to one who is determined upon suicide, and is actually in the last stage of resolutely committing it. . . . The Roman Catholic authorities have it in their power to prevent the suicide by hunger-strike of those who are sufficiently faithful to be unwilling to die without the last sacraments. It is incumbent upon them to use their power of moral and spiritual suasion to frustrate the declared intention of the suicide."

A paragraph like that is very provocative. According to the rules it lays down, what escape is there from its conclusions? It all seems so simple and so logical. And yet one is not satisfied by it. There is an elemental and instinctive rebellion of one's spirit against the whole thing. It reminds one more of the Pharisees than of Jesus. One feels that, rules or no rules, logic or no logic, the Roman priest was right in administering the last sacraments, and that he would have been frightfully wrong in refusing to do so.

Food and Freedom.

"Make me as one of thy hired servants" was a cry wrung from a man suffering the pangs of hunger. Not the least suggestive point in the marvellous parable in which it occurs is the fact that the Father refuses to take advantage of his son's extremity. No son living in a servile capacity shall disgrace his household. Food shall be his and in abundance, but it shall not be purchased at the price of freedom. Food and Freedom are not incompatible. We must hold the two ideals together.

The Church's Monopoly.

This is especially true in religion. There are certain sacramental aids to the living of the Christian life of which the Church holds the monopoly. It can scarcely be denied that there is to-day a re-awakening to the value of sacramental acts. Many who awhile ago scorned such things are conscious of a great hunger for a ministry that shall appeal to and feed the soul through the senses. Abstractions and negations, the bareness and ultra-spirituality of Puritanism, it is felt, deny the truth of the Incarnation. Some tell us that the need of sacraments is a temperamental peculiarity, but whether that be so or not it is evident that upon the satisfaction of this need the spiritual health of large numbers of people depend.

So urgent is the need that those referred to are tempted to sell their moral and intellectual freedom in order that they may be fed. To the Church that demands, as the condition of enjoying her hospitality, an unconditional surrender to her authority, they are inclined to say, "Make me as one of thy hired servants if thereby I may eat and drink from thy table." But servility can never be a condition of God's hospitality, and a faith is growing up among us which will some day find expression in a Church which is both Sacramental and Free, which, while it will minister to those who need visible forms, will refuse to enslave any mind or conscience seeking its assistance.

Wage-Slavery.

The same principle is seen at work in the development of the Labour Movement. There are still certain sections of that Movement which are content to demand higher wages. The majority of men are fairly content to serve the interests of a capitalist employer if they can be assured thereby of security regarding the prime necessities of life. Dreams of a higher status than that of wage-slaves appear to them Utopian. Privation has so far robbed them of their manhood that they are scarcely capable even of conceiving of a world in which the workers would have obtained the status of masters. "Make me as one of thy hired servants—but give me work—wages—security" is their cry. To ask for more appears to them to imperil the possibility even of securing food.

But a new spirit is growing in the Labour Movement. A larger faith is developing. We believe to-day that Food and Freedom must go together.

God demands of no man, as the price of the material means of life, the surrender of his manhood. In the strength of that Faith we are resolved to create a world wherein men shall enjoy the bounty of the common Father as sons. The willingness to forfeit liberty for the sake of bread is a denial of the faith enshrined in the Parable of the Prodigal Son.

The Personal Question.

But this is a personal and individual question. There are certain types of employers to serve whom demands a stifling of conscience or a denial of one's intelligence. There is remunerative employment, which men are driven by hunger, which can only be accepted by refusing to think for oneself.

Go to any of the towns in which distress is acute to-day and at the street corners you will find recruiting sergeants waiting like vultures to pounce on the weak and demoralised out-of-works. Men who swore sincerely that they would never again don khaki are being tempted by the lure of food. The same thing is true in other professions. A similar motive accounts for the hireling Press and the hireling pulpit.

Can we, as individuals, in virtue of this Faith defy the world-powers and fling ourselves upon the goodness of God's providence? I believe Jesus teaching with regard to the lilies of the field and the ravens is intended for just such cases. Let the faith be but real, and no mere excuse for indolence, no camouflaged "trusting to chance," and I am convinced that it will be verified in experience.

"Make me as one of thy hired servants" is a prayer God refuses to answer.

PETER THE HERMIT.

OWNERSHIP.

Were there no self-will, there would be also no ownership. In heaven there is no ownership; hence there are found content, true peace, and all blessedness. If anyone there took upon him to call anything his own, he would straightway be thrust out into hell, and would become an evil spirit. But in hell everyone will have self-will, therefore there is all manner of misery and wretchedness. So is it also here on earth. But if there were one in hell who should get quit of his self-will and call nothing his own, he would come out of hell into heaven. Now, in this present time man is set between heaven and hell, and may turn himself toward which he will. For the more he hath of ownership, the more he hath of hell and misery; and the less of self-will, the less of hell, and the nearer he is to the Kingdom of Heaven. He who hath something or seeketh or longeth to have something of his own, is himself a slave; and he who hath nothing of his own, nor seeketh nor longeth thereafter, is free and at large, and in bondage to none.—THEOLOGIA GERMANICA.

Realpolitik.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

The course of true life is never, taken as a whole, smooth. It would be better for us all if we would face the question boldly and admit that life is hard. Life is hard; and we do ourselves and others a great injury by pretending that it is not. The old Divines were right who explained life as a conflict, a contest, a race. We may express that conflict in many ways, but they all amount to the same thing. We may say, for example, that life is a conflict between good and evil, or between contentment and desire, the old and the new, the past and the future, the ideal and the real. All these expressions declare a simple truth, viz., that progress is of the essence of life; and progress involves change, and change involves effort.

But what is progress? Progress is modification of habit—and thus of species—which results in the increasing of life. It is possible to have modification which does not increase life, as in the case of a man who, as soon as he becomes rich, ceases to be active, especially intellectually and spiritually, and gives over to a life of physical enjoyment. But to live truly is to grow, that is, to be constantly modifying one's habits with a view to widening one's horizon, multiplying and deepening the channels wherein one experiences life. The soul of Christ, or of a Socrates, a Plato, a Tolstoy, is responsive to thousands of stimuli, possesses thousands of sympathies and intuitions of which the soul of the ordinary country yokel, or the average commercial millionaire, e.g., is sublimely unconscious. Consequently the former experience more life than the latter. Thus we may say that progress is the creation of power to experience life. And progress is natural to man, being, as I have said, of the essence of life.

Such being the case, one would assume that progress would be the chief object of human desire and endeavour, socially as well as individually, but the strange fact is that a very large proportion of mankind are opposed to it, and nearly all the more powerful public institutions are arrayed against it. Indeed, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that organised society is a huge conspiracy against progress.

Now why is this? Can men be blind to their own interests? They can, and for the disturbing fact that things are not what they seem. The condition of progress is thought, as it is impossible to set out on a new life track, to give up one's present pursuits, one's present Good, without first having been convinced, either through reason or faith, that a higher Good is possible. But the fact is that everyone, whether he think little or much, possesses a concept of Good, controls his life by reference to some ideal of pleasure or well-being. In most cases this concept is determined by environment, by the lives of those amongst whom one lives, while habit tends to make it appear fixed, unchangeable, eternal.

The battle of life thus chiefly consists in a struggle between aspiration, or the growth instinct,

and habit and convention, or the stay-as-you-are instinct. Every growing soul must wage a perpetual war against habit and contentment, on the one hand, and convention and social and political institutions on the other.

A spiritually healthy society, especially in the age of reason and art, would thus naturally do all in its power to encourage the idealists, those who aspired after life, sought and revealed new tracks wherein a richer harvest of life might be gathered, would even decentralise the power of government in order to increase initiative and encourage individuality.

But what we find is the very opposite of this. The State and, through its influence, the principal institutions of the country (which for all practical purposes may be considered State institutions), such as the Press, Parliament, the Church and the Schools, do everything possible to perpetuate existing ideas, morals, customs, and conditions, and to discredit and silence the idealists, the advocates of new morals, new conditions, new social relationships. Indeed, I am inclined to think that the spiritual oppression of the State was never so great, never so complete as it is to-day. The methods of suppression adopted to-day may be more subtle, less physically cruel than those of the Middle Ages, or of the Holy Inquisition; but they are none the less effective. Men and women have been as vilely treated during the last six years in Europe and America for refusing to renounce their faith, even their Christian faith, as they were in Rome during the early centuries of the Christian era. If the rods of iron have been spared, the poisonous shafts of the Press have been freely used, and with more disastrous effect.

And such facts are ominous because they compel us to realise that modern States are not only more vicious but more powerful than were the ancient States. The omnipotence of kings has been superseded by the omnipotence of millionaires. The big barons dethroned the king and then shared power with him. Afterwards the smaller barons dethroned the big barons and shared the power with them. Later the rich burghers dethroned the landowners and shared the power with their victims. The result is that to-day we are in the hands of a minority of unspeakably rich people whose sole aim is to maintain their supremacy. The process by which they do this is called "Realpolitik," and Realpolitik is the mightiest force in the world to-day—the mightiest and deadliest. Within its grip, President Wilson's idealism vanishes like the puff of a rifle, and Lloyd George becomes as potter's clay. Its creed is: the world shall not change; men shall not be free; those who have shall hold. And LIFE replies: these things are lies, the world shall change; men shall be free; those who have shall not retain.

By the faith of simple souls the mighty minorities which virtually constitute modern Capitalist States must be dethroned.

Ireland: a New Way Out.

The mood of almost pessimistic despair in regard to a way out in Ireland is not at all a modern one. A Spanish commander, centuries ago, vowed that when the Devil offered Christ upon the mount the kingdoms of the earth and the glory of them, he left Ireland out so as to keep it for himself; and an even older observer, Giraldus, the Welshman, said that the Irish question would be settled a little while before the Day of Judgment. Yet, to-day, in spite of grave aggravations, within and without the country itself, there is a deep-down sense among an increasing number of people that there is a way out if only we had the courage to take it. Perhaps the first condition for finding it is to admit that the way too often tried in the past and now to be tried again, is not the way. As Lord Morley says in his "Recollections," and surely he knows more about the difficulties of the problem than almost any man of his time—"Mere bullying isn't governing, and it has unmistakably failed." Yet we are now being asked by the nation's leaders to repeat the many times discredited blunder.

Do our politicians ever learn anything from history, or were they all brought up on an elementary school-reader, as Mr. Chesterton avers? Certainly, anyone at all familiar with even the last forty years of the British treatment—not to say government—of Ireland, must be almost amazed at the tragic attempts to cure or even to quell one kind of violence by another kind. The famous saying of Swift that "A dozen armed men are always more than equal to one man in his shirt," doesn't apply as it used to do, though even when it did it was a delusion. Coercion, says Lord Morley, was the standardised medicine, but it always left the malady where it was, unless it made it worse. Three successive doses were administered during the years 1880-5, yet John Bright frankly admitted before that Parliament came to an end:—"I think the legislation of 1881 was a great mistake, though, I was myself a member of the Government concerned in it." Yet our short-sighted as well as short-memory politicians of to-day seem willing to try it again.

What, then, is the way? Centuries of distrust of the Irish have led to a cul-de-sac. Then why not turn back and try something quite else? Is it not a case for a venture of generosity? As Burke said in regard to the revolt of the American colonies:—"Magnanimity is not seldom the wisest course in politics." Why not try it in Ireland? The bulk of the people seem to desire some measure of real independence of Great Britain—it is now too late for moderate measures like the Home Rule Acts, past or present—and they won't be happy till they get it, though it is doubtful if they'll be happy even if they do get it. Anyway, why not give them what they ask for, not niggardly but generously? "What?" says the Prime Minister, in his vicarious rhetoric, "permit an island so near to our shores to have liberty of action? She would be a danger to the Empire!"

Well, in the first place, what is she now but a danger? Could she become a greater danger than she is and has been for centuries? As to nearness, France is much nearer, yet, so far, there is no proposal to ask her to give us the control of her Channel ports and fleet. We feel pretty confident that we should be able to deal with any attempted invasion or antagonist alliance there, yet Calais is nearer to Dover than is any part of Ireland to England. Besides, we trust other and far more exposed parts of the Empire to the risks of attack or perverted allegiance. Is it sincere on the part of the Prime Minister and those for whom he speaks to want us to believe that with the biggest navy in the world watching her, Ireland would be so silly as to think she could gain anything by imitating us in that direction? The fact is, of course, Ireland half despises us for ambitions of Empire and isn't at all likely to imitate her big neighbour (though it must be admitted Italy is a warning that the disease of nationalism tends towards Empire grabbing). But apart from all such considerations of possibilities, the crisis in Ireland calls for a venture of faith in an entirely new direction: that of trust rather than distrust.

The grant of as great a freedom of self-government as is enjoyed by Canada or South Africa would almost certainly do more to make Ireland into a decent neighbour than anything else that can well be put before her. If Mr. Lloyd George could be persuaded to trust his undoubted generous instincts instead of being content to go on repeating the parrot phrases of somebody else about "Danger to the Empire," etc., he would not only crown his brilliant career with a really great achievement, but would give to Europe and the world that high and splendid lesson in political government which is needed beyond almost all else in world affairs. Of course, such freedom to Nationalist Ireland must include provision for those definable regions of the North East to continue their direct economic and other allegiance to Great Britain; and one is glad to see that this difficulty is now not insisted upon as an insuperable one by either side.

One thing seems now very clear. Even if such a policy as is advocated above failed to do what is to be reasonably believed it would do, it will cost less to undo it than it is costing and will continue to cost with the present policy of trying to keep together by force what can only be really kept together by mutual goodwill. But such a policy would not fail; and incidentally it would allow the rest of the United Kingdom to get on with its too long delayed business of reform, instead of being eternally held up by "the Irish Problem."

J. DARBYSHIRE.

"The Statesman's Catechism" has been reprinted from "The Crusader" as a leaflet, and can now be obtained from the Blackfriars Press, 17, Albion Street, Leicester. Post free, 16/6 per 1,000.

Stones and Bread.

It is perhaps significant that the Gothic glory of the cathedral at Rouen is surmounted by a hideous spire of steel, built during the latter part of last century, and made distasteful to the point of absurdity by the addition of a curious little cap which renders its inanity frivolous. The structure is unconsciously symbolic. We had wandered through Brittany and Normandy, visiting quaint or beautiful towns with their wonderful mediæval churches; the train carried us through the wealth of the Normandy fields, past farms mellowed and coloured by time and use, then suddenly through a passage of the hills to the valley of the Seine, and industrial France was upon us. Rouen itself seemed to epitomise the whole nation: a queer mixture of the splendour of the Middle Ages side by side with modern industry; of gaiety in the brightly-lighted cafes, and poverty and vice in the tortuous little streets which creep away to the darkness from the sweep of the boulevards. At nightfall, beyond the circle of light and the few potted shrubs which cut off the cafe tables from the streets, one would see a ring of the outcasts with whom the city abounds, watching light and life and music which the possession of francs ensured to the fortunate.

Rouen is memorable as a city of contrasts.

Great ships unloading at the quays and furtive creatures tearing over rubbish heaps with hungry fingers, hoping to find food or the means of food among the refuse; the incredible beauty of Gothic churches jostled by kinema and hedged in by slums; the sweeping circle of the boulevards and the tall dark houses of the side streets. One remembers especially an early morning scene under the facade of the cathedral: the brightness of sun and sky with a soaring lacework of stone which had been an act of worship by mediæval craftsmen; beneath it a dwarfed group of workmen gathered before a propagandist poster of the French bakers, "The Bread that Kills."

Perhaps it is the effect of the ever-present religion of symbolism that one sees so much in France which appears symbolic; certainly that excited little crowd, drawn together by their fellows' discontent, in contrast to the sunlit facade of the cathedral, struck me as full of meaning.

Once the really vital things of the life of the people had been expressed with towering stonework and carven saint, with curious or beautiful decoration, with miracle of stained glass, turret, spire and pinnacle; these things had been a manifestation of the communal aspiration. Now, a yellow poster of protest against one phase of the conditions of life and industry, stands out from the teeming activities of the town as being an arresting, a vital thing. On the faces of these workmen one saw that cognisance of profound forces which were merging the individual with the wider communal expression.

At the services in the great churches there is little of such vitality. The congregation, chiefly of women and children, with the merest sprinkling of

men, answers the responses almost listlessly; their voices echo among the arches; they are lost in the immensity of the buildings. Here and there one sees a face rapt in the consecration of devotion before some shrine or saint, and the old religion with its thousand and one seemingly outworn ideas becomes for a moment a real thing, giving peace and "that joy which the world cannot give." But much more often it strikes one as a thing become meaningless—the sloughed skin of the religious emotion. Worse even than that, it can become a cheapened thing of thinly disguised commercialism; as when one climbs the hill to Bonsecours, the place of pilgrimage for the people of Rouen, to find masses of little shops selling the images, candles and charms, souvenirs and gimcracks, their value enhanced by a strained link with the religiosity which centres around the dressed-up figure of Our Lady of Bonsecours. Spite of the many candles which burnt about her shrine, there is no reality; one felt the sham. This is not the spirit which piled the stones of the great church of St. Ouen, or lighted the glory of the rose windows centuries ago.

One thinks again of the sudden vitality which animated the group of early morning workmen, of the pent-up enthusiasm and indignation which, breaking into language, made these men suddenly akin and united them in a common cause.

Doubtless there are many Frances. The cynical, imperialistic France of her diplomacy; the swaggering, conquering-hero France expressing itself in flamboyant war memorials; the dead, beautiful France of mediævalism, a poor ghost still haunting the great buildings which were once its place of habitation; the conservative France of the fields and country towns clinging yet to outmoded costume and quaint ceremony; the vulgar, rich France of the Courses and fashionable resorts. Subjects for pessimism, as most of these are, one feels the stirrings of hope in thinking of the ever-growing vitality of that other France—the people of conscious unity in Labour ideals, passionate, indignant, casting out fear. Is it therein that the religious instinct of the people is to find outlet, or will it be diverted into paths of national aggrandisement and imperialism? That is the problem to all peoples; but to France, so newly freed from the shibboleths of the traditional religion, one feels this problem of filling the void to be immediate. France has so often led the way in the construction of political philosophy. Her people bring to it a more intense realisation of the oneness of the group units, a more passionate activity, a clearer logical faculty applied to the problems in hand. What has she now to offer as the expression of her soul? Once it was Rouen and Chartres, Amiens and Rheims. And now? Is it the army of occupation flaunting its banners in Southern Germany, the cynicism of her diplomats, or a number of workers drawn into unity, awakened to strange vitality by a poster proclaiming the wrongs of others?

HORACE SHIPP.

The Pilgrim Fathers.

AN EXPERIMENT IN A PEOPLE'S DICTATORSHIP.

I write of the earliest period of the Plymouth Colony before it was degraded by federation with the neighbouring colonies.

Recently, in Southampton, the tercentenary of the Pilgrims was celebrated by a pageant. One could not help the thought that those who were specially privileged to witness the spectacle were merely acting a part in the usual political farce of illusioning the public. It was a gathering of politicians—a rich man's show, for the workers and the town's children were excluded by the heavy fees. The Pilgrim Fathers had nothing in common with these well-to-do middle-class folk; for in the Plymouth Colony only workers were tolerated. There were no parasites there. In fact, the colony was a remarkable experiment in communism.

The pilgrims set out to establish an ideal society, really a society of saints on earth. Hence for them

Patriotism was not enough.

Narrow ideals they had; but they acted according to the divine truth, that principles are ever greater than patriotism. Thus, like every true revolutionary, they put mankind first and fatherland somewhere convenient. To them the principles they served were valuable, not because they were English, but because they were international. They had the daring to serve the Universal God, despite England's laws, her patent rights, and her king.

The Dictatorship of Citizens.

Like Lenin, they saw clearly that their infant society could not develop while it had over it the influence of the old mentality. A stronger force than the old institutions of government was therefore required. A dictatorship, swift to act, and free from public corruption, was instituted on the "Mayflower." All the freemen of the colony signed the compact; and, later, when the colony was freed from joint-stock control, and the number of the citizens had increased, General courts were created. These courts were really town or village Soviets. They carried out the wishes of the citizens, who centralised their authority in a mandate held by the Governor. Plymouth in 1620—1670 was Russia in miniature. The General courts, unlike our English Parliament, controlled the military as well as the civic affairs. The Governor could not plead, as did Mr. Lloyd George recently, that he could not control any one of his ministers; for he and his seven ministers were directly in the hands of the citizens. They were representatives and servants of the people, and not of the financiers, bond-holders, brewers, and episcopacy. In Plymouth, as in Russia, there did not exist a distinct, detached caste, free to intrigue and make war to the hurt of the people. A dictatorship of the proletariat is, after all, thoroughly representative of those who fulfil all the functions of citizens, but not of those whom the citizens carry on their

backs. So valuable was this dictatorship in the Pilgrim State that Governor Bradford was mandated to hold office for 36 years, except for a period of five years when he requested relief. At his death, began the decline of the colony; for the dictatorship, meant only to be temporary, was unwisely protracted, and made too intolerant. Reaction almost destroyed the good Bradford created.

The "Mayflower" compact which authorised the dictatorship also decreed that the social life should be what to-day we call

Communism.

There were no rich there—no highly-paid officials. All were obliged to work. Idlers were not tolerated. Land was not sold, but granted or allotted to be used in the service of the community. The land was God's and the Commune's. In fact, the ownership of the land was vested in all its freemen—as soon shall our factories and our land be vested in the workers. Consequently in Plymouth there was no inequality of wealth, and, therefore, no exploitation. Not till 50 years after the founding of the colony did citizenship involve the possession of property. This change in the status of citizenship decided the death of communism, and, of course, the degeneracy of the colony. All offices were elective; taxes were levied in proportion to what a man could pay; there was no indirect taxation; marriage was regulated; philanthropic (State) schemes were organised; State pensions for all were established; and State education was compulsory. In all this wonderful organisation we trace the international spirit of the Fathers, for they certainly adopted what to them was good in continental society. The more one contemplates the beauty and the hope of this young society, the more awful appears the tragedy which destroyed the spirit of the Puritans and handed the colony back to the capitalists. That is the tragedy of Plymouth.

There is a lesson for us revolutionists in this: As Plymouth found it impossible to live a separate existence without compromising with neighbouring States, different and less scrupulous, so shall we find it impossible to establish the Social Revolution in England unless that Revolution is part of an international revolution. Communistic England could not exist alone, surrounded by capitalist States. Lenin is right: Russia cannot be thoroughly revolutionised until West Europe goes "red."

Above all things, life in Plymouth was a life of defence. The Pilgrims lived in a state of siege. Potential enemies were within; Indians and European intriguers were without. Consequently, the society, in principle pacifist, depended for its existence on militarism.

Pacifists became militarists, even to the extent of carrying arms as far as the meeting-house on the Sabbath. Every colonist had imperative military

duties to which he was conscript. Towns were not permitted "to be defective for want of a drum."

Spirit, not the System.

The Plymouth settlement failed. Reaction destroyed the ideals that had gone to the conception of it. The persecuted became persecutors. Some of the later towns were really "built on blood." The whole life of man was ordered by law. Art and all beautiful things were practically prohibited. Religious intolerance soured the hearts of the colonists. It is true the early pioneers had made their society as near to their ideals as human beings could; but they failed lamentably to give to their successors their spirit as well as their system. Seventy years after the founding of the colony, society there was a carcase—the beautiful spirit of Bradford had departed, and Plymouth fell an easy prey to capitalist adventurers. Let all revolutionists be forewarned and forearmed. We must be careful that the spirit which inaugurates the Revolution is not merely the spirit of a man or of a few men. If it is based on the

Eternal Authority of Jesus

there will be no fear that when the pioneers of the Revolution die the spirit will perish with them. Lenin is a pioneer to-day. He represents a great international spirit of revolt. If, however, the spiritual dynamic of the Russian Revolution is centred in the brain of a few Russian thinkers, then Russia, like the Plymouth Colony, is doomed to fail.

We have in Jesus of Nazareth a spirit, a power, an eternal influence that can preserve the Revolution which is organised and defended in His Name. Without Jesus Christ the Revolution will fail. The highest wisdom directs us to-day to make His spirit the force behind all our propaganda and our schemes for the future government of England.

J. R. SULLIVAN.

THE TASK OF RELIGION.

The task of religion has not been that merely of illumining the mind; it has been that, as well, of harmonising the spirit. How has it done this? Like so many of the things we have forgotten; in a way that appears at once simple and incomprehensible. Religion heals because it thinks not of truth alone, but as well of man's power to apprehend it and of his relation to it; and because it thinks of these not separately, first discovering the truth and then trying to find man's right relation to it, but simply, completely, and, as it were, in one thought. We have in modern psychology a term which expresses conveniently this completeness; we say that religion speaks not to the conscious alone, but to the unconscious as well. There, then, is the secret of its healing force. Erase religion from the life of men and you bereave them of the knowledge which harmonises to give in exchange that which merely explains, merely analyses. But religion has been waning; it is now almost extinct; and the thinkers of our day are not even aware that healing truths are necessary, that they have ever existed, or that it is advisable that they should exist.—NEW AGE.

Bishops will be Bishops.

When I was a youngster my sins were sometimes covered with the charitable remark, "Boys will be boys." In the same manner I would comment on the report of the recent Conference of Anglican Bishops held at Lambeth. You do not change the character of a bishop by multiplying him by 252. Unfortunately you cannot greatly transform him by bringing him to the centre of an Empire that is shaking to its foundations, and setting him to confer with brother bishops during weeks in which the whole economic system of civilisation is most obviously threatened. None of these things can prevent a bishop from remaining a bishop.

One of the traits of Anglican officials is the tendency to compromise. Perhaps the very genesis of the Anglican Communion, viz., Elizabeth's attempt to steer a middle course between Romanism and Puritanism—is accountable for this characteristic, but however that may be it is very prominent in the voluminous records of the Lambeth Conference. Whether it be with regard to Re-union, Internationalism, or Industrial problems the same desire to reconcile irreconcilable opposites, the same failure to strike out a real synthetic principle, the same belief that peace can be brought about between conflicting parties by moderate language that evades the issue is manifest.

This is the principle followed, as stated on page 46:—

"The Church cannot in its corporate capacity be an advocate or partisan, 'a judge or a divider,' in political or class disputes where moral issues are not at stake: nevertheless even in matters of economic and political controversy the Church is bound to give its positive and active corporate witness to the Christian principles of justice, brotherhood, and the equal and infinite value of every human personality."

As though there were any political or class dispute which at bottom was not a moral issue!

The kind of ambiguous statement to which this principle gives rise is exemplified in the following:—

"Two characteristics of the order to which the wage system belongs are the pursuit of self-interest and the prevalence of unrestricted competition. Now self-interest has a legitimate, though always a subordinate, place in Christian ethics; and competition, not for mere gain but for the fulfilment of duty in the best possible way, is a reasonable incentive to efficiency. It is foolish to despise individual enterprise and unduly to fetter individual liberty. But the dominant principle in a rightly ordered society will be co-operation for the common good rather than competition for private advantage."

Let it be said, however, that bishops are not the only people who err in this way, as the recent letter of the Free Church Council and the resolutions adopted by the Friends' Conference testify. Perhaps, indeed, none of us are quite free to hurl the stones of criticism. Even Lenin has been accused of compromise!

HANDS OFF IRELAND

A GREAT DEMONSTRATION

WILL BE HELD IN

Southwark Park, on Sunday Afternoon

September 12th, to demand the right of Self-determination for the Irish People.

SPEAKERS:

Mrs. SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON (Of Dublin) Mr. CATHAL O'SHANNON (Of the Irish Trade Union Congress)

Alderman Dr. ALFRED SALTER, J.P. (Parliamentary Labour Candidate for West Bermondsey)

Chair to be taken at 4 p.m. Procession of Bands and Banners will leave Fort Road Labour Institute at 2-30 p.m.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES. Sunday, September 5, Kensington Town Hall, 11 a.m. Miss Maude Royden. Master of the music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

TWEEDS.—Any length cut. Suitings, Costumes, Overcoatings. Patterns sent on application.—R. A. Anderson, 21 St. Andrew Street, Galashiels.

The Great Heresy.

By RUTH A. BEACH.

Diana of the Crossways expressed her sense of the infinite worth of human life in these words:—"When I cease to cherish it in every fibre, the fires within it are waning." To those who are intensely alive, Life is indeed a supremely great adventure, and when it ceases to be so, it is no longer worth living. It was probably a sense of this which caused a modern writer to remark that if we are CONSCIOUSLY trying to "do good" and "help others," something has gone wrong with us; we are not fully alive. For if life were strong within us, all our actions would be spontaneous, and all would be an expression of our personality. It is of this that Bergson is thinking when he tells us that Joy is Nature's sign that the individual is fulfilling his destiny.

It is for the lack of this Joy that the world is dying to-day. There are few of us—let us hope—who do not know something of it, who in the presence of beauty, whether of art or of Nature, or in the joy of human love, have not heard God speak. What says Maeterlinck?—"All of us have known moments such as these moments, which have left but worthless ashes behind." But this is not enough. "We must learn to live in the midst of a beauty, of an earnestness WHICH SHALL HAVE BECOME PART OF OURSELVES." Of the sheer joy of life itself, of work itself, how many are ignorant! Mrs. Browning's lines must appear to many of us sheer irony:—

"Dear work! art thou the curse of God?
What must His blessing be!"

It is this deadness of the creative faculty, this prevalence of sheer mechanical drudgery, this hopelessness of outlook, which has made credible such a heresy as that which is brought forward seriously to-day: the belief that if competition were done away with, that which gives zest to life would be gone. Nothing could prove more emphatically that its zest is already gone, that life is being robbed of all sense of adventure.

It may be that some form of competition was necessary for the development of the race; that it has certain advantages, and that we have a difficult problem before us in our efforts to replace it by co-operation. This is discussed fully in "Competition: A Study in Human Motive," an intensely interesting work, written for the "Collegium." It does not seek to minimise difficulties, but reminds us that, as Christians, we dare not shelter ourselves behind the excuse that "human nature being what it is," certain evils must be, for it is the glory of the Cross that it TRANSFORMS human nature.

We may grant all the difficulties of the task before us; it is, indeed, stupendous. But to the assertion that contest between man and man in all its varied forms is the best adventure that life has to offer us, we answer that such zest as it yields is, at its best, a spurious imitation of that life more abundant which Christ came to give us: it has no-

thing in common with it. It is too true that as yet we only catch fleeting glimpses of what that life could be, a life in which we shall together continually progress in love and understanding of each other, in power over nature, in creative art, and in the knowledge—which includes all this—of God himself. Brotherhood may be a very meaningless term, especially when we dissociate it from a belief in the Divine Fatherhood; what it really means we cannot know fully when we are, voluntarily or involuntarily, fighting every man for his own hand. But when we think of what human love has achieved and still achieves, when we realise something of what human friendship means, we can faintly picture what a world would be like in which we were all friends, all fighting WITH each other for an ever deeper realisation of the Kingdom of God. We do not know yet what this all-compelling power of love is, and what it may achieve. Truly "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive the things that God hath prepared for them that love Him."

If we are to achieve anything to bring the Kingdom of God nearer, we MUST shake ourselves free from the heresy that we are powerless to change human nature, that evolution will gradually achieve what is to be done, and that the zest of life lies in competition with each other. If we cannot conceive of a world where it shall be otherwise, or if we cannot see how such a stupendous change can take place, then let us make a "terrific" act of faith in a God Who is waiting for our co-operation, and Who, if we yield ourselves, not passively, but actively, into His Hands, will use us for His great designs. Without such a faith Life is hardly worth living. Does not Bergson's note of freedom spur us on in that sublime passage where, after having shown us the unity of all the living, he speaks of the whole creation as one immense army galloping onwards, able, by virtue of the divine life it carries with it, to override all difficulties, overcome all obstacles, "perhaps even death itself."

FIGHTING FOR OIL FIELDS.

We are now committed to a big war in Mesopotamia. A few weeks ago the staff engaged in the operations there asked for four more divisions. In response, the War Office is sending three brigades from India. There are already 100,000 troops in the country, not 65,000 as previously stated. That is only the beginning. What expense will be entailed and how many lives lost before the prize is ours; who can say? There is scarcely a pretence that this is other than a capitalist war. The Arabs are fighting for self-determination, and we are fighting for oilfields. That, briefly, is the situation.

Bookland.

*One Way of Love.

"These were written in police-cell, gaardroom and in prison walls;
"Strict silence must be preserved,"
But the heart was too full to be silent and so it sang,
It sang as a child of what it saw and it felt
It sang of its love and its vision."

and again: "We love and revere life. We shall not kill." These are the first and almost the last sentences in S. Winsten's volume of poems, "Chains," and because of that belief he endured imprisonment; and the poems—strange mixture of ecstasy and misery—were born of his experience. To those of us who shared that experience they are poignantly reminiscent; the writer has set down faithfully and simply facts and emotions of prison life. The cold, hunger, silence and broken humanity are stated in language singularly bald and unemotional. That constitutes both their success and their failure. Because they are level, unemotional, uncoloured, they convey the atmosphere; they are too grey and tired even to be bitter, too resigned even to hate or scorn. They are despair and the crumbs of happiness which hunger searches out—these things "remembered in tranquility." If the whole book were a conscious effort to create that mood, Winsten has succeeded. But there are times when they lapse into mere facility and their reality changes to sentimentality. It takes a great writer to build poems from minor things, to make details universally significant; if Mr. Winsten chose deliberately this stark material, he needed to convey it with more kinetic language. Words and metre come too easily to him, and moralising fatally so. Yet he has many skilful word pictures which achieve success by their simplicity and directness, and for these and the sincerity which inspired them. "Chains" is an interesting volume.

†Another Way of Love.

"It has been my privilege during the war to serve as one of the scavengers in certain of the devastated regions of France—clearing up the wreckage after the iron whirlwind had passed over the land; erecting temporary dwellings to replace the demolished houses of the patient peasants; and helping to encourage them to begin life afresh amidst the charred stumps and the cannon-swept ruins."

Thus William Bell in the introduction of his volume of reminiscences of his work with the Friends' War Victims Relief workers in France. The book, written in diary form, is otherwise entirely formless; kaleidoscopic. From a record of the thousand chance events, the author leaves us with a conviction of his very positive philosophy and his intellectual attitudes. "A Scavenger in France" is kinematographic in method—a series of impressions projected by the Inner Light.

* "Chains." Poems, by S. Winsten. C. W. Daniel, Ltd., 5/-.

† "A Scavenger in France," by William Bell. C. W. Daniel, Ltd., 10/6.

The scope of his ideas is all-embracing. Not only the great problem of war and the equally omnipresent one of economic relationships, but art, religion, psychology, monarchy, architecture, fear, the Church, philosophy, politics—these things all find themselves in due course under the rays.

Three main lines of constructive philosophy emerge: pacifism, guild-socialism, and that doctrine of mind over matter which we classify loosely by the term Christian Science. To him this last phase of faith is the logical extension of a belief in pacifism. The evils of the world rise from negative forces and chiefly from the root cause of fear—fear of men, fear of poverty, fear of disease.

"Pacifism is not to be confused with passivity, for pacifism is an active force in the world; it is dynamic not static. It must not be expressed in terms of helplessness, listlessness, inertia, it is rather a reliance on the spiritual forces of Reality than upon the material forces of Actuality."

It is the insistence of this philosophy of positive forces which renders this book more than a delightful record of places visited, an illuminative narrative of things seen.

Often the author's certainty of his rightness enlists our sympathy with the unfortunates whose "rationalised" minds were for accepting a world governed by other principles. This eristic zeal (I suspect it to be the "moral substitute for war") occasionally plays havoc with his prose style; but when a book is a record of happenings in the war area, a discourse upon the architecture of France, a causerie upon art and religion, an examination of human psychology, an attack upon institutions, a study of a philosophy in practice, a record of the splendid effort of the Friends' War Victims Relief work, and an incisive commentary upon men and affairs, one is not very concerned with the purely literary problems of structure and style.

* * * * *

Strange that one is sufficiently convinced by the philosophy of this book to realise that it was ultimately lived out by Winsten in his cell, what time the philosopher pursued the way of Martha—the other way of love.

HORACE SHIPP.

RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

The Kingship of God, by Rev. G. B. Robson (author of "The Way to Personality"), Christian Revolution series. The Swarthmore Press, Ltd., 5/- net.

Tod Macmammon sees his Soul, and other satires for the New Democracy, by A. St. John Adcock. The Swarthmore Press, Ltd., 2/- net.

THE CRUSADE.

HOW COLCHESTER WELCOMED THE CRUSADE.

You, stuck up in your office in London, will love to hear that we down here in Colchester have had an experience for the first time which is, I suppose, the every day breath of life to some of you who began the great adventure years ago.

Always I have felt and known that we ought to be tramping out on the Way of Christ, into unaccustomed paths, and on to village greens and at street corners, anywhere, spreading the Kingdom, discovering unknown friends, and finding that, after all, we were in no strange land—but not until yesterday did I ever make the venture.

I had spoken at a few open-air meetings, but was quite in doubt as to whether it was very much use—people in the parks were attentive, certainly, but dilettante, I imagined, like the old Athenians, always eager to hear and taste anything new.

But yesterday I came to Colchester with Dorothea Strevens, determined to proclaim the Kingdom of Heaven, and call on people to repent of having been more concerned to obey the laws of men who will die, and Governments which lie, than the law of God, which alone can save the world. We wanted to stay the night so as to speak at the dinner-hour to-day outside a big factory, but we knew no one in Colchester who could put us up—and if we had to return to Dovercourt the message could not be delivered to the factory workers here.

At 7-30 p.m. we mounted an orange box. Oh! what a noisy pitch!—trams, buses, char-a-bancs—but splendidly central, close to the Town Hall, over which a cross stands.

The crowd grew in numbers, interest and quietness. The paper boys who at the start thought that any two women taking a meeting formed a fit and worthy subject for hilarity, stole away; the motor bus that came unnecessarily near the speaker was glared upon by the crowd, and the encroachment was not repeated; questions began to flow in; and immediately something welded us all into one corporate fellowship.

We made our appeal, stating that we wanted to stay the night—who could give us a bed? The crowd cheered, and we went on dealing with the questions. "Will the speaker please repeat for the benefit of late comers what she told us earlier about the German workers' offer to France?" So I told again what we heard at Bilihoven, how six million of the German proletariat, in sorrow for the devastated areas of France, and recognising the crime of war, had made a properly accredited offer to the French proletariat. They offered to send over workmen, who would work voluntarily side by side with their French brothers, 12 hours a day if necessary, trying to repair the damage they had worked during the war, under the orders of their officers, under the illusion of Press fomented hatred. They offered to provide the necessary materials (German-Americans helping), and thus hoped that co-operation would put an end to war. But the paper that first pub-

lished this wonderful piece of news was withdrawn by the French Government, and no further account was allowed to be published either in France or Germany. "Let the devastated areas of France be rebuilt by contractors, by charity, by Chinese labour, by prisoners, by loans, by any means, but let not the peoples work together and thus make a lasting peace." Who can be surprised, when Hugo Stinnes (of Spa fame) controls 70 papers on the continent!

Before we had climbed off the orange box, hospitality had been offered by the secretary of the Industrial Christian Fellowship, and other offers of supper, of friendship, and of advertisers for tomorrow's meetings, almost overwhelmed us.

Over supper a grave concern manifested itself. "Reap your harvest," said our host. "The people are ripe for your message. Get out a pledge, like the old teetotal pledge, which you can ask everybody to sign—a pledge never again to fight or make munitions. You could build up an immense army to stop war. A pledge and a badge would strengthen the individual just as long ago the fact that he was linked up with others strengthened the young abstainers, when, being invited to drink, instead of making a long explanation, they could point to their blue ribbon and feel there was a host of unseen comrades whom one could not betray, who made it easy for them to stand firm."

We went to the little house God had prepared for us, and before sleep would come, we saw the campaign spreading, spreading, and the spark kindling and the power increasing—

"I thought all earthly creatures knelt
For rapture of the joy I felt."

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

OPEN-AIR MISSION.—FRIDAY, Sept. 3, at 6.30: Marble Arch: Winifred Wood, Alfred Cordell; Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Rev. R. W. Sorensen. SUNDAY, Sept. 5, at noon: Leytonstone. The Green Man: Dorothea Strevens; Hampstead Heath, at 3.30; Tottenham, outside Friends Meeting House, at 8.15: Dorothea Strevens. MONDAY, Sept. 6, at 8 p.m.: Leytonstone, The Green Man. TUESDAY, September 7, at 6.30: Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon; at 8 p.m.: Forest Gate station, G.E.R.: W. H. Hancock and Rev. R. W. Sorensen; at 8 p.m.: Clapton, corner of Kenninghall Road and Upper Clapton Road. WEDNESDAY, September 8, at 8.30 p.m.: Catford (outside Town Hall): H. Fuller. THURSDAY, September 9, at 6.30 p.m.: Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon, Rev. R. W. Sorensen; at 8: Kentish Town, corner of Leighton Rd. and Kentish Town Rd.: C. Paul Gliddon, G. B. Lief. FRIDAY, Sept. 10, at 6.30: Marble Arch: Rev. Humphrey Chalmers, C. Paul Gliddon; at 8: Walthamstow: A. Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen.

AUSTRIA CHILDREN'S GARDEN PARTY.—We are arranging a garden party for the seventy children who have been brought to London from Vienna under the Children's Hospitality Scheme, as we are most anxious that our members should have an opportunity of meeting the children and their hostesses, and that the children themselves should have a re-union. We have very kindly lent the garden of Westfield College, Kidderpore Avenue, Hampstead, for Saturday, Sept. 4th, from 3 to 6.30 p.m. We are inviting all the children and their hostesses as our guests and, as this will involve rather heavy expenses, we would appeal for promises of help in the refreshments and for gifts of money. It will greatly assist the work of organisation if all who can aid us in either direction will write immediately. There will be a short address by Beatrice Hoystead on conditions in Vienna, while a children's entertainment is also being arranged. A tennis court will be available. Will friends bring rackets and balls. Tickets for adults, 2s., for children under 14, 1s. 6d. All communications on this subject should be addressed to Miss E. Quarmby at this office.

Christian Commonwealth Fellowship and League of Chums.



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4., enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscriptions for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more on the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, medallions, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. postage 2d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.4. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

Chums and Fellows.

This page belongs to all of us this week, little and big. The children's part comes first, which you all agree is right. The Story-Chum has sent another of his jolly "yarns."

THE GROUSER.

There was once upon a time a princess named Agrimony. She was a charming child to look at; not, as her grandmother, the dowager-queen, so often said, "Beauty is only skin-deep." And there was a very worrying thing about Agrimony. She was a grouser. In case you do not know what it is to grouse, I will explain. If Agrimony went for a walk with the royal governesses, of whom there were eight, she didn't fly off, as you or I would, without hat, coat, or umbrella; but in a most unchildish way she would say: "It may be wet. I must take my mac"; or "It may be cold. I'll take my coat." And the moment she got out she'd say: "I wish I hadn't brought my coat, it's so hot," or "Dear me: I might have known it would rain, and this mac is not really waterproof." If it wasn't the weather, it was something else. Agrimony never enjoyed that very minute. She was always dreading what might come; and cakes she liked were spoiled by dreams of cakes she might have had. There was no doubt at all that Agrimony was a grouser. "Suppose we meet a bull," Agrimony would say when they were crossing a daisy field. "Suppose we are drowned," when they were crossing a bridge over the river. "Suppose there are horrid high stiles," when they went through the woods. Agrimony climbed hundreds of stiles before she ever came to them. And when she grew up and ruled her kingdom, it was just the same. She had bolts and locked doors everywhere, because she feared prowling burglars. Her cupboards were full of medicines in case she should be ill with eating things which never yet hurt anybody. And she never praised anyone to-day for fear she shouldn't have cause to praise them to-morrow. She rarely laughed to-day for fear she should cry to-morrow. And altogether the Princess Agrimony had a most safe, careful, dull, and dreadful time of it. Only one prince asked her to marry him. He was a very brave fellow. Agrimony wouldn't let herself love him for fear he should fall ill or lose his legs while fighting dragons. So she said "No"; and the prince gasped in gratitude, "Many thanks!" and ran away.

Agrimony lived many years and grew to a very old age. And one day a messenger from another kingdom came to her and said his chariot was waiting to take her away. Agrimony knew she was about to die. "Where shall I go?" she asked feebly. "To heaven," said the messenger. "Very well," said Agrimony, "lift me gently. I daresay heaven is a greatly over-rated place." "I daresay," said the messenger quietly; and he lifted her into his chariot of fire. When they reached heaven's gate, it was opened and the keeper said: "Enter," and Agrimony went in. Heaven was a strange place. It was full of endless rivers without bridges, and stiles too high to climb. The rain fell where you thought there was sunshine, and nothing was as nice as it seemed. Agrimony wandered about for a miserable week, and at last came back to the keeper of the gate. "There has been a mistake," she said. "The chariot-driver said he was bringing me to heaven." "You are in heaven," said the keeper of the gate. "In heaven!" cried Agrimony. "Then what is heaven?" "It's exactly what you make it for yourself," said the keeper of the gate.

VIVIAN T. POMEROY.

Chummy Hearts.

Here are some new grown-up Chums who are coming to us, saying: "Please take us into your magic circle." One of them, 5229 (Bilthoven, Holland), whose work is the care of children, writes:—"I do not feel a stranger when you take me into your circle; for I feel we are all children of one Father and that makes all the difference. I believe that to-day there is need for children to be for us a great concern. And I will gladly, yea thankfully, correspond with all comrades who are interested. I believe also that there are numbers of children allowed to grow up with an entirely wrong view of life and of God. Only a few children think of God as Father. Please let me help in any way I can." Another comes who is a domestic servant and who has known sadness; she is trying to help the children in her Sunday School by re-organising it on graded lines, with many difficulties. Who will welcome and help 5431 (Low Bentham, Lancs)? She also wishes to meet Fellows and Chums in Leeds, when she goes there at the end of September for a holiday. And now here comes 5341 (Kensington), who wants to link with Fellows in Kensington, Hammersmith or Chiswick who are interested in Guides or Brownies.

Thanks.

3519 (Croydon) thanks those Fellows who have kindly sent her copies of the "Crusader." She is now receiving the paper regularly from 2515.

We thank 5339 (Leeds) for the volume of poems received.

Neighbour Fellowship.

4757 (Edinburgh) would be glad to meet Fellows at his house. His address is: Rev. G. S. Stewart, M.A., 48 Comiston Drive, Edinburgh. Will 1117, 4521, 1125, 3289, 1126, 495, 1119, 1125, 3290, 2366, 1547 and others please link with him.

4959 (Henley), a secretary to the Ex-Service Men's League and member of the Y.M.C.A. and Labour Party, is in need of letters explaining our aims and methods; he desires links with young men and women, either here or abroad.

185 (Basingstoke) would be glad to link with any Fellows who are concerned with Sisterhoods, or weekly meetings for women of any kind; she desires information in regard to progressive methods, experiments that have been made, and subjects that have been discussed.

SIDELIGHTS.

"The East India Religious Company."

A striking article appears in "The United India and Indian States" for July 28, on the European Missionary in India :-

The manifesto condemning the outrages in the Punjab by a few Christian Missionaries, to which we advert in a note elsewhere, again draws public attention to the function which Christian Missionaries may discharge even as temporary members of Indian society in regard to matters which are not strictly connected with their special work here.

The European Christian Missionary in India lives often in a comfortable bungalow, keeps a horse and carriage, eats eggs by the score, is a beef or mutton eater and dresses well. In comparison with the hundreds of Indians whom Christ-like he asks to cast away their nets and follow him, he lives like a lord, is a member of the ruling race, dines with the Collector and incidentally behaves towards fellow-Christians like any other Englishman who never met Christ in his life in flesh and blood. The Indian, for all his poverty and for all his ignorance, judges the Christian religion by its best type of Christians: especially Indians of the higher classes to whom religion is more than a shibboleth. What wonder if Christianity has not made much moral appeal to the Indian mind! The Indian mind is, it is said, conservative: we do not know about that, but its religious temperament is ascetic. It will not consent to pray under electric fans. We do believe that Indians think about these things: and consequently Christian Missionaries in India among whom are many pure-minded men get scant justice or credit from people in India. They are just religious adventurers, representatives of the East India Religious Company, the religious counterpart of the Commercial East India Company. They are just men with minor ambitions if you consider the Indian Civil Service men, but certainly with prospects much better by adopting this country as their scene of service. Now we realise very well indeed that this view is harsh in the case of tens of men we know whose ideas of service in India are in every sense Christian; but the untutored Indian mind does not discriminate. It does not take the trouble to separate the sheep from the goats. To it all are tarred with the same brush.

With the growth of the new political consciousness among our people, a new element of unpopularity was introduced into the situation: it is for each Christian Missionary to search his own heart and find out how far the unpopularity was deserved in the particular case. We refer to the notion that in Indian politics, the European Missionary is European first and Missionary afterwards, that the political alliance between religion and trade which began with the John Company days is still a thriving and live one. We regret to say that particular Christian Missionaries have displayed an amount of hostility to Indian national aspirations which fully justified the popular notion that Christianity, as represented by Christian Missionaries, was an enemy of freedom for the Indian people.

We want to fly from the sickening cant of yesterday, to find in to-day something of the nobility, the honesty of a life lived for principles. That is why, we take it, there is in all European countries a body of men who have the courage to own up the shame of the Peace treaties. There is also among the men of religion of all countries a strenuous attempt to bring secular affairs once more under the domination of eternal principles: an invasion of the State by religion, as it were, not in the old sense of Popish domination over earthly sovereigns: but rather a feeling in the minds of men that the doctrines of religion must regulate all man's life, including political. We must feel glad that there are Christian Missionaries in India who reflect this new spirit of the West in religion. We who have the welfare of the country at heart may well appeal to this new type of Missionary to help us in our national struggle. Does any Missionary dare to say, when a wrong is done, when a massacre is committed, that it is sanctioned by religion? Leave political necessity to the man of the world: the man who accepts Christ as Master dare not plead political expediency as a defence of, say, the Punjab massacre.

An Irish Lourdes.

"Remarkable details," says the "Evening Standard," "are given to-day of the result of the miracle cures claimed to have been effected in the town of Templemore, 'the Irish Lourdes'."

"The sick and the halt are said to have been cured by touching certain sacred statues which are described as having suddenly started to bleed."

A Templemore telegram to day says :-

An incessant stream of pilgrims from all parts of Ireland continues to come into Templemore, and has created an extraordinary situation in the matter of accommodation. The town's food stocks are now exhausted.

The Guild Spirit in Journalism.

Mr. J. A. Spender, the well-known journalist, would like to see his profession reformed from within by the spirit that gave the members of the old guilds self-respect and pride in their craft. Mr. Spender writes :-

"I see it, like the medical or legal profession, furnished with a code of its own, which would enable it to deal drastically with any of its members found guilty of disgraceful conduct in a professional sense. And that code could be founded on one principle only--the principle in the deepest sense of service to the brotherhood. It would condemn all pandering to the passion of the herd. It would uphold patriotism," but deal sternly with patriotism, if I may so call it which turns the great virtue into bigotry and prejudice and persecution. It would demand of its members a reasonable service to the League of Nations, and place outside the pale all who prostituted their pens in the service of corrupt statesmen, armament firms, international financiers, or any other who tried to use or buy the Press to stir up strife for their private ends. It would equally exert its influence against the suppression or distortion of news or the use of the Press to persecute individuals or inflame animosities in domestic affairs, and it would have the courage when need arose, to black-list newspapers at home or abroad which were guilty of these offences, and to warn the public against being deceived by them."

Science and Diplomacy.

At the meeting of the British Association in Cardiff, Professor Karl Pearson delivered the presidential address on anthropology.

What, he asked, were anthropologists doing during the war? The whole period of the war produced the most difficult problems in folk-psychology.

There were occasions innumerable when thousands of lives and most heavy expenditure of money might have been saved by greater knowledge of what creates and what damps folk movements in the various races of the world.

"You have only to study the Peace of Versailles to see that it is ethnologically unsound and cannot be permanent," said the speaker. "I will not go so far as to say that if the science of man had been developed to the extent of physical science in all European countries and had then its due authority recognised, there would have been no war, but I will venture to say the war would have been of different character, and we should not have felt that the fate of European society and culture hung in the balance as now."

The Free Church Council and Labour.

Fenner Brockway, in the "Labour Leader," announces that: "At Lancaster the Free Church Council has twice cancelled its Sunday evening meetings to enable the Labour Party to hold peace demonstrations in the Market Square, and the leading Free Church ministers have spoken from the Labour platform and announced the demonstrations at their churches. Perhaps the fact that this has been done in one place may lead Free Churchmen to take their courage in their hands elsewhere also!"

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The Outlook.

PROBABLY the outstanding fact in connection with the Trade Union Congress was its fundamental unanimity, the almost instinctive presentation of a solid front to the crisis which approaches. Labour is conscious of an impending struggle, probably a life and death struggle, with Capitalism, and the Congress had neither time nor energy for bickering or disputes on minor questions. Its attitude towards the Irish question was probably its one weakness, and even that may have been the outcome of a fear of sacrificing its own unity. But we opine that Labour will find it necessary seriously to take up the Irish question in the near future.

AFTER Russia, Italy. No one who has followed the course of events in Italy during recent months will be greatly astonished at what is taking place just now in that country. And it would probably be a surprise to many people in this country to know what Europeans who are observing events here are saying about Britain; that they are fixing the time for our Revolution! What Italy compels us to recognise is that we are in the

midst of a revolutionary movement. A remarkable fact in connection with that movement is that those countries which were the last to receive political freedom are the first to secure economic freedom. This would suggest that Britain's day of economic liberation is some distance ahead. But it is significant that the belief in Constitutionalism is fast breaking down in this country—a fact which attendance at public meetings these days abundantly proves.

CONSIDERING the revolutionary period upon which we are obviously entering, it may be left to the reader's imagination what hope there is of help towards social salvation from the Free Churches when their Council can issue such an appeal as that contained in their circular letter to the Churches on the coal crisis, which asks for prayers "for an amicable settlement and the maintenance of unity in the national life," and further states that "in a crisis like the present no section of the community is justified in pressing its claims to the imperilling of the vitality and solidarity of the entire commonwealth."

IF the "Daily Herald" is right in its assertions that the employers are evolving or have evolved a "plan to smash Trade Unionism this winter"—and there is some reason to believe that it is—then is the revolution at hand, and the sooner we prepare for it the better. If the reactionaries are blind, the idealists ought not to be. Everything points to the fact that strikes are being forced by the capitalists, and if this is so we need seriously to contemplate the following remark of the "Herald's" correspondent: "To win this time, if the employers do not give way, Labour will have to end the capitalist system."

THE trend of thought in the East is clearly indicated by the decision of the Indian National Congress, after an all-day debate, to adopt Mr. Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation, and by the adoption of a similar resolution by the All-India Moslem League. India appears to have taken seriously Britain's reason for entering the war,



The Speckled Hen.

During the last few days we have been greatly concerned about the speckled hen. All the authorities agree that she is laying. The trouble arises over the fact that we

are uncertain where she deposits the eggs. This uncertainty has necessitated a thorough search of the outhouses and the hedges in the vicinity of our cottage. We have tried to watch her movements, but, the family lacking a Sherlock Holmes of its own, our shadowing of the lady in question has, so far, produced no results. At meal times various theories are propounded and discussed with animation. Indeed, the debate at times promises to develop all the characteristics of a first-class theological or sociological controversy. One sect holds that the rats have appropriated the eggs. Another body contends that the theft is due to human agency (the boy at Trickett's farm near by was heard to use a suspicious phrase about teaching his grandmother to suck eggs, and this naturally centres attention on him). Others of us, including myself, argue that our search has not yet been thorough enough and that the eggs will still be found if we continue to explore.

It is this exploring I enjoy. With a big stick to deal with brambles, I perambulate the garden and the nearest fields, interspersing the work of tracking down the hen by eating blackberries and picking up firewood.

Suddenly, looking at the paper to-day, I realised that there was a world outside the Happy Valley, where things were somewhat unsteady and people were talking about revolution. I remembered that I had once lived in that world myself, but the speckled hen had caused me to forget it. At first I blamed myself for callousness, then I blamed the hen, and last of all I congratulated myself on this distraction.

For it really is necessary sometimes to stand back from the picture. That is what holidays are for. Speckled hens are good for over-wrought nerves, and a sovereign cure for hysterics. They help one to see things in perspective. The fact dawns on one that there have been other crises besides that of 1920, and the verdict of history has rarely credited one movement or party in those by-gone controversies with all the truth. Prophets and apostles would be better men if occasionally they went looking for eggs. They might not find the eggs, but it would be a strange thing if they did not come near finding themselves.

Do not imagine, however, that the pursuit whose praises I am writing implies mental indolence. Its value lies in the fact that while one is consciously engaged in small affairs or in some occupation almost mechanical the large areas of the sub-conscious mind have a better opportunity of functioning. It would be a gross mistake to imagine that the fisherman who has sat all day on the river bank and returned home at night wet and tired, with a single perch, has derived no advantage from his day's outing but one small fish. His rod and line, indeed, have been but distractions to draw off his attention and enable his meditative self to get to work. While he is looking in another direction the sub-conscious mind comes out to play. Your fisherman may arrive home with a fully-fledged system of philosophy or a resolve to start a communist colony, or, perchance, a determination to join the Church. It is also fair to say that the outcome of his day's fishing may be the settled purpose of blowing up the Houses of Parliament! Some folk believe that the sub-conscious can best be encouraged by absolute silence and outward idleness, and, though the results of this method are not to be sneered at, my own belief is that some positive distraction is more likely to achieve the result aimed at. Ignorant people sometimes complain that Church services of a certain type are mechanical, as though that is not what they were intended to be. In many places of worship I find my conscious mind so fully engaged that the deeper sources of my mental and spiritual being have no chance. It is only when the forms of service have become so familiar that I can carry on my own devotions while they are proceeding that the intention of that type of worship is realised. One needs the ritual of a public order of service as a background for one's private prayers and meditations. Of course, the background has its effects on our thoughts. Those effects may be all the more powerful because they are not produced in the region of consciousness. Advertisers know this. Repetition is one of the secrets of their art. They know that if you see for the thousandth time that Blank's Pills are the only cure for sea-sickness you are quite likely, on your next voyage, to purchase a box. The politicians also know the value of repetitions and their catch phrases are but another way of exercising the same art as that of the advertiser. And just as the public can be got to believe a lie, if only it is repeated often enough in the same way, it can be got to believe the truth. The perceptible effect, over a short period of time, of certain familiar acts of worship may be very small. But the colour they give to our thoughts, the direction they give to our will, may nevertheless be very considerable.

But whether we adopt the method of silence or that of familiar routine it seems certain that we have, in the sub-conscious, a region which, being rightly treated, may yield truly incalculable results. There is more of us beneath the surface than is visible above it, and what goes on in this hidden region is of overwhelming importance. So much for the Speckled Hen.

THE TRAMP.

The Trades Union Congress.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Taking all the circumstances into consideration, the Trades Union Congress was not so disappointing as it might have been. True, it failed to rise to any great heights on really vital questions, and its complete failure to register an effective protest against the war against Ireland was a deplorable feature of the proceedings; but these faults cannot, I think, be wholly charged to the rank and file of the Congress, but were almost entirely due to the lack of effective leadership.

The trouble with the Congress is, of course, its unwieldy size and its very hazy conception of its true place in the Labour world. A striking article by G. D. H. Cole in last week's "Labour Leader" gave a lead to the Congress which the delegates would, I think, have followed had that lead been given by the leaders of the Congress. As Mr. Cole says:—

"There can be no place in the world, no real internationalism, no effective organisation of industry or of society, no freedom for the vast majority, no real democracy—nothing but a growing distintegration of society—until the workers make up their minds not merely to protest, or even make their protests effective on occasion by direct action, but actually to assume control of industry and of society—to drive out the money-changers from the Temple and to re-organise the whole social system from top to bottom."

That is the real business confronting Labour today, and the sooner the leaders of the Trade Union and Labour movement take off their coats and get down to this work—or make way for those who will—the better it will be for Labour and the nearer we shall be to that lasting peace for which the peoples of the world are wanting.

The Congress began well by registering the opinion of delegates representing six and a half million workers that "the housing of the working classes at a fair rental is not possible under a system of private ownership of land and dwellings." But it is fairly obvious from recent election results that there is a tremendous amount of educational work to be done before it can truly be said that this view is held by the six and a half million workers represented.

The unanimous backing given to the miners was a great tribute to Mr. Frank Hodge's presentation of their case, and it will go a long way towards counteracting the influence of the Press campaign being waged with the sole object of creating disunity among the workers on this issue. The unanimous protest against the threatened reintroduction of the double shift system for women and children in the Lancashire mills was also a very hopeful sign of enlightenment.

A big step forward was made in the approval of the scheme for the creation of a General Staff, which in right hands, will undoubtedly mean the first real attempt being made to co-ordinate all the forces of

Labour and to prevent those sectional movements which are so disastrous to Labour's cause and such a help to the reactionaries. As Robert Williams said in supporting the scheme, "while Labour is strong and irresistible in its limbs and organs, it is weak in central and directive intelligence." It remains to be seen how the "Old Guard" in the official Trade Union world will rise to the enormous possibilities in this scheme.

The Council of Action was approved without discussion, in spite of the somewhat ponderous warning of Mr. Thomas as to its "dangerous" nature. I have a feeling that even the right wing element in the Congress felt quite safe in endorsing this body so long as it is under the control of Mr. Thomas and other leaders of his type. The resolution demanding that unemployment be made a charge upon the industry concerned, and that the necessary funds should be raised by a levy on the industry, was one of the few constructive proposals for re-organisation of industry endorsed by the Congress.

The incident connected with the unsuccessful attempt of Miss Mary MacSwiney to secure permission to address the Congress on the question of the tragedy now being enacted in Brixton Prison reflects little credit on the chairman, and will have a bad effect in Ireland. A delegate who tried to raise the matter was told by Mr. Thomas that unless the Congress wanted to declare in favour of a strike in order to put a stop to the Government's Irish policy, there was nothing more to be said on the matter. The chairman of the Congress went out of his way to draw a painful picture of the state of Miss MacSwiney, and it was largely out of consideration for her feelings that the delegates decided not to hear her. Miss MacSwiney indignantly denied the suggestion of Mr. Thomas, and she certainly does not appear to be the kind of woman who would be likely to flinch from the ordeal of pleading for her brother's life before the organised workers of the country responsible for the tragedy.

The plain truth of the matter is that the recognised leaders of the British Labour movement, with one or two exceptions, are shirking the question of Ireland. In the last issue of the "Manchester Guardian" weekly edition there is the following scathing rebuke to British Labour:—

"The Labour Party is prepared to go all lengths to prevent a war against Russia which the Government had not the smallest intention of declaring, but it is a good deal less concerned about the war against Ireland which they have actually declared and are busily prosecuting."

While it is possible to disagree with the view of the "Guardian" on the question of the intentions of the Government with regard to Russia, it is, unfortunately, only too true, that its charge against Labour on the question of Ireland is justified up to the hilt.

The Crusader

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CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of "The Crusader."

Sir,—Mr. J. Darbyshire in your issue of the 3rd September writes that "the bulk of the Irish people SEEM to desire SOME MEASURE of real independence of Great Britain." But why such qualifications as "seem" and "some measure"? There is no doubt whatever as to what Ireland wants. Two recent elections have proved that 75 to 80 per cent. of the Irish people want complete and absolute independence—nothing less. Unionists number about 15 per cent. There are only about 5 per cent. in favour of a Colonial settlement. Yet this is what Mr. Darbyshire offers as "a new way out" of the Irish trouble. Does Mr. Darbyshire think that the Lord Mayor of Cork and his comrades are suffering torture at English hands that their country may become an English Colony?—Yours faithfully,
7/9/20. IRISHMAN.

A NEW DECLARATION?

Many of us have been seriously wondering if the time has not come when Christian revolutionaries, in the interest of a classless communist society, of a full and free life for all, should boldly declare their willingness to sacrifice everything that might be described as privilege, and should make a serious endeavour to persuade others to do the same.

In other words, is it not time we converted our principles into a definite statement of personal duty, expressed our willingness to do certain things when the right moment should come, and used such statement as a challenge to society, and in particular to the Church?

THE NEED FOR DEFINITENESS.

We shall never get very far unless we know exactly where we want to go; much less shall we be able to take others with us. All great movements are founded on sacrifice, on a serious endeavour to be what one preaches. By clearly stating what we stand for, and our readiness to forfeit everything that the welfare of society demands, we at least give reason a chance, and take the one road to a peaceful revolution which lies open to us. If such an attempt fails then we must admit that society has no excuse if a bloody revolution overtakes it.

We observe what is taking place in Italy. Let this serve as a warning! Mankind means to and must win freedom, and it is useless decrying its methods if we cannot achieve success by means of better ones. Moreover, there is no time to lose. The Church must be challenged, every Christian must be challenged. Notwithstanding the recent letters circulated by the Free Church Council, Non-conformity must be put to the test, an attempt made to give its conscience new content, new life.

WE SOLICIT YOUR ADVICE.

Shall we, then, draw up a charter of social demands and a statement of personal duties, and present them to the world as the indispensable conditions of personal and social well-being?

We shall be glad of suggestions and expressions of opinion from our readers.

A PRACTICAL STEP TOWARDS INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD.

With reference to the statement in A. G. Gardiner's book, "What I Saw in Germany," that it is still impossible for German business men to get a night's lodging in any London hotel when they come to this country, and to Mrs. E. W. Tritton's letter in "The Crusader" of August 13th, pointing out that here lay an opportunity for Londoners to show their practical goodwill towards those who are "treated like lepers" in this country—it is felt that the idea of helping German visitors in London will appeal to a large number of "Crusader" readers. Those who have a spare room, and would like to co-operate in the scheme, are asked to send to Miss E. Crohn, 16, Garlies Road, Forest Hill, S.E.28, details of (1) dates when the room or rooms would be available; (2) for how long; and (3) the charge per day for bed and breakfast. The particulars will then be forwarded to the British Consuls of German cities.

CRUSADER CENTRES OF ACTION.

BIRMINGHAM—

Mrs. J. H. Dearne, 332 Moat Road, Warley, Langley, Birmingham.

DUMFRIES—

Mr. G. Douglas, 95 Queensberry Street, Dumfries.

GLASGOW—

Mr. R. Barclay Murdoch, 48 Cumberland Street S., Glasgow.

LONDON—

Mr. G. Bickers, 133 Geere Road, Stratford, E. 15.

Mr. G. P. Coverdale, 38 Glengall Road, S.E. 15.

Miss E. Fall, 69 Morley Road, Stratford, E. 15.

Miss E. Martin, 18 Avon Road, Walthamstow, E. 17.

Mr. C. H. Offley, 43 Eastbourne Road, Tooting, S.W. 17.

Rev. R. W. Sorensen, 31 Palmerston Road, Walthamstow, E. 17.

LEICESTER—

Rev. Seaward Beddow, 108 London Road, Leicester.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—

Rev. J. C. Spokes, Cambridge House, Rowlands Hill, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

NEWPORT—

Mr. Trevor C. Griffiths, 40 Oakfield Road, Newport, Mon.

PENRITH—

Mr. F. Lester, Forest Mount, Penrith, Cumberland.

We want many more.

INQUIRY.

A Crusader writes to ask if any reader knows the author of the following: "Fear not to sow, because of the birds," and if he will kindly communicate it.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

So Canon Barnes, poor man, is in hot water for being educated and accepting the scholar's view of the Book of Genesis. He has said in plain English that in the light of modern knowledge we cannot expect to take the early Biblical narrative of the fall of man as accurately historical. I cannot imagine why anybody at this time of day should want to take it as literal history, and thereby ruin one of the great stories of ancient religious literature. But it seems that there are a few people even yet who imagine that they cannot be Christians unless they believe absurdities.

The Religious Press is full of the controversy, and even the ordinary secular newspaper is giving space to it. Some people are writing to their favourite paper "with poignant grief," they tremble so. They are convinced that Canon Barnes is inspired from below, and that unless he is promptly silenced the end of faith is at hand. It is amazing, and not a little amusing. Why in the name of common sense am I unable to be a true disciple of Jesus Christ unless I believe that the story of Adam and Eve and the Serpent and the Apple is history? If I can believe it, well and good; but if I can't, why on that account should I be shut out of Christ's Kingdom?

The "Challenge" rightly asks what article of any Christian Creed is in the smallest degree affected by our verdict on the historical accuracy of Genesis. As Canon Barnes says: "Between the religious revelation of Jesus and modern science there is no opposition." Why should we be for ever confusing things that move on two distinctly different planes? Professor Bennett, in his fine little book on Genesis, published in the Century Bible series, states the matter clearly, and in view of the controversy now taking place, I want to quote what he says. "It was formerly the custom, in discussing the opening chapters of Genesis, to compare their statements with the results of modern scientific research. One writer would assert that the views of 'science falsely so-called' must be rejected because they did not square with Scripture; another would be equally certain that the Bible and science could not be reconciled, but would maintain that the preference must be given to science; while a third would perform miracles of exegesis in order to show that the language of Genesis was consistent with modern astronomy and geology. Now, however, the progress of Christian thought RELIEVES US FROM THE NECESSITY OF ANY SUCH DISCUSSION."

"Most theologians," he continues, "recognise that Revelation did not intend to communicate information as to science. In such matters the inspired authors were allowed to write according to their education and the knowledge of their times, just as they were in matters of grammar and literary taste. The Holy Spirit no more corrected their science than their spelling. Hence, as the Bible

does not claim to be inspired as to geology and astronomy, its authority in no way depends on the accuracy of its statements on these subjects." I had thought that all this was now so generally accepted that no further discussion of it would ever be necessary, but evidently I was very green. The old verbal theory of Biblical Inspiration dies hard.

Talking of "inspiration," there is a delectable story in the "Methodist Times" this week. "Democritus" writes: "I have just been reading a magazine published in connection with the English Church at a well-known health resort in Switzerland, and I have come across a delightful piece of unconscious humour. The good clergyman is writing in anticipation of the resolutions of the Lambeth Conference about to be held in London, and he concludes his exhortation thus:—"While the pronouncements can be in no way binding on the Church, we shall gain much help from them, AS THEY WILL BE GUIDED BY THE INSPIRATION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT." That is good, very good. Inspired by the Holy Spirit, but not binding on the Church!

Last week I remarked on the large amount of space given by the religious papers to the coal crisis. This week I want to call attention to a notable contribution from the pen of Mr. Basil Mathews. He begins:—"The threat of a coal strike has been discussed (pro and con) in all our papers, till almost every aspect of the issue is threadbare. But the ultimate issue of world-labour that is going to govern our destinies (and which is thrown into sharp relief by the threatened strike) ought not to be left unconsidered by people who care for the things that stretch out beyond the price of coal this next winter." Mr. Mathews then goes on to point out, as he has so often done, that the ultimate Labour issue is inter-RACIAL. He urges that it will not be enough for Labour men to have a national programme, or even an international one. Labour must resist the temptation to think in terms of the West alone; it must pass over all racial boundaries and include the East in its organisation. For example, the International Miners' Conference at Geneva lately passed a most important war-strike resolution. They decided to recommend a world-wide strike of miners in the event of a new war being threatened. But did they realise that the next great war would probably be one in which huge Asiatic munition factories alongside the greatest coal and iron fields in the world (those in China) would be involved? At present there is no Labour organisation in China to make a strike at all. And there is practically none in Japan, owing to the hostility of Japanese administration. Labour must not lose sight of these facts. Vast Asiatic peoples are now coming into the full stream of the world's life. Those who think almost exclusively in terms of white men are in for a surprise; their plans will miscarry. Peace cannot be successfully organised on a purely Western basis.

An Appeal to Capitalists.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

I trust no apology is needed for addressing an appeal to you, but I am anxiously wondering if you are observing the signs of the times. It is possible that I read those signs wrongly, but I do read them; and they are to me so clear and so ominous that I cannot keep silent.

You are aware of the disturbed state of the industrial world at the present moment, but do you realise what it signifies, what are the ideals and aspirations which are its cause? At the root of that unrest is a passion for freedom, economic and spiritual, a freedom which cannot be obtained so long as you retain your privileges, your large fortunes, and the social power which comes to you through them. The workers are becoming conscious of this last-named fact. You have been a class apart, and have possessed a class consciousness for many decades; and the discovery of that fact by the workers, and of what it means to them, is making them class conscious also.

I do not wish to enter into an intricate discussion as to the meaning of "privilege." It is enough to say that privilege is that which prevents equality of spiritual freedom, of opportunity for self-expression, among all men.

Thus the question which thrusts itself upon you is this: Do you desire to occupy a position which places your neighbour at a disadvantage, spiritually and socially, condemns him to a slavery he cannot escape so long as you retain that position? If not you must endeavour to leave it. Could you see the situation as it really is, your privileges, economic, social and spiritual, degrade both you and your neighbour; and were you to give them up it would free you both, increase your opportunities of gaining life and extend your horizon. For, rightly conceived, privileges are fetters which prevent one from knowing what real freedom is. Instead of yielding life they deprive one of the finest modes and sources of life, the most thrilling experiences of fellowship, communion, co-operation, contact with the spirits of men. Your privileges cut you off from seven-eighths of the human race and make you strangers in your own land. If you only knew it, you go about the world with your souls in chains, unable to fly if they would; but they have no desire because you have shut them off from their natural habitation. You did this on the day in which you set your heart on riches, said by your deeds that only where there is wealth there is worth.

Should you, however, not be concerned about your own spiritual welfare, you must yet realise that your privileges directly affect the welfare of others, on which account your right to them is likely to be seriously challenged in the near future. Thus it is necessary that you arrest your steps and your minds and attend to what is going on around you; that you observe the oppression of which you are the cause, hear the cries which your handiwork calls forth. The world groans under your yoke, it will not tolerate your oppression much longer. The

days of your ascendancy are numbered. You are the perpetrators of a social system which prevents the further progress of civilisation. Under your dominion the souls of men wither and die, they cannot live as God intended that they should live. Many have already discovered the source of their suffering and oppression, and others are fast discovering it; by and by your position will be precarious. It is quite time you realised how the matter stands with you, and what your ascendancy means to the millions who are compelled by the force of circumstances to be your slaves, men who ought to be your brothers. And first let it be recognised that your methods have transgressed all bounds, all decency; you stop at nothing. In order to gain riches you are prepared to throw aside every principle, every virtue, even your boasted patriotism; for in its name you have committed unspeakable crimes against your own countrymen. Having permitted half a continent to starve while you profited at their expense, you would now cut down the workers' wages, permit unemployment to increase, and yet retain your riches! In your minds man is just a unit of force to be bought and consumed like so much coal or oil. Of motives other than material self-interest you seem not to have the faintest inkling, nay, you sneer and mock when such are mentioned.

Yet the fact is that there are millions of men who could they be freed from the fear of poverty, would revel in the opportunity of service, of free, self-expression. These desire a spiritual existence; they love to labour, but they abhor toiling and will not much longer toil for your profit, and they are beginning to believe in the possibility of a social system in which profit and wage slavery will have no place.

You are the chief stumbling block in the way to the realisation of such an ideal. Consequently the question of the moment is how to remove you, the profit consuming class, from the path of progress, of spiritual development. It were better that you removed the obstacle yourselves by bringing your lives into line with this ideal. But it is as well to recognise that a temper is arising among the workers which promises to effect your removal one way or another ere long, unless you wisely make such a course unnecessary. Forces are growing which will put an end to your tyranny; for the passions of men are stirred and their patience is exhausted. We trust that these forces will be exercised in a pacific spirit, for society's sake as well as yours; but you must remember that you have taught your victims to use the sword.

The sole hope of the future is in the vision of a communal life and a class-less society. Are your minds open to see that vision? Capitalism cannot endure much longer, and one shudders to think what you would make of man could you have your way. Besides, it were better that the world should perish than that men should live as you would compel them to live.

A Dialogue on Communism.

"What, yer doant know what Communism is?"

"No. Aw've heerd speak of it, like, but Aw caant say 'at Aw know just what it is. Aw believe it's summat about making t'rich work for yo'—turning t'tables as yo' might say."

"No, yer off it altogether. It means share an' share alike."

"An' how if yo've nowt to share?"

"Everybody has summat."

"Well, Aw've nowt!"

"For sure yo' hev! Yo've got some strength, hev'n't yo', an' yo've got a soul?"

"Ad dare say Aw've a bit o' strength left, but Aw loant know about a soul. That sounds a bit religious, an' it's fust time Aw knew 'at Communism and owt to do wi' religion."

"Well it has, an' a good lot too!—but treyght soort o' religion, yo' understand; none o' yer silk hat philosophy. It's like this, Bill: When yo've gotten Communism yo' begin to work because yo' like it. When yo've sacked yer masters an' th'exploiters, yer own value goes up a bit, doant yo' see, an' yo' begin to feel yo' are somebody. Naturally, for yo' begin to hev' a bit more say ower yer work, an' then yo' hev' more leisure for self-development. The result of all that is 'at yo' begin to look at things in a different soort of way, to develop yer soul; and when yo' become conscious o' yer soul yo' want to try and express it."

"Naa come, Bob, stop yer high falutin'! Wheer on earth hev' yo' larnt all that?"

"Falutin' eh? Well, better falute a bit nor stick in t'mud all yer life, that's what Aw say! Aw've bin thinkin' a good deal lately an' Aw can see 'at t'world might be a jolly sight better nor it is, if we'd only make up our minds about it. T'top an' t'bottom of it is, Bill, Aw'm a downright revolutionary."

"Yi, an' Aw can believe it. Yer what Aw calls a trifle dangerous. Yo'll be i' trouble if yo' goa on like that. But to come down to reality. Yo' an' me's both spinners, Bob, an' spinners wes' always be."

"Yer a born slave yo' are, Bill, an' what's more yo' doant deserve to be owt else. No mon'll ever be free 'at doesn't believe i' freedom. But Aw'm a rebel, a communist, an' Aw'm not afraid to confess it. We communists have faith."

"But neither faith nor communism'll make yo' or me into owt else but spinners, Bob."

"Yer in the dark altogether. Yo' doant understand psychology. What hev' they done i' Russia, an' what are they doin' in Italy? Why, Bill, even our reactionary Government is gettin' scared. Yo' remember the walls o' Jericho?"

"Oh, chuck it, Bob, mixing things up like that, religion, communism and Jericho! Aw doant know what's come ower yo'."

"But it's reyght, Bill. Labour spoke on the Russian war—one blast, mark you, not six! an' the very next day the Prime Minister said that t'door was

open! That's psychology! an' yo' ought to study it, Bill."

"Do yo' mean to tell me 'at psychology, or what yo' calls it, is goin' to get those fat fellers off our backs?"

"Of course Aw do!"

"Yo' do? But HOW?"

"By such fellers as yo' throwin' yer belief in slavery overboard, and hoistin' up a belief in freedom. Man alive, do yo' mean to tell me 'at the fat fellers'll get off yer backs as long as yo' believe 'at yo' can't knock 'em off! Give over believin' in 'em! believe in yersel', in freedom, in humanity! Do yo' know what Aw often dream abaat, Bill?"

"H'm. It strikes me 'at yer a good hand at that job."

"Naturally. One must either dream or die these days. Yo' prefer to die, Aw prefers to dream. Aw've bin reading Morris, yo' know, an' Aw've bin lookin' up th' art books o' t' middle ages, an' my brain's full o' visions o' beauty. Why shouldn't we hev' more woodwork about our houses, more carving and colour, both in stone and wood structures? That's what Aw say. When we get Communism Aw shall apply to be put on street decoration work."

"Eh? Str-eet de-co-ra-tion? If yo'd said scavenging, man! Mark my words! When yo' applies, Bob, they'll say: back to the spindles, my boy, that's the place for you!"

"No they won't. Aw shall go to the district Soviet an' tell 'em my vision —"

"Yi, an' they'll tell yo' off! Str-eet de-co-ra-tion!"

"I know they won't. Aw shall make a sensible proposition, which they'll accept. They'll recommend me to the Beauty in Street and Public Places Commission, and this body, after hearing my story, will say: "Very good, Bob Sanders, we accept your offer. For three months you shall work in the spinning factory, 15 hours per week, and shall devote the rest of your time to making yourself proficient for the work you propose to take up, in ways to be determined later. Your future will, of course, depend upon the aptitude you show during this period of probation."

"Mighty! An' is that Communism?"

"That's Communism."

"An do . . . Look here, Bob, Aw've allus had an ambition to be a gardener. But Aw was sent to the factory when Aw were ten, an' Aw've never hed a chance sin'—do you mean to say 'at there'll be a chance for me under Communism?"

"Decidedly. All yo've got to do . . ."

"Aw know. Aw understand. That settles it. Where do we join? Who do we tell?"

"Yo've joined already, and yo' just tells everybody."

"Right O. But Aw must be off. Aw must goa an' tell my missis about that gardenin' job. Good night!"

CROISÉ.

PIERS PLOWMAN: a

There have of late been some remarkable signs of an awakening interest in the history of fourteenth-century England; and one wonders sometimes whether there is any significance in the fact. Is it that men, sensing afar off a coming upheaval, are instinctively turning to this instructive period for light and guidance? Instruction it certainly offers, as the study of all history does. Long ago, William Morris realised the importance of John Ball; "The Crusader" has recently recognised that Halcott Glover in "Wat Tyler" has struck a suggestive and timely topic; and a correspondent in a recent F.O.R. "news-sheet" calls attention to the excellent presentation of their doctrine contained in "Long Will," a novel by Miss Florence Converse, published in the Everyman Library. "This book gives a charming account of Langland and 'Piers Plowman,'" he writes; and he adds: "I can imagine that lending this fascinating book would be a subtle and effective form of propaganda."

That may be. But more interesting than any of these books—useful and entertaining as they undoubtedly are—is William Langland's book itself, which every reader of "The Crusader" will find a constant delight. It is a masterpiece of English poetry which has been too long neglected; and with the works of Chaucer, his contemporary, is our chiefest source of information for the social life of the period.

The Author.

Miss Converse gives a very vivid and picturesque presentation of Langland in her novel, and the accomplishment is all the more laudatory when one comes to understand the slender facts out of which she has woven her romance. Because of the author himself, as of Shakespeare, scarcely anything is known save a few references in the poem of an autobiographical nature. If these are accepted literally it would appear that the author of the poem was a married man with a wife called Kyppe and a daughter called Kalote; that he lived in London (probably in the Cornhill), and was familiar with Westminster Law Court, with Cheapside, Cock Lane, Shoreditch, and Garlickhithe. Further, we learn that he was unpopular with the Lollards because he satirised them in his verse; that he gained his livelihood as a chantry-clerk helping to sing masses for men's souls. That is the sum of our information. His name does not occur in the public records nor in the works of his literary contemporaries. Even his name has been disputed. There is a long literary tradition that he was called William (or Robert) Langland (or Langley). We cannot enter into the historical pros and cons. But it is generally accepted that the line:

"I have lived in *land*, quod I, my name is *Longe Wille*,"

is an attempt on the part of the author to reveal his identity—William Langland.

The question of authorship, however, does not affect the value of the poem which has come down

to us in three distinct versions, designated as A (c. 1362), B (c. 1377), and C (c. 1393), which have been edited with elaborate care by Professor Skeat, and published in two portly volumes by the Clarendon Press. The modern reader who stumbles on this erudite edition will be rather disconcerted by the apparent strangeness of the language in which the poem is written, and even more surprised that it should be called verse. It is written in the unrhymed, alliterative manner which was in vogue in England before the Norman Conquest, and the dialect which the author uses is a mixture of the Midland and Southern dialects then spoken, with many traces in it of Western provincialisms and a few also of Northern. It was probably a kind of English perfectly familiar to the uneducated and middle classes in London and in rural districts with which Langland was acquainted. But it has since become more obsolete than the English of Chaucer, the father of English poetry, whose influence is still a force among our poets.

But these difficulties of language and verse need not deter the anxious reader from enjoying the poem. A modern version with scholarly introduction and a comment at the end explaining all we need to know of the period, has been included in the Everyman Library. And every reader will be grateful to Mr. Arthur Burrell, M.A., for making accessible to us this noble work, and will heartily agree that "the book demands—and never more loudly than now—that it should be read again and again by any who care to see the bitterness and the hope, the despair and the exultation of him who wrote four centuries ago the Vision of the People's Christ."

The Story.

Like another famous writer of allegory, the author fell asleep; and in a "Field Ful of Folkes" he saw the men and women of his age—knights, monks, preachers, palmers, pilgrims, peasants, traders, chafferers, hermits, solitaries, japers, jinglers, bidders, beggars, ploughmen, weavers, labourers, lawyers, and others—a motley throng. The story is rather incoherent, but the reader is enthralled by the many graphic pictures which are limned for us with the detail of a Flemish artist. The dreamy sing-song measure of the alliterative verse fascinates us, and we listen as in a swoon to the denunciations of this earnest preacher; and wake at times with a gasp at the modernity of many of his thrusts. He denounces tradesmen for adulterating the food of the poor; he condemns the rich for "regrating," that is a fourteenth century term for "profiteering"; he lashes with satire the knaves who traffic in "pardons"; the friars who make a pretence of religion; the knights to whom fighting was merely an excuse to express their lust for blood; the countless men and women both in town and country whose lives were dominated by no great principle or ideal—the rottenness, in short, which was breaking up all the real strength and greatness of the Middle Ages. Langland saw with marvellous clearness.

of the People's Christ.

The Quest.

Where can Truth be found? This is his cry. And so the messengers, Reason, Repentance and Hope, help in the search for Truth guided by Piers himself, who insists upon Work as the first essential and extols it with the enthusiasm of a Thoreau or a Carlyle.

The World is at hand to wheedle and bribe the honest worker: the World in the person of Lady Meed, whose name itself savours of bribery.

Particularly effective is his description of the shriving of the Seven Deadly Sins: Pride, who, "what I gave for God's love, told my gossips all about it; for them to think me holy"; Envy who confesses: "Thus I live loveless, like a vicious dog"; Wrath "with his two white eyes, with snivelling nose and bitten lips"; Covetousness whose confession so shocks Repentance that he asks: "Didst never restitution make?" And Covetousness answers:

"Yes, once I was in an inn, with a heap of travellers. I rose when they were sleeping and rifled their packs."
"That was no restitution, that was robber's theft."
"I thought rifling was restitution," says he, "I never learned my book;
I know no French, i'faith, only from far Norfolk."

"In Gluttony's confession occurs a wonderful description of a low-class London Tavern of the period, concluding with the story of Gluttony's departure after gulping down a gallon and a gill:—

"He could neither step nor stand till he had his staff,
Then gan he walk like a blind singer's dog,
Now to this side, now to that, and sometimes backward,
Like a man who lays lines to catch wild birds."

Thus the allegory goes on until Piers the Plowman makes his appearance, and even then, as Prof. Saintsbury says: "he has a double portion of the floating phantasmagoric character that marks the whole. At one moment he is a simple plowman who digs and delves . . . But he is also a guide to Godliness, and in the Seventh Passus emerges as Christ Himself." The remaining sections are concerned with the search for Do Well, Do Better and Do Best, all of whom are necessary for salvation. In the vision of Do Well we have an infrequent example of his reference to nature:—

"Thus I went wide—where walking alone
In a wide wilderness, by a wood side
Bliss of the birds' song made me abide there
And on a lawn under a linden, I leaned awhile
To listen to their lays, their lovely notes;
The mirth of their mouths made me to sleep
And mid that bliss, I dreamed—marvellously."

There is real beauty in this description which is intensified in some inexplicable manner by the alliteration—lines 4 and 5, for example with their long drawn out l's!

Sins, Sorrows and Men.

But, as a rule, he is too intent on the sins and sorrows of men to have any eye for the sights and sounds of the country, and in the same Vision we find him contrasting, in his characteristic fashion, the rich and the poor:—

"God is deaf nowadays and deigneth not to hear us
And prayers have no power the Plague to stay,
Yet the wretches of this world take no heed to it,
Nor for dread of death withdraw them from pride,
Nor share their plenty with the poor;
But in gaiety, in gluttony, they glut themselves with wealth,
And the more they win wealth and riches
And lord it over lands, the less they part with.
Hast thou much, spend generously; so says the Book."

Over against this he sets the advantages of poverty, in a true spirit of philosophy:—

"Altho' it be sore to suffer, there cometh sweet after,
As outside a walnut is a bitter bark
And after that, the shell being gone,
Is a kernel of comfort; so is it with poverty.
It maketh man have mind of God and His mercy crave,
And safer he sleepeth, the man that is poor,
And dreadeth death less, or the thief in the dark,
Than the right rich man. . . ."

Follows the triumph of Piers with its memorable description of Calvary and the bold conception:—

"If all the world were swan-white and if no night were
Who could tell clearly what means the day?
Had God never suffered at other hands than his
Never had he clearly known if death were sour or sweet.
So God that made all, became man of a maiden
And suffered himself to see death-sorrow—
Death that unkitteth every care and is the beginning of rest."

This is great poetry; and the whole section is on the same exalted plane—the Entry into Jerusalem, the Passion, and the Harrowing of Hell. Victory is assured. Then suddenly Piers as Christ is gone, and Anti-Christ takes his place; the mysterious plowman, saviour, man, is now again lost, and "must be sought for in a new Grail quest over the wide world."

"The Vision Splendid."

Yet, as Mr. Burrell truly observes: "Though the writer leaves his work in despondency and gloom, something has been accomplished. To have seen Piers Plowman working in that whirl of politics was something; to have realised that figure, made life worth living to the writer, though death should be but, as he called it, the beginning of rest. This is the reward of the spiritual reformer whether he be a St. Francis or a Shelley: that he CATCHES GLIMPSES OF THE IMPOSSIBLE. The light that never will be on land or sea is his inspiration, and far above any amelioration of social ethics is the spiritual sense of the Son of Man ploughing the fourteenth century fields, pushing the pilgrims through the strait gate and riding through Cheap-side or Jerusalem to get him his gilt spurs and his slashed shoon. Langland, the poor wandering mass-priest, saw over old Saint Paul's the vision splendid, as a later singer, poorer than Langland, in the same London, almost in the same street, saw it and could write:—

"But (when so sad thou canst not sadder)
Cry; and upon thy so sore loss
Shall shine the traffic of Jacob's ladder
Pitched between Heaven and Charing Cross.
Yea in the night, my Soul, my Daughter,
Cry—clinging Heaven by the hems;
And lo, Christ walking on the water
Not of Gennesareth but Thames."

Dean Inge, the Free Churches & Labour

On the front page of this issue is a quotation from a letter circularised by the Free Church Council; on the back page are some extracts from an article by Dean Inge in the "Times" of September 4th.

Both the letter and the article are remarkable documents, but I frankly affirm that it would have been a more hopeful sign if the article had emanated from the Free Churches and the letter from a solitary Dean.

Probably no ecclesiastic is to-day so outspoken or so much criticised as Dean Inge. He says fearlessly what he thinks, and is severely criticised both by the Right and the Left for his pains. And one thing must be admitted: he is desperately sincere, and does try to get at the roots of things. Moreover, and this is saying much, he is conscious that modern society is in a diseased condition, and if he criticises Labour harshly, he also sees grave faults in the class to which he personally belongs.

I wish I could say as much of the Free Church Council. That body neither criticises nor condemns, except by implication, and is quite ignorant of the fact that modern society is being eaten up by a mortal disease.

And why should the Free Church Council justify its action on the plea of "politics," as it did in the case of the Russian war? Do not all politics affect human relationships? Or does the Free Church Council suggest that there are some aspects of life—industry, for instance—with which religion has no concern? We should like a definite answer to this question. Also, why should intervention to prevent a war be described as "politics," and, therefore, outside the pale of religion, while participation in a war that has been declared should be directly encouraged by the churches?

The real reason is that the Free Churches are the arch-defenders of Capitalism, and thus of a class-based society, notwithstanding that such fact is the source of their failure. Their predilections in this respect are expressed in all their declarations and in all their policies. In its latest letter the Free Church Council asks the Churches to pray for an amicable settlement of the coal dispute "and the maintenance of unity in the national life." Is there any unity in our national life? And if not, why not? The answer is obvious: Because of the complete undermining of morality, of public confidence, by the plundering, the crass inhumanity of the capitalists. Then why doesn't the Free Church Council acknowledge this fact and act in the light of it? What can be the object of describing the social war that has been raging during the last two years as a condition of unity, if not to gloss over the iniquities of Capitalism? And the Council insists on the point, too, for a little lower down it declares that the present crisis imperils the "solidarity of the entire commonwealth."

Thus, if the letter in question means anything at all, it means that the Churches are being asked to pray for the continuance of capitalist domination, and the social war which it entails.

The fact of the matter is that Capitalism is the blind spot in the Nonconformist eye, and unless Nonconformity revolutionises its spiritual constitution and obtains a quite new social outlook there is little hope for its future. If the Free Churches would pray for courage to overthrow a social system which arises from and encourages greed and covetousness, creates social relationships which are the denial of fellowship, and for light whereby to establish a social order, there would be a splendid future for them, and the circular letters of their Council would be eagerly awaited.

Now the Dean has already acknowledged the untrustworthiness of the present Government and the treachery of the profiteers. The former is armed with power, the latter with privilege; and the two bodies work hand in hand. They can say no and yes, and have done with it! But if the workers, the under dogs, say no, then industry stops, and the public must go without coal and other things. But what to do? The workers only say no, as do the privileged capitalists! The one says: "We will not give our wealth"; the other says: "We will not give the labour from which your wealth is derived." And surely, of the two, the victim is more justified than the oppressor, the non-privileged person than the privileged!

Dean Inge's remarks lead one to suspect that his knowledge of the workers is chiefly gained through the medium of the newspapers. But I will venture to say that with reference to his "practical programme" of Christianity, an economic system after "the mind of Christ," Labour is about the only section of the community who would be likely to accept it. The Dean must not forget that Labour is outside the Church to-day for the precise reason that the latter failed it on the economic question, collapsed and sided with the capitalists. And certainly the capitalists and the Government would not accept his programme!

But what does Dean Inge mean by an economic system after "the mind of Christ"? Is it not time such men as he, and such bodies as the Free Church Council, tackled this question and stated definitely their meaning? General statements are not enough. Nothing did Christ condemn so strongly and so often as the pursuit and accumulation of riches, and yet nothing does the Church to-day so completely yet secretly defend! Is Dean Inge and is the Free Church Council prepared to abolish social classes, or the fortunes which make them possible? Are they prepared to substitute social service for private profit as the motive of industry, to sacrifice, and to advocate the sacrifice, of everything that could reasonably be called privilege, in order that the people as a whole might possess their souls, become truly free? If they are there is hope, but if not they had better keep silent. In any case, it is futile to ask people to pray for the maintenance of things that do not exist.

Mrs. Wharton's Pork Pie.

Mrs. Wharton had worked herself into comparatively easy circumstances, but the tragedy was that she could not take ease in them. She had toiled, starved herself, skimped and schemed all her married life, till it had become impossible for her to do anything else. How to keep a home going, to feed and clothe seven children on a weekly wage of 30s., was a problem that would have baffled every professor of economics in the country. But Mrs. Wharton had solved it—not, however, without paying the price.

On the day that Emily, the eldest of the family, brought home her first wage of 2/6 for working twenty-eight strenuous hours in a cotton factory, at the age of ten, it seemed as if the sun had shone for the first time for many years. All the family had visions, even little Tommy, who had been begging for weeks for a trumpet. Naturally, Emily expected a special little treat all to herself, but there were whispered suggestions on all hands that a general celebration was necessary. Unfortunately, Mrs. Wharton, absorbed in her economics, and in no wise suspecting that the supplementary income of 2/6 would have a psychological effect upon her family, had planned out the spending of every penny of that wonderful half-crown. But when she saw the look of expectation on her children's faces, heard the whisperings that were taking place behind her back, the idea came to her that the event ought to be celebrated. So after a hard struggle she undid her calculations and compounded another scheme which included a pound pot of jam at 5d. A pot of jam at 5d.! She hoped the Lord would forgive her for such an unheard-of extravagance! Thick bread and dripping for breakfast and tea, vegetables and bread, or broth, and occasionally a few scraggy bits of meat for dinner, had been the fare in the Wharton household since its commencement.

Emily's wage of 2/6 meant the breaking down of the old régime. The first pot of jam had to be followed by others, and when, the following year, Walter also began to bring in 2/6 per week, there was an almost irresistible demand for "regular" jam for tea. But of course it had to be spread on with great care, so that a pound pot lasted at least four days.

Mrs. Wharton could never accustom herself to such prodigality, sighed daily as she saw her children living so luxuriously, and hoped that the Divine wrath would vent itself upon them. But the children did not stop at jam. As they grew up and brought in more money they demanded better food, better furniture, and even some decent pictures on the walls. And as Mrs. Wharton now had the money, even her practised diplomacy was not sufficient to enable her to retain as much of it as she would have liked, although she "put away" far more than anyone suspected.

Her second son, Joe, was a keen Trade Unionist, and on one occasion was elected to represent his Branch at a Congress at Nottingham. The follow-

ing Christmas, the friends with whom he had stayed sent him a big pork pie, the like of which Mrs. Wharton had never seen before. It was placed on inspection for a whole evening, till all the family had had a good look at it, when Mrs. Wharton took it quietly away and locked it in a drawer.

Next day there were enquiries after the pie. "You'll get no pie to-day," emphatically remarked Mrs. Wharton, "so you've no need to ask!"

The following noon, as each member of the family entered the house for dinner, he or she said: "Where's the pie, mother?" To which the mother replied, "You'll get no pie to-day!"

"When are we to have it, then?" they all asked.

"I don't know," was the low reply.

"Let's have it for tea!" said Emily.

"What? Pie for tea? Folks like us, pie for tea! Emily, I'm surprised at you! I don't know what's coming over you all, you would live like millionaires!"

Five days went by in that fashion and still the pie did not appear, nor could the family elicit a promise as to when it should appear. Christmas was now over and they had not seen the pie since the day of its arrival. So they held a consultation and decided to issue an ultimatum to their mother that the pie should appear at dinner next day. After a hard struggle, Mrs. Wharton yielded.

At 12-45 the following day all the household were seated around the dinner table, waiting. Mrs. Wharton put the potatoes, etc., on the table and then went to an old chest, unlocked it, and lifted out the pie—green with mould!

The family was horrified, and for a moment speechless. "Well, I declare!" said Emily. "Now you see what you've done!" sobbed Margaret. "What a stench!" roared Harold. "Yes," said Winnie, "that's the smell I've been noticing for two or three days and couldn't make out what it was."

But Mrs. Wharton was imperturbed, and kept both her counsel and her countenance.

Without regarding her children, she cut the pie in two and examined it. The inside was even worse than the outside. She turned it about carefully, cut out a few bits of meat, and then quietly threw the remainder on the fire.

The family looked on in bewilderment.

"What do you think about it, mother?" asked Emily.

"Nothing," replied Mrs. Wharton, and, indeed, she looked quite satisfied. "If I had let you have your own way you'd have eaten it up the first day!"

"Of course, we should," replied Joe, "why not?"

Mrs. Wharton knew why not. Had she not possessed that pie in her thought and in her heart for six whole days?

Ah, yes, she was satisfied!

PHIL.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

Bookland. G. B. Robson's New Book.

The author of "The Way to Personality," in sending out his second book, "The Kingship of God" (Swarthmore Press, 5/- net), labours under a disadvantage. His first publication raised expectations which it would be very difficult to satisfy. I know people who read and re-read "The Way to Personality," marking their favourite passages, as one reads and marks a book of devotion. G. B. Robson is an artist, a thinker, and a revolutionist. And the combination as it found expression in that book was irresistible. Here all that was of value in Nietzsche was found giving its support to the Christian Gospel. Blake, too, was enlisted, as he is in the present volume, for the campaign against dullness and goody-goodiness.

We cannot say that "The Kingship of God" equals in literary quality "The Way to Personality," but is a more serious attempt to interpret Christian doctrine. Mr. Robson has the gift of talking theology without letting his readers know it. Many who are in the habit of declaring that it is the theologians who have killed religion will read and delight in this book, discovering, let us hope, to their joy that Christianity is not a multitude of unrelated impressions or a mere emotional gush, but that it offers the thoughtful man a profound system of truth.

So much of the wrongness of things is due to muddled thinking on religious matters. For instance, it is profoundly true, as Mr. Robson tells us, that—

"The idea of some sort of gulf between the 'ethical teaching' of Jesus and the 'evangelical doctrine' of Paul has worked nothing but mischief, leading on the one hand to the presentation of a merely ideal Christ, who is powerless to redeem the lives of men, and leaves the world's future to a gradual amelioration of human manners, and, on the other hand to an individualistic piety which finds in the acceptance of a plan of salvation, followed by a life of decent private behaviour and a little church going, all that Jesus lived and died for, so far as this world is concerned."

The doctrinal teaching of Paul is, as a matter of fact, full of revolutionary implications. His conception of truth led him to become the first great Christian internationalist.

Here, again, is a passage in which the sanity of Christian doctrine tests and rejects much that passes, for the modern mind, as a substitute for it:

"There is, however, a vein of modern mysticism which is at least equally private and sentimental, though that is far from the way in which its devotees would describe it. The claim made for it is that it is superior to Christianity because it is more Catholic, and is free to interpret its subjective experiences by any symbolism it chooses or none at all. We are to 'go into the silence,' and there to discover, in the depths of our own being, the hidden secret of all religions. Now to 'go into the silence,' is a practice worthy of all commendation, but what we discover there is, in itself, not the ultimate secret, but the ultimate mystery of which the secret is yet to be found. What is it we do actually find there? In itself, a profound feeling, an expansion of consciousness, which carries with it a conviction of its own reality. It is as though some rock-bound pool became, at rising tide, aware of the great depths to which its existence is due. But that is not enough for life as we have to meet it every day. We are

driven to ask the questions which Paul asked when he found himself confronted with reality on the road to Damascus.

"WHO ART THOU, LORD?" (or, at least, What is it?). Until we have had some answer to that, we can give no content to our feeling at all. That here is something vast and full of meaning for us may, indeed, fill us with awe and uplift us with joy, but had not primitive man reached that stage long centuries ago?

"WHAT WILT THOU HAVE ME TO DO?" Modern psychologists are united in warning us of the danger of allowing deep emotion to turn in upon itself. 'All consciousness is motor' (William James). It must be expressed in action, if we are not to lose ourselves in a swamp of subjective delusion.

"All the religions of the world are attempts to answer those questions, keys forged to fit that lock. We have already seen that any really satisfactory answer must be in personal terms. That there have been many partial answers is only what we might expect; indeed, we would have reason for complaint if it were not so, but the full answer can only be given by a perfect person. If the manifestation in time, under conditions of human life, of such a personality as we have been studying is only one more partial answer, with no more authority than any other, then we have to conclude either that the lock is one that any key will open—and so not much of a lock—or that none of them will open it at all. We have had the experience, but for the rest, we have only made a few passes with our minds, and are not any farther on than we were before. We may talk about the great Self, or the Allness of the All, of Krishna, or even Christ, but if we have no content other than the feeling itself to put into the words, we have no real answer to our questions."

It must not be imagined, however, that "The Kingship of God" is concerned exclusively with doctrine. It is in the restatement of doctrine in terms of life and the practical application to the present situation of the truths stated that the value of the book lies. The chapter on "The Lordship of Christ," for instance, and that on "The Christian Community," are full of social wisdom. Here is no compromise, no attempt to introduce a new order by Fabian methods, but bold, clear, constructive thinking calculated to assist considerably the large number of people who are trying to see the relation between Christian truth and the social and international idealism of our times.

"THE MAKING OF A PROPAGANDIST."—I.L.P. pamphlet, by James Mylles, I.L.P. Organiser for London and Home Counties. 1d. I.L.P., 8 and 9 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, E.C.4. A simple, attractively written account of essential points to be considered and difficulties to be overcome and how to overcome them by one who has gone through the mill.

ADULT EDUCATION is a pamphlet setting forth the recommendations of the W.E.A., which are based on the Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction. 3d. 16 Harper Street, W.C.1. It gives full particulars of scope, method of formation and procedure of W.E.A. Centres.

HURSTDENE, NUTFIELD ROAD, REDHILL.—An ideal Food Reform GUEST HOUSE for tired town dwellers. 21 miles from London; excellent train service. Tennis and outdoor games in bracing air. Beautiful country walks. Arrangements made for part board and residence, with use of Common Room and Garden. Gas fires in each bedroom.—Miss Bardsley.

M. Anatole France on "Dying Europe."

Readers of the "Observer" for Sunday, Aug. 22, must have been intensely interested and perhaps intensely saddened too, by the account of an interview with M. Anatole France. He is described as living within a stone's throw of the Avenue de Bois le Boulogne, where on Sunday mornings a brilliant spectacle is seen; people of all races "come here to bask in the smile of well-being."

But the comment of Anatole France on this gorgeous sight is:—"Europe is very ill, dying." He goes on:—"The war has brought victory to the Allies as crushing to them as the defeat to the Germans. In some places the war is blazing still, in others it started new conflagrations. In many instances the suffering of whole peoples surpasses the darkest days of the war. All nations feel added economic burdens, some are breaking under them. It is Europe now that is the sick man of the world. And peace has not brought its balm." The description of President Wilson's arrival follows:—"He came here like some evangelical clergyman of a new faith, full of fire and hope. . . . I am sure he felt he was working in the name of God. His sincerity was not only beyond suspicion, it fired the masses of war-weary Europe. . . . They were waiting for him here, the powers of darkness. . . . and after the struggle in the dark it was the evangel of light that came out defeated and tarnished with compromise." Have we ever had expressed more poignantly the failure of the one man to whom so many were looking for the word of reconciliation?

The question follows, "What salvation do you see for Europe's plight?" And M. Anatole France answers, "Action based on a new spirit, on the common interests and needs of all Europe, and of all the world. What each national did during the war on the constructive side, all the nations together must do now if they wish not to be crushed by their common enemy, disintegration. For the maximum effort in the war each nation pooled all its resources and its strength, and theoretically at least, the people of that nation were for the time but one family. To pool in common the resources of the world and to redistribute them on the basis of a common bond and a common need would not only save Europe materially but spiritually, as President Wilson hoped it would be saved."

The remarks which follow on the attitude of France are intensely depressing. What he calls "the negative aspect" of this spirit is shown to be working there, for "Patriotism during war means hatred of the other nation as much as love of your own."

From the gloomy forecast on the state of things in France, one turns with relief to the glowing words on Russia. "Out

of all this disintegration I think but one nation may recover—Russia. There is all the travail, strength, and agony of something great being born there. Nothing doomed to early death could rouse such a stir of emotion throughout the entire world. Nothing short of a new and giant spirit could have accomplished what Russia's Red armies, barefooted and half starved, did against a ring of enemies."

There is a note of certainty and even triumph when he speaks of Socialism as the one hope for Europe. "For the first time Socialism is a tremendous fact instead of an agitating theme only. Socialism in one form or another is inevitable throughout the world." The description of the typical American is full of insight, he "may turn out to be a great force for spirituality. . . . It all depends on what industrialism does for him. If it brutalises America, the whole world will suffer. If America humanises, socialises industrialism, the whole world will be the gainer. . . ." "Everywhere there is springing up this freemasonry based on a new social order so that, for example, a French Socialist, meeting an American Socialist in Paris often feels a closer kinship towards him than towards his own bourgeois-minded neighbour. Action on an international scale is increasing between labour masses. There are even the slight beginnings of an art expressing the new social order."

The interview ends on a tragic note:—"Socialism is not yet the main force in the world. Nor will it prevail for some years to come. And meanwhile, the human tragedy continues."

So M. Anatole France gives his forecast of the future—grave enough. But, we have always to reckon with the unknown and unexpected. And this, not in any light-hearted spirit, or belief in chance. We have as Christians to reckon with something which centuries before this saw the transformation of whole multitudes under the influence of a band of fishermen fired with devotion to a Crucified Leader. And we have to reckon with the spirit of that little band alive still, in spite of centuries of mistakes, cruelties and repression of the spirit of liberty in His Name. We have to reckon with the beginnings of an International Movement inspired by something greater even than devotion to an IDEA. Unless our faith is a farce, we believe that the Spirit of Christ is working still, still seeking for labourers for the Divine Harvest. But those early followers went on the Great Adventure not knowing whether they went, full of a burning love for One they knew and loved, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for His Name."

Have we any right to stipulate that the path shall be easier to-day?

Is the Boy Scout Movement worth carrying on?

Dear Sir,—The impression gained from a previous article in the "Crusader," on the Boy Scout Movement, is, that the Scouts are becoming a military movement. Of course, one must admit that there is a certain part of the Movement that is longing for the Government to take them over, but this part is, fortunately, in the minority.

The article, however, would have been excellent, had not the author quoted from the statistics of John Hargrave. I am, myself, a great follower of this prominent Scout, "White Fox," and have at home many of his works, but one must not forget that he is pleading solely for the "Woodcraft Cause." Holding this fact in view, one can see that every time White Fox makes a "military scare," he has a fine opportunity for advocating the "Woodcraft Cause."

Therefore, in an important subject, it is imperative that if any writings of White Fox are quoted, articles by Baden Powell and other prominent Scout writers should be quoted with them.

The success of the whole movement, has, up to the present, depended on the individual Scoutmasters. Outsiders, however, when judging the movement only take into account two or three little things they see. For example, I must admit that many of my brother Scouts are "blacklegs," and strike breakers. But when we put these by the side of the whole movement, they are very few in number. Also, there are no orders from headquarters urging Scouts to break strikes. If my memory serve me well, a notice was issued by headquarters to the effect that Scouts were not to act as strike breakers, but, in the case of

personal suffering, action was left to the discretion of the local Scoutmaster.

Let us apply this to the military side of the movement. A man returns from the army and becomes a Scoutmaster, and perhaps runs his troop on military lines—with the result that most of the people of that district say that the Boy Scout movement is run on military lines. This, of course, doesn't follow. The fault there is with the individual Scoutmaster concerned, and not with the whole movement.

Now let us see what good the movement has done.

During the Jamboree, one tent at Richmond camp had a "lost property table," on which Scouts placed all things which they found lying about. There were several hundred articles on the table, including such things as fountain pens, knives, watches and pocket books, and even £12 in money.

All I wish to ask the readers of the "Crusader" is: "Would the ordinary boy have done this?"

No! The majority of the boys outside the movement would have pocketed these articles. Therefore, I conclude this article with the following statement:—

A movement that can bring up boys like this deserves the support of everyone in the world, and any errors due to individual Scoutmasters can be successfully overcome by an efficient method of propaganda.—Sincerely yours,

A. E. MCCARTHY.

THE CRUSADE.

Dear Editor,—I am in the amazing position of having the vast sum of 4s. 6d. and not knowing quite what to do with it. It came into my hands in this way. Douglas Muir and I were speaking last week on Glasgow Green when we were staggered to have the question put to us: "When are you going to have a collection?" We explained to the audience that we were not accustomed to take collections and that, if they had any money to fling away, they could buy "The Crusader" from the two small boys who were walking around the crowd selling it. This hint was acted upon and the stock sold off. Still, however, the national longing to throw wealth about was unsatisfied, and, in the end, we had to yield and the enclosed collection resulted. We were compelled to tell people three times that the meeting was over before they could be persuaded to disperse. And this sort of interest is being shown everywhere. It is easy enough to get an audience except of your own supporters—I wish it were equally easy to get speakers.—Yours sincerely,

C. PAUL GLIDDON.

Meetings have been addressed by Theodora Wilson Wilson on the 5th at Barclay Hall, Forest Gate, and on the 12th at the Bedford Institute, Spittlefield. The meetings were not large but it was good to strengthen one another for the work that is lying so immediately before us. Both "Crusaders" and "Explorers" were on sale.

THE MARTYRDOM OF THE MAYOR OF CORK.

ADDRESS BY REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

On Sunday night, at Wycliffe Church, Leicester, the Rev. Seaward Beddow delivered a fine, outspoken address regarding the Government's treatment of the Lord Mayor of Cork. Mr. Lloyd George had declared that it was necessary to uphold the dignity of the law, and that therefore it was impossible for him to release the Mayor. That was the way to bring the law into contempt.

But if they were to understand the case they must put it into its proper setting. They must see it as one incident in the long and tragic history of English mishandling of the Irish people. For 700 years that people had struggled to be free, and at the present moment they were going through one of the most violent and bitter phases of their long fight for independence. The British Government was now once more desperately attempting to quench the spirit of Irish patriotism by the use of armed force.

A Disgraceful Policy.

The policy being pursued was a disgrace to the English name, and they must not forget that the whole world was looking on. We boasted that we believed in the principle of self-determination, and at the very same moment sought to terrorise Ireland. No wonder that we had the name abroad of being the greatest hypocrites under the sun. No doubt the official mind, with its usual blindness, believed that their policy would bring hunger-striking to an end. But the Irish were quite capable of dying, and in great numbers.

The Triumph of the Spirit.

Their reply would be the reply of the human spirit to material force, and in such a case the Government would find itself confronted by the strongest power on earth, namely, the power of an unlimited sacrifice, the power of men driven to the last pitch of fervour, and willing not only to face the risk of death but to accept its certainty for the sake of their ideal.

Such a sight would kindle sympathy and emulation in a million hearts, and it might well be that the present decision of the Government to allow hunger-strikers to die would prove decisive in a way which the Government never intended.

Something More than Reason.

But was not the conduct of the Mayor in Brixton prison utterly unreasonable; was he not simply a man trying to commit suicide? Judged by the calm light of reason there could be no doubt of the answer. But sometimes there was something more than reason to be taken into account in human action. The martyr's death had always been regarded as unreasonable—by other folk. The early Christians, who were martyred in their

thousands by the Roman Empire, were no doubt very unreasonable people.

But, conscious of the powerful appeal of a public martyrdom, the Church constantly made that flaming and ecstatic appeal to the world. It was the one thing that the Pagan Government dreaded, and it was the one thing that finally defeated the Pagan power.

A Willing Sacrifice.

Thus Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, was casting his life away, saying to his chaplain, "I gladly make the sacrifice; they are trying to break the spirit of our people. My death will be an example and an appeal to make every sacrifice for Ireland." In one completely courageous and defiant deed he was matching the spirit's force against the force of arms.

TWEEDS.—Any length cut. Suitings, Costumes, Overcoatings. Patterns sent on application.—R. A. Anderson, 21 St. Andrew Street, Galashiels.

To help towards greater understanding among Christians

THE CASE FOR ROMAN CATHOLICISM

will be stated by the Rev. Fr. Owen Dudley at Burchley Hall, High Rd., Leytonstone, on SUNDAY, 19th, at 8 p.m.

The service at 6.30 will be conducted by C. Paul Gliddon. Subject of address:

THE VICTORIOUS DEAD.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

TWO BIG PUBLIC MEETINGS.—Will friends please book at once FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, and TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28. On the first of these dates there will be a meeting on "Reconciliation with Ireland" in the Large Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, when the speakers will include JAMES DOUGLAS, a Sinn Féin member of the F.O.R., and MISS MAUDE ROYDEN, Dr. Hodgkin being in the chair. At the second meeting the subject will be "The Christian Alternative to War." It will be held in the Large Essex Hall and the speakers will be our representatives at the Christian International Conference lately held at Bilthoven. They will include the REV. JAMES FRASER, MISS MURIEL LESTER and MISS T. WILSON WILSON. An opportunity will be taken at this meeting to bid farewell to DR. and MRS. HODGKIN, who are returning to China to carry thither the message of the F.O.R.

TEN DAYS' MISSION ON "CHRISTIANITY OR CHAOS."

—This will take place in Walthamstow and Leytonstone from Friday, September 24, to Sunday, October 3. Meetings are to be held nightly in both centres and we are hoping to do this without abandoning any of the meetings arranged for other parts of London. But such a plan will only be possible if we can look for the support during this time of all speakers who are in sympathy with our work. May we hear from those who can give at least one night?

OPEN-AIR MISSION.—It would be a great encouragement to speakers if more of our own members would attend meetings and thereby come to realise how great an advance is being made. It is not without significance that our most regular supporters are largely our soldier-converts. Forthcoming meetings are as follows:—FRIDAY, 17th:—At 6.30, Marble Arch: Rev. Frank Fincham, C. Paul Gliddon, Dorothea Stevens; at 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. SUNDAY, 19th:—At noon, Leytonstone, The Green Man: C. Paul Gliddon; at 3.30, Hampstead Heath, Jack Straw's Castle: Marjory Bonar Alfred Cordell. MONDAY, 20th:—At 7.30, Leytonstone, G.E.R. Station: C. Paul Gliddon, Rev. R. W. Sorensen; at 7.30, Tooting, opposite The Mitre: Alfred Cordell, C. H. Offey. TUESDAY, 21st:—At 6.30, Marble Arch: Rev. Frank Fincham, C. Paul Gliddon; at 8, Forest Gate, G.E.R. Station: W. H. Hancock, J. B. Lief, E. Oakes; at 8 p.m., Clapton, corner of Kenninghall Rd.: Alfred Cordell. WEDNESDAY, 22nd:—At 8, Catford, near Town Hall: Rev. Frank Fincham, Horace Fuller. THURSDAY, 23rd:—At 6.30, Marble Arch: Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen; at 8, Kentish Town, Leighton Road: Marjory Bonar, W. H. Hancock, J. B. Lief. FRIDAY, 24th:—At 6.30, Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon, Dorothea Stevens; at 7.30, Leytonstone, G.E.R. Station: Rev. Frank Fincham, C. Paul Gliddon; at 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

Christian Commonwealth Fellowship



Particulars about the C.C.F. may be had on application to the Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 53 Southern Road, BASINGSTOKE, enclosing stamped addressed envelope. The minimum annual subscriptions for new members is 1s. 6d. It is Fellowship (for all who can) to send more than the minimum because the C.C.F. needs more. Badges, emblems, studs, or brooches, large, 9d. each; small 1s. each. Postage 2d.

The address of all members of the C.C.F. is C.C.F. number, care of Fellowship Organiser, Christian Commonwealth Fellowship, 53 Southern Road, Basingstoke. Put your number and initials on left-hand top corner of envelope.

Our Last Weekly Page.

The choice of a subject for this our last page in the "Crusader" is no easy matter. So many things are for utterance, and our post-bag is full of letters that make suggestions, and offer abundant material for a dozen pages. But there is a special insistence on two or three of the letters before us that bring us to the deepest things underlying our Fellowship life, and hold us there, among the changeless certainties. "Although up to my eyes in work I feel I must write to you," says 2515 (Finchley), "I want these lines to reach you without delay." The "lines" are a cheering report of various links made, and an offer of further service; and 2515 sends the following quotation which she hopes will help other Fellows who are trying to "think peace" in these days of industrial strife:—"Remember that you can help to bring about universal peace. The first step will be for you to establish Divine Love in your own heart. After this is done you will be able to help others to do the same. When a large number of people have done this, a wave of love will go over the entire race, and all men will find it easier to love and to forgive."

"All These Things——"

One of the greatest hindrances to the full exercise of this wonderful Fellowship influence to-day is the anxiety with which many of us think of the needs of daily life; earning a livelihood takes up so much time and energy, and it is so difficult to cultivate the child-like spirit of absolute dependence. Here another Fellow may help us: 2189 (Woking) has recently returned to England, after a long pilgrimage over the earth. Duty called her back, and Duty has kept her moving from place to place since her return, helping one and another. "I have not been amongst those who are rich in these world's goods," she says; "it has seemed like a miracle, but I have not tried all the way to realise God as the source of all supply, and so I know that working WITH the Lord I have been cared for. I am sure that in doing whatever we can to help others over various stiles our own problems in life seem to disappear. I feel so strongly the great awakening there is going on all over the world, and rejoice in it daily." Add to this a word from a letter that lies beside it, from an old member in India; 1317 (Kotagiri) writes: "I am anxious to join this League of Prayer . . . if we realised our privilege as sons of God, having

ALL THINGS under our feet, how we should stand up before God, and humbly demand the fulfilment of our prayers."

An S.O.S.

Bearing this in mind, and remembering how closely we are all linked together, let us turn to a letter that has just arrived from 2607 (Bernstadt, Saxony). He writes:—"A very dark cloud is again overshadowing our life. We are in great MENTAL trouble. Its kind cannot be entrusted to paper, but it proves almost too heavy for my poor wife to bear. We, therefore, make bold to ask—through your friendly offices—all the fellows, and especially the League of Prayer, for their kind remembrance." Shall we also remember 5089 (Brixton), who sails for Los Angeles, Cal., this week, to take up new work? We wish her every success. And, lastly, we will quote again from 2515's letter: "Could you suggest to the members of the League of Prayer that they should all join in special prayer at this moment for ample funds to enable the dear Fellowship not only to keep afloat, but to carry its message of love and friendliness to every part of the world."

Our Page in Future.

After this week the C.C.F. page will be found in "Brotherhood," a monthly magazine concerned with the reconstruction of soul and body, and the spread of the Fellowship spirit all over the world; it has a mystical appeal, but it deals with social matters in a practical way too. In some respects it will remind us of the late lamented "C.C." Subscriptions (2s. 6d. per annum, post free, single copies 2d., by post 2½d) should be sent to the new address of the C.C.F.:

The Fellowship Organiser,
53 Southern Road,
Basingstoke.

The October issue of "Brotherhood" (published the second week of the month) will be the Birthday Number of the C.C.F. We are looking for our "home-letters" for Fellowship Day (October 4).

Our Thanks.

And here may we voice the sincere thanks of the Fellowship to the "Crusader" Group, for their kindness and consideration from the first moment it was our pleasure to be associated with them. The arrangement between us has been a happy one, and it has terminated here, at the beginning of a new C.C.F. year, through press of circumstances.

Introductions.

5439 (Ramsgate) who heard of us through a chance copy of the "Crusader," will be glad to link with local members; she is secretary of the Women's Section of her local Labour Party and also of her Sunday School, and is anxious to do anything to spread the Fellowship message.

5437 (Hampstead), married, and a student, will be glad to link with a member in the Colonies; she is interested in Theosophy, Spiritualism, Christian Science and a communicant of the Church of England. "I prefer to call myself a Christian," she writes.

Annual Subscriptions and New Members.

We acknowledge, with thanks, the following annual subscriptions:—M.E.B. (Holloway, 2s.); J.G.W. (Naini Tal, India, 2s.); E.G.S. (Birmingham, 4s.); J.W. (Kirriemuir, 4s.); and the following donations:—M.T. (Stalybridge, 4s.); H.K. (Manor Park, 2s.).

SIDELIGHTS.

Egypt.

Our Glasgow friends send us the following account of an address by a young Egyptian gentleman at a "Study Circle" meeting. "Our friend, who spoke good English, told us of the long series of encroachments by Britain upon the rights and liberties of his country; of the many violations of the promise to evacuate the country; of the failure to improve the education of the natives, the rate being now only 10 per cent. against 7 per cent. 40 years ago, when Britain took over the suzerainty; of the atrocities and brutalities committed by British troops upon the natives; of the shamefully heavy rate of rates of interest (60 to 70 per cent.) charged for loans; of the suppression of their Constitutional Government, and reinstatement of the autocracy; and last, but not least, of the insulting treatment of the National Delegates, appointed to come to London to negotiate the terms of autonomy promised by every British Government. He also denied that the arrangement now proposed is what the Egyptian people require or desire, as it is not admitting the complete independence of the nation, which, he said, is what they are entitled to. So long as there are to be British High Commissioners resident in Egypt, and an army of occupation maintained upon the immediate borders of the country, they cannot feel they have that freedom of self-determination to which they as an ancient, intellectual and highly civilised people are justly entitled."

Upton Sinclair and the War.

Upton Sinclair has applied for re-admission into the Socialist Party with an acknowledgment that the Party was right in its stand on the war. Any man and any group of men can be mistaken; but it takes a real one to admit it and take up the work where he left.—"The New Day" (America).

A Vicar's View—and a Working Man's.

The following appeared under "The Way of the World" in a recent issue of the "Daily Herald" :—

"The British working man," wrote a Southsea vicar recently in his parish magazine, "has just one single thing to offer to his country and to his God—work. He has neither wit, education, culture, manners, experience, leadership, corporate sense, unselfishness, nor, speaking collectively, any of the great qualities that go to make a commonwealth. If he cannot be induced to work neither his life nor his person are of the slightest use either to God or man."

And a Working Man replied: "What, Mr. Parson, do you do to benefit yourself or your country, eh? You say a working man has only his work to offer. Quite right. And why? Because the Parson wants all that's left—wit, education, culture, manners, experience, and all the others you talk about; you have collared the Lot. What do Parsons live on? Work? No. Love? No. Wit? No. Unselfishness? No; but that which someone else pays for, to keep up a kind of Respectability. Who follows Christ to-day? The Church? The Parson? The privileged Few? or the Worker, who sells all he has (his labour) and and gives to the Poor?"

"Law" in Ireland.

According to the "Communist," regulations 2-3 of those issued for the government of Ireland on August 21, "ordains that any Irish subject may be arrested and tried by court-martial for an act committed at any time in the past which act was not, at the time it was committed, an illegal act, but which is now made an illegal act by the new regulations."

The Irish Co-operative Creameries.

There is something sinister in the recent destruction of the Irish Co-operative Creameries. The development of Co-operation in Irish agriculture has been one of the most remarkable things in modern times and, as is well-known, has frequently called forth the wrath of the Capitalists. The "Co-operative News"

Special Commissioner states that "Up till the time of writing no fewer than 18 Co-operative Creameries have been either wholly or partially destroyed. . . . In all but two cases there is evidence to connect soldiers and police—and, in some cases both armed forces of the Crown—with the wilful and malicious and unwarranted destruction of these food-producing establishments."

The Dean's S.O.S.

The following extracts are from an article in "The Times" of September 4th, by Dean Inge, and reveal some of the Church's most "live" thought on the present social conditions. The article is dealt with in our columns :—

A few days ago I visited a mother who lost her only son in the war. She said: "What breaks my heart is that my boy, and many others like him, gave their lives for a nation which is quite unworthy of the sacrifice." I have no doubt that thousands of bereaved parents and widows are saying or thinking the same thing. We are no longer united as a nation; we are a mass of helpless individuals, plundered by gangs of conspirators, honeycombed with treason, under a Government which nobody trusts, nobody respects, and nobody obeys. Many persons appear to have made fortunes out of the calamities of their country, and to wish their neighbours to know that they have made them. Organised labour has thrown off the mask, and is frankly setting up a new privileged class, blackmailing the public by their monopoly of one or other of the necessities of civilised life. We all know how we are being treated by the miner and the bricklayer; nothing more scandalous, and nothing as ruinous, was ever done by the captains of industry in the days before the Factory Acts. The widespread sympathy with Russian Bolshevism does not spring from any predilection for a grinding State Socialism, the very antithesis of democracy. It is an expression of virulent class-hatred, revelling in pictures of plunder, massacre, and outrage, of which it is hoped that the educated classes are the chief victims. There has never been a time when this country has shown clearer symptoms of mortal disease than on the morrow of our deliverance from the most formidable of our foreign enemies. . . .

The Christian Churches have now a great opportunity—the last, perhaps, that an offended Providence and a justly impatient public will allow them—of showing that they can put aside their intestine divisions and their pre-occupation with matters of small account, and unite to save the country. There is a great body of unorganised opinion on the right side; the good men were not all killed; and there still remain the good women. The New Testament is accepted by all Christian denominations, all alike profess to be followers of the Crucified. Is there no practical programme in such words as these:—"If any man will come after me let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me"; "Is not the life more than meat and the body than raiment?"; "The Kingdom of God is not eating and drinking but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost"; "Whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as unto the Lord and not unto men"; "A kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation"? We look in vain at present for any political leader whom the civium ardor prava iubentium does not intimidate, but if the moral forces of the nation could be organised and focussed by the Churches acting together the conscience of the whole community might be shamed into penitence. . . .

Just now, the Churches should, in my opinion, unite in urging the following principles, as being not only vital for the welfare of the country, but in complete harmony with Christian morality:—The nation is the unit to which we owe our loyalty. The constitutional democratic Government is the authority to which we owe our obedience and our support. Sectional anarchy is black treason. Self-denial and steady industry are the prime social duties in a community which is exhausted by an internecine struggle. In international relations it is our duty to cast away hatred, and to labour for the restoration of a comity of nations from which no civilised people shall be excluded.

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The Outlook.

WHAT will the coming winter bring forth? The outlook is dark enough. Mr. John Cournos, the author, who has been making a tour through the war-stricken lands of Europe on behalf of the Save the Children Fund, expresses himself as impressed more and more with "the immense and fundamental helplessness of Vienna." "Unless something radical and unforeseen occurs," he says, "Vienna must be regarded as a dying city—a great city dying slowly." Writing in the "Sunday Observer," Mr. Cournos says:—"The mortality statistics are ominous; the discrepancy between deaths and births startling. The census of 1910 gave Vienna 2,030,000 inhabitants; a normal increase should have given it 2,350,000 in 1920. Instead, Vienna now counts 1,838,708 inhabitants. This rate of decrease, if persisted in, would depopulate Vienna to a man in the course of fifteen years."

THE condition at home, if in no wise comparable to that on the Continent, is sufficiently serious to provoke most anxious thought. Food prices show every sign of going still higher, and we have it now, on Government authority, that there is no immediate hope of a decline. Speaking

at the Grocers' Exhibition luncheon in London, Mr. McCurdy, the Food Controller, said he estimated that apart from any effect on food prices which might result from a coal strike, by Christmas next, owing to the steady rise in the price of food, a working-class family would have to pay nine shillings and sixpence a week more than last Christmas. This calculation does not take into account the possibility of a railway strike. If such takes place it will, of course, add greatly to the seriousness of the food problem.

* * *

THEN there is the alarming growth of unemployment. Mr. John Scurr, on behalf of the "Daily Herald," has been investigating the conditions of the Labour Market, and prophesies that a big unemployment crisis is at hand. That crisis will certainly be increased in gravity by the strikes threatening in every part of the industrial world. Let one of the big key industries shut down, and dislocation of the whole industrial organisation must result.

* * *

AT the time of writing it seems possible that the coalminers may yet arrive at an understanding with the Government, but nobody who is cognisant of the situation can pretend that any peace that may be declared will be more than a truce. Never was it truer than in the quarrel between Capital and Labour that "Nothing is settled until it is settled right." Democratic control of industry is a principle which, having been once stated, will allow the world no rest until it has been adopted.

* * *

ADDDED to these symptoms is the unparalleled condition of Ireland which may at any moment burst into flame, producing a condition of things comparable only to the Indian Mutiny or the war with the American colonies. In this connection we would direct our readers' attention to the cablegram, printed on our last page, from the New York "Nation," giving particulars of the attempt to organise American intervention in the form of an Arbitration Court to examine the evidence relative to the atrocities in Ireland.



The Lure of the Abyss.

Window cleaners are a mystery to me. So are those tramway company employees who may be seen perched on a dizzy eminence repairing overhead cables. The men

who operate great cranes from the top of huge scaffolding structures make me hold my breath.

Were I in the position of any of these I should feel an almost irresistible impulse to pitch myself into the depths below. I cannot climb mountains or even look over a moderately high balustrade without experiencing the same sensation. There is a fatal fascination in an abyss. It is a familiar phenomenon. Scientists have named it. Thousands of people confess to experiencing it.

It is not so clearly recognised that abysses of human misery possess the same fascination. To feel their attraction is regarded as an abnormal characteristic. As a matter of fact, the desire to share the lot of our more unfortunate fellows is as universal as the corresponding physical sensation. At times it has gained entire possession of an individual or even of large numbers of people. Hence your Francis of Assisi, and Father Damien. But, as a rule, the impulse is held well in check, and many people now pride themselves on their ability to walk the dizzy ledge of special privilege without feeling any inclination to precipitate themselves into the abyss beneath, while others spend their lives in clinging by the finger nails to any projection that will save them from falling into the depths of poverty yawning beneath them.

Christianity is sometimes credited with having created in human beings this "unnatural" longing for the abyss. But as I have pointed out, it belongs to human nature itself. The poor man or oppressed man has everywhere and always possessed the power to draw others to him. Even folk lore stories bear witness to the fascination of the weak. The sympathies of a normal audience are on the side of Cinderella rather than on that of her sisters. David has always been more popular than Goliath.

What Christianity did was to reveal this passion for the abyss in the heart of God Himself. It gave the world the picture of a God who could not look over the battlements of Heaven into the sorrows of men without becoming dizzy and desiring to fling Himself down. The story of the Incarnation is the story of how that passion overmastered Him. The creed takes us even further and tells us that He "descended into Hell."

The impulse to take the part of the unfortunate, though present in all, is generally inhibited by some pagan convention or belief. Huckleberry Finn

wanted to help the runaway slave to escape, but his conscience stood in the way. The slave was somebody else's "property," and he felt that to assist "Jim" in attempting to become free he would be stealing. Had Huckleberry been Christianised his conscience would have been on the side of his impulse.

But not only does Christianity give divine sanction to the passion for descent, it guides and directs it. The uneducated impulse to drop into the abyss is a foolish thing. Jesus put aside the temptation to hurl Himself from the pinnacle of the Temple. Had some of the martyrs of the Church been as wise in their longing for the martyrs' death Christendom might, with greater justification, sing the praises of the victims of Roman persecution. The right way to the Cross is as difficult to find as the right way to the throne.

That is the problem besetting many minds to-day. They would share the lot of the people. Their class privileges have become a weariness to them. They are possessed with a longing to mingle with the crowd on equal terms with the lowest and least fortunate. But the path of descent is strewn with difficulties. To fling themselves from the pinnacle of Good Fortune is forbidden them. They can move only in accord with the will of God as they find that indicated in their hearts and in the external conditions of their lives.

Much has been made of the difficulties of escaping the abyss. The whole social movement of to-day revolves around this problem. But little attention has been given to the equally complicated question as to how those who honestly desire to identify themselves with the workers can overcome class barriers and social training and all the other hindrances that beset the individual who wants to enter into the prison house of poverty. Indeed, it is scarcely treated as a problem at all. The very existence of such individuals is denied. But not only is their existence a fact, but their peculiar problem requires as much wisdom as does the uplifting of those who are in the underworld. The Incarnation is as great a miracle as the Resurrection.

THE TRAMP.

We have so lived that we have produced a widespread conclusion that the Christian faith is reactionary or without a programme, and we have thrown over our task to revolutionaries, and then derided them for not believing the faith which alone would make it possible, although we who believed did nothing at all; with the result that our faith has come to utter disrepute.

We have the great social cure, but no one would guess it. It is as if we had some wonderful specific that would reform the world, but we have kept it to ourselves and labelled the bottle, "How to keep things always the same." Then we complain that the quacks are abroad with their nostrums pretending to cure all.—REV. W. E. ORCHARD, D.D.

How will the Revolution come?

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

I have many friends inside the Labour movement who would do well to go on a search after the eggs laid by "The Tramp's" Speckled Hen. My own activities in this direction are confined to frequent risk walks on star-lit nights, when I look for those eggs in the Milky Way and search the haunts of the Ram, the Bull, the Goat, the Fishes, and the rest of them; and though I never find the eggs, I do very nearly discover where I happen to fit in with the scheme of things in this queer old farm-yard.

A few hours after the Council of Action issued its ultimatum to the Government, a keen Socialist friend came in for a chat over a mild cigarette. "The Revolution has commenced," he announced, with an air of finality.

I puffed a cloud of smoke into the eternally grinning face of an obliging china figure whose open mouth gladly receives my cigarette ash. "I think you're right," I replied, cautiously. "My only difficulty, however, is to fix the date of its commencement. I can't for the life of me make up my mind whether it began outside the Garden of Eden or among the Protozoa and—"

"No; please don't embark on that idiotic speculation to-night," protested my friend, cutting me short with an impatient wave of the hand. "I really mean to suggest that the formation of the Council of Action, and the splendid gesture of defiance it has just made, marks the beginning of the British Revolution."

We compromised by agreeing that the Revolution was within sight because of the Council of Action. I was never hard on a trifle such as that—especially at a few minutes to midnight.

A night or two ago he dropped in again. "Well, how goes the Revolution?" I enquired, as I put away my pen in despair of finishing my "copy" that night.

"It will be here on the 26th," he replied, much as he would announce the coming of a taxi.

"You mean that the miners will ——" ?" I began.

"Precisely," he chipped in. "When the miners come out on strike, every other body of organised Labour will strike in sympathy. The industry of the country will be brought to a complete standstill. The men's leaders will step in, seize the various industries—just as they are doing in Italy—and that will be the end of the capitalist system."

"But there will not be a miners' strike," I said. "The capitalist Press of the country had the miners beaten before the ballot was taken."

"Nonsense!" my friend retorted. "You must be completely out of touch with current events if that is your reading of the present position. You mark my words. The miners are going to give Capitalism the knock-out blow on the 26th."

He is really a very good fellow; and as he had seen my look of despair as I put the cap on my fountain pen, he rose to go instead of digging himself in for the night.

After he had gone I tried to worry things out from his point of view. I tried to convince myself that we really were within a fortnight of the final overthrow of Capitalism. Could it really be that I had slept for a few years and so missed those stages which I had convinced myself as being essential to the complete overthrow of the present system? No; there were the Press files all complete; my book of cuttings contained the necessary records of all that had happened during the past five years.

I went out into the night to look for those eggs. And when I returned I had come to a very definite conclusion about the Revolution.

* * * *

I am writing this on Sunday, and up to the time of writing I can see no outward and visible sign of a revolution on Saturday next. Nor can I see anything to indicate that Will Dyson's Fat Man will be selling matches or cleaning boots any time between now and Christmas. What I do see (and, of course, there may be something very much wrong with my glasses) is that there will be no miners' strike, and that the clear-brained leaders of Labour are at the moment straining every nerve to prevent a strike—for the very good reason that the Government would be glad to see such a strike.

The plain facts of the present position in the industrial world, as they appear to me, are that Capitalism has succeeded in beating back the onslaught of Labour—and it has succeeded fairly easily, too. Its chief weapon has been its Press. There has never been such a campaign as that conducted against the miners during the past few weeks. And the publicity side of the miners' organisation has been conspicuous by its futility. Everywhere one goes the public has the case against the miners; even railwaymen and other Trade Unionists show signs of the deadly effects of the Press barrage. The miners have not made the slightest headway in converting the public to their point of view even on such a vital matter as the proposed reduction in the price of household coal.

And then we had the deplorable business of the "Herald" disclosures just when the power of Labour's only daily was most needed. That bad blunder has been an enormous asset to the anti-Labour forces. But it is not for Labour to blame the "Herald." I agree with the Editor of the "Nation" on that score. "Not one word of blame can lie in the mouth of the Labour Party and the Trade Unionists of Great Britain," he writes in the current issue. "They let the 'Herald' shift for itself, apparently under the impression that Capital would rally to the support of a journal mainly devoted to their interests; while millions of workmen devoted their pennies to the nurture of the Amalgamated Press."

I don't know how the Revolution will come—yet. But I can't see it coming any the sooner for the events of the past few weeks.

The Crusader

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No Peace with Russia.

Out of all the turmoil of accusations and counter-accusations of last week in connection with the Russian mission, one fact stands clear. Negotiations for peace with Russia have been broken off. Kameneff, the political head of the mission, has been sent home, or rather told that if he were not leaving in any case he would have been made to leave; Krassin, the trade delegate, remains. The retention of Krassin conceals the fact of an open breach on the peace issue. Alongside this must be placed the facts reported by Mr. Philips Price, now in Berlin, who says:—"About 60 ships laden with ammunition and guns for Poland have passed through the Kiel Canal since August 5th. About this I am informed from an extremely trustworthy source." If the facts are as stated it is no wonder that, as Mr. Price observes, there is "considerable surprise, not to say disillusionment, in the rank and file of the German trade unionists and Socialists at the failure of organised Labour in England to prevent these ships, large numbers of which have come from British ports, from sailing."

Council of Action's Inaction.

How is it that the Council of Action allows this kind of thing? Why is it that we have heard so little of it of late? In a recent issue we declared that the Government would welcome the coal dispute as a distraction from the Polish war. Mr. Norman Angell in the current issue of the "Labour Leader" takes the same view, and declares that the movement towards a coal strike has drawn the teeth of the Council of Action. "The country," he says, "is becoming more and more absorbed in the coal issue, and very soon Russia will be forgotten. Yet Russia, as the explosion of feeling at the time of the creation of the Council of Action showed, was the one issue upon which there was a vivid national feeling. All classes would have supported Labour on that."

Norman Angell's Suggestion.

As a means of retrieving the position lost by distracting public attention from an issue on which it was united to one on which it was not, Mr. Norman Angell suggests that Labour as a whole—using, it may be, the Council of Action—should put forward a general programme, putting Peace with Russia ("immediate, complete and formal peace") and with Ireland well in the foreground, and making Nationalisation a direct and not an indirect issue. If the programme were not accepted by the Government, then Labour should demand a General Election. Mr. Angell's article is well worth pondering by all who are anxious that Labour should utilise to its full strength the machinery it has set up in the Council of Action.

CRUSADER CENTRES OF ACTION.

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NEWPORT—

Mr. Trevor C. Griffiths, 40 Oakfield Road, Newport, Mon.

PENRITH—

Mr. F. Lester, Forest Mount, Penrith, Cumberland.

READING—

Mr. J. T. Hull, 89 Grange Avenue, Reading.

These Crusader Centres of Action, as has been explained, are being organised with the object of enabling us at short notice to get into touch with various parts of the country, and, as occasion may demand, supply extra "Crusader" copies for special purposes. Volunteers are badly needed in the districts not yet represented and we should be glad to hear from readers who will act as our agents in their own localities.

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The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

Again and again during recent weeks the "Daily Herald" has come in for sharp criticism in the Religious Press. And this week the Bolshevik-gold affair naturally draws the fire of several papers. Very various points of view are expressed, some of them quite astonishing. One paper takes the line that the "Herald" is really the Enemy of Labour. It has now discredited the cause of the miners, indeed, the whole of the Labour movement, and the time has come to ask "How much longer will the old leaders, the statesmen of the party, submit to the public humiliation of being dragged at the tail of the scavenger's cart which has Mr. Lansbury between the shafts and Lenin and Trotsky on the box-seat?" Another paper sees the affair as a red light warning us all of the imminent danger we are in through the ceaseless and cunning activity of Bolshevik agents in this country, men who are so unscrupulous as to want to rob us of "our traditional liberty." A third paper is deeply concerned for the credit of British Journalism, as though every paper in the country (except, of course, the "Herald") were a George Washington.

The "Methodist Times," in its Labour notes, has the following comments, which one welcomes for their spirit of fairness:—"The disclosure that the Soviet Government had placed £75,000 in the hands of a member of the 'Herald' directorate for the use of that journal was a bombshell, all the more serious in its effects because the organised movement had accepted without question Mr. Lansbury's denials that the journal had received aid from the Soviet Government. Everyone who knows Mr. Lansbury will acquit him of any intention to mislead the movement in regard to the 'Herald's' relations with Soviet Russia. It is quite probable that he was not aware of the facts in regard to this transaction when he gave his denial. But it was, to say the least of it, an error of judgment on the part of those responsible not to have told him all the facts at the time the question was raised; it was another error not to have published the facts then; it was a still worse error to present the facts as a 'case of conscience' for the readers of the 'Herald' to adjudicate upon. One unfortunate result is that M. Kameneff has been forced to leave this country without having helped much to make peace, and the great issue for which the Council of Action has been contending has been obscured."

While the Churches are concentrating on the erection of war memorials, secret diplomacy is preparing the future. Where are the preachers who ought to be thundering? Have they noticed that a new military Treaty has been drawn up, a Treaty in defiance of both the spirit and the letter of the League of Nations? France and Belgium, the contracting parties, have just announced their determination to walk in the old paths and prepare military plans in secret. I am glad to see that the

"Methodist Times" calls attention to the matter. But a paragraph in a paper is not enough: I hope that everywhere the sleeping conscience of the pulpit will be stirred by this new sowing of dragons' teeth.

Speaking of the League of Nations and this Franco-Belgian Treaty, I am reminded of Bishop Gore's recently published lecture on "Christianity Applied to the Life of Men and Nations." In that lecture he says: "Our statesmen, of all schools and parties, proclaimed the League of Nations as the only way of escape from the destruction of our civilisation, and they proclaimed the need of a new spirit. Nevertheless, now, after eighteen months of armistice and peace (so-called), we see such meagre signs of any new spirit in the nations that we are almost in despair. And what deeply aggravates the distress in some of us is that if we compare the tone of our pulpits in advocating the war with their tone in advocating the remedy against war, we cannot but recognise that it is as boiling water to tepid. On the whole, in spite of the utterance of great Christian teachers, there has been but a weak and languid support provided by the Churches which name the name of Christ for the movement which declares that 'patriotism is not enough.'"

It is true, as Bishop Gore said, that there was a moment when the minds even of the statesmen turned to a new idea, namely, a League of Nations. And it was a vast step forward, for the League proposed to substitute organised international co-operation for the hitherto prevailing principles of the wolf-pack. But we must not forget that something unexpected happened. The Entente, with the help of America, secured a smashing victory. In the twinkling of an eye a change of mind took place in the statesmen on the winning side, and although their words did not change all at once, their intentions evidently did. But, alas, most of us were so intoxicated with the crushing defeat suffered by the Central Powers, and with the idea that we had won a great victory, that we never noticed until too late that the new plan was doomed because it was tied up to a Treaty which, line by line, contradicted and throttled the whole idea of the League. Bishop Gore goads the Church for not supporting "the only way of escape from the destruction of our civilisation." He has a right to do so. But how could Churches which supported the Treaty of Versailles, at the same time support with effect a League of Nations which was to act on entirely opposite principles? A man cannot very well stand on his head and on his feet, too, at the same time, though when he is drunk he may dream he is doing it. But in the morning! Yes, many of us have now reached that stage, and we are beginning to wonder how we could ever have been such fools.

Cleansing the Temple.

The New Testament biographies of Jesus do not yield to the casual reader the idea of a clearly defined plan of campaign. One's first impression is that of a haphazard wandering about from place to place as chance or impulse directed. But this impression is seen, on further examination, to be mistaken. It seems to have been Jesus' intention first of all to win the more impressionable and less tradition-bound peoples of Galilee. In that He was largely successful. But the second part of His plan was more dangerous and difficult. The common people heard Him gladly, but to gain the adherence of the official leaders was another thing, and it was to this task that He next addressed Himself. The advance to Jerusalem was deliberate. With a following swollen by tributary streams from innumerable villages, He made His descent on the Headquarters of Judaism. The clash of the two sections—the officially-minded citizens of Jerusalem and the enthusiastic provincials—is clearly seen in the narrative of His entry into the capital.

There is something dramatic in the form which the attack took. Jesus went straight to the Temple—the centre of the nation's religious life—and proceeded to eject those who defiled its precincts. That this daring act was the immediate occasion of the plot against His life seems clear. It was a challenge which could not well be avoided. The action meant that the hour of final decision had arrived. Either He would win a crowning victory and be acknowledged as the official Leader of the nation, or He would suffer death.

The course of events here described is of more than local and temporary interest. Reformist and revolutionary movements commence, as a rule, outside official circles. For long years, the Church, for instance, has ceased to be the birthplace of such movements. The causes that stir men's enthusiasm have had their origin among those not closely identified with organised Christianity. The Abolitionist movement, the Temperance movement, the Women's Suffrage movement, Pacifism, Socialism, to name only a few, have commenced their propaganda in the modern equivalents of Galilee. Only when they have established themselves among "the common people" do they seem able to make any impression on the Official Mind of Ecclesiasticism.

It is noteworthy that many of those concerned in these crusades stop short of a frontal attack on religious institutions. In some cases they deliberately ignore the Church. Sometimes they declare that they have nothing to do with religion; sometimes they assert that the influence of the Church is so small that it is not worth while bothering about.

In this attitude I detect a lack of courage and enterprise. I believe the failure to carry the revolutionary gospel into the heart of Ecclesiasticism is due to the fact that such an adventure appears to be too difficult, and the spiritual resources for its accomplishment are not available. We try to capture Parliament and leave the Churches to go their own way, because capturing Parliament is easier

than capturing the Churches. For one thing, we realise that to gain entrance into ecclesiastical institutions you must plead the faith and ideals for which those institutions stand. We must appeal to them in the name of their own credentials, and, as most of us are "outsiders," we have no authority to plead in their courts. Disbelieving in the Church as a divine institution, we have forfeited the right to reform the Church, and, while complaining of its reactionary influence, have no means at our disposal of directly combating that influence. We thus allow Jerusalem to remain as a stronghold of the enemy.

It is impossible much longer to defer decisive action. Either we must content ourselves with a merely secular standpoint, or we must challenge the occupant of the highest and most authoritative position in the community. Either we must go back or we must go forward. The fictitious ignorance concerning the existence of a Body which professes all the principles for which we stand is no longer tenable. No cause can be said to have triumphed finally until it has won its victory on religious ground. Jerusalem must be captured or our movement consigned to the provincial areas of life.

The line of action I have in mind has been finely dramatised in Fogazzaro's novel, "The Saint." In that story the prophet who has stirred the embers of religious life in the community and performed marvellous cures, seeks an interview with the Pope himself in the Vatican. The account of that interview between the prophet of the people and the official head of the Church is one of the great things in modern literature.

It is a matter of no small moment that the crowning act of Jesus' public life was not only an attempt to capture the Church, but that this attempt selected as its point of attack, the economic corruption of ecclesiastics. The money-changers and cattle-dealers were profiteers who exploited their monopoly at the expense of the helpless multitude. They were the very embodiment of that Capitalistic spirit which "corners" the necessities of life and raises prices. It was this challenge to their economic position which was so bitterly resented by the priests and led to the crucifixion of the daring Revolutionist. The attack on the Church in the past has been in connection with its obscurantism. It has been assailed for its obstinate defence of outworn theories of inspiration. We have driven out of the Temple those who changed the language of common speech into the anachronisms of tradition, and overturned their tables. But the real tussle is to come when we tackle the Church's complicity in the Capitalist system.

If the Church listen to our appeal then is our victory assured and the Church itself is saved. If it turn a deaf ear to us and again crucifies the Prophet of the people then, too, our victory is assured, but our victory in that case will mean that the Church as we know it has ceased to be.

PETER THE HERMIT.

An Appeal to the Workers.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

One thing we all need to do at times and that is to take a good look at ourselves, a real inside look. We go on from day to day doing the same old things, thinking the same thoughts, believing in the same fibbologies, taking part in the same propaganda, without in the least realising that conditions in the outside world have changed, and that what we are doing will have no more effect upon our real welfare than putting up a Jockey and Jinny will have upon the weather.

I hope you don't mind my addressing you in the second person, for I also am a member of your class; my reasons for doing so are purely literary.

In my opinion, your great failing is that you don't know what you want, and you don't know what you want because you don't know what is wrong with your lives. You know something is wrong with them, but you are too indolent or too weary to discover what. Sometimes I feel that the habits of slavery have got a fatal hold on you, and that you never will free yourselves, but will go on agitating for useless things, all the while persecuting or allowing to be persecuted the only men who can help you to freedom.

Your first need is to realise that you are slaves, just animated tools; that your function in the present social system is—to work. You are the Working-class, and it is your business to provide beautiful mansions and parks, costly pictures and furniture, luxurious hotels and motor cars, the finest gold, silk, and linen, the daintiest dresses and the most delicate food for a small minority of people called the Classes, whom you are good enough to set in power over you, so that they may enact laws of self-protection for you to obey.

To that slavery you seem to have no particular objection, and so long as you haven't it is not likely that the people you so resignedly accommodate will either pity or release you.

The physical disabilities of your exploited life are great, for you not only waste wealth and energy by providing a minority with enormous luxury, you toil long and hard to enable thousands of people to be idle. But greater than your physical are your spiritual disabilities. After you have provided the rich with their luxuries they snub you, go to the universities and then dub you ignorant, consume your strength and then refuse to sit beside you in railway carriages, in the theatre and the concert room, and even in the Church, treating you everywhere, directly or by implication, as an inferior race.

And you will endure all that and go on believing in agitations for better wages, in Parliament, in Law Courts, in "politics," in Wars for Freedom, in Constitutionalism, even maintaining your thirty-year-old prejudice against Socialism, in the interest of Liberty and Democracy!

Of course, you are discontented, and your discontent is more than justified; but you will never

gain freedom until you realise that it is your soul even more than your body that is being starved by modern conditions. The very circumstances of your existence tend to make your life physical and external, but you need to look beyond the physical, to search your souls, in order to find out what is really wrong. Not until you do that will you win freedom, for not until then will you understand what freedom is. The real condemnation of exploitation is that it is the source of dehumanising class distinctions, a barbarous code of morals, class warfare, and the conversion of life into a savage struggle for existence. The social system which impoverishes your bodies deprives you of the means of education, of self-expression, of working in the interests of fellowship and the social good.

When you have realised that you are slaves, your next duty will be to try and realise what freedom is. After that you will not need to be told what your next duty is. You will be fired with a vision, will simply demand liberty—and get it! If only you realised the power of knowledge, of vision, of moral conviction, you would have no need to consider schemes for the mobilisation of red armies. What you lack is the moral force which attends a true realisation of the meaning of freedom. If you would just ponder the spiritual side of your enslavement, exercise your imagination and picture to your minds the beautiful life you might live were there no rich class, no fear of poverty or unemployment, but just free souls without capitalist masters, you would be fired with a moral conviction and enthusiasm which would set you free from the dominion of capitalism within two or three months.

Only revolutions that are spiritual in character and have for their conscious end the expansion of spiritual life are truly successful. In 1917, the Russian people, energised by a powerful spiritual impulse, carried through a great revolution without bloodshed. In the following year the German people overthrew a powerful monarchic, militarist régime by sheer moral force. During March of the present year the militarist faction in Germany tried to win back political power, but the people, still conscious of the terrors of militarism, spoke with a single voice, refused to lift a finger so long as the usurpers remained in power, and came out victorious. Moreover, was not your own recent action re the war against Russia a triumph of moral conviction? The fact is, no Government could possibly withstand a spontaneous manifestation of the people's conscience. As soon as you discover what freedom is, and thus your lack of it, you will fix the day of your liberation; and on that day you will enter the promised land. It may be doubted if men who arm themselves with swords are quite sure of their convictions, for to be sure of one's convictions is to be conscious of a power stronger than that of the sword. The moment you discover your souls, that moment will you discover that the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.

THE MAC

Dr. ORCHARD ON "THI

"Wut's words to them whose faith and trowth
On war's red touchstone rang true metal?"

And yet words count for a great deal. They are the motive power of the world. Action has to wait on words. Dr. Orchard, on resuming his ministry at King's Weigh House on Sunday morning, after a vacation of several Sundays, made longer by personal bereavement, devoted his sermon largely to the value of preaching. He spoke of it particularly from the point of view of the ministry of consolation, but much of what he said would be equally applicable to the preaching of crusades.

The Decay of Great Preaching.

The whole ministry to-day, said Dr. Orchard, was under a cloud. Returning to his own ministry after a period of silence he was more than ever conscious of it. Great preaching had become very rare in our own generation. Great ministries were almost unknown and were no longer forthcoming within those very churches which had specialised in that kind of thing and in the past had been prolific in producing them. The fact was that people were weary of words, and the pulpit was weakened by a growing scepticism as to the efficacy of preaching. It was these two things which were doing so much to quench the fires of the pulpit in our generation. The style of bygone preaching, with its majestic wealth of words, its glorious rolling periods, had almost entirely passed away. Sometimes we mourned it, but did anybody think that it would attract people now? The great preachers of a generation ago who could fill any building in the metropolis would have considerable difficulty in filling them to-day. He himself remembered almost the last and in some respects one of the greatest of these preachers of the old school, and he heard him in his retired years when his great and wonderful preaching was set amidst the conversational style and slovenly delivery into which all preachers had now fallen. It was a great refreshment to hear him, but that same preacher had been for years slowly emptying a historic building by just such preaching as that.

Only Word-Spinning.

In our times, rhetoric was suspect and also futile. It could not be tolerated indeed when men wanted the truth exact and clear. This was essentially an age of action. Men were honoured and envied in proportion as they did things, and it hardly seemed to matter what things they did so long as they did something. We had come to a stage when every crusade had on its banner, "Deeds, not words." And all this, for one who had nothing but words to sell, meant a great disadvantage. He was almost ashamed to cry his wares. He was tempted to feel that he was pursuing a dying trade and a useless one, and that a man who was breaking stones or mending shoes, or a woman who was darning socks

or making a suet pudding, was doing better work than he. Even St. Paul was greeted at Athens as a babbler—a word-seller. He supposed that the Greeks, in spite of their passion for speech, had been influenced by the officialism of Rome, that hard nation that could not talk but could act. And the sting of that word addressed to St. Paul rather remained with all preachers down to this day.

The Comfortable Word.

Especially was this so when it came to preaching comfortable words. "Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem." The stern fight we had had to wage for exact truth, the discoveries and inventions that followed from the scientific method, all these things discredited the comfortable words in which the pulpit often indulged. What was it that they had written across the Kremlin? Something like "Religion is the dope of the workers." The trouble we had been through between science and religion (which was strangely enough being revived by some people who forgot which generation they were in) made them feel that anything which was comfortable was almost certainly untrue. We had reached the idea that when we did get to know the truth it would be something very uncomfortable indeed, a devastating exposure of all human hopes. One must admit that the tendency of mere comfort was towards emptiness. Preachers had been asked to recover the "wooing note" for the pulpit. But with its somewhat smooth and silvery sound there was a notion that its dispensations were only for infants and invalids.

Words that set on Fire.

Yet, after all, words were great things. Although in the economy of redemption it was necessary that the Word should become flesh, yet "In the beginning was the Word"! And even the Incarnate Himself spent some considerable part of His life in the ministry of words—words which set free, words which cheered, words which remained with us singing down the ages. And words must issue in action. Action had to wait on words. It was the word that set things on fire. The greatest upheavals that had taken place in the practical affairs of men had been traced back to words—words that worked like heaven or like seed. It was only when words were used to dissuade from action, or to conceal truth that they became smooth and slippery and altogether hateful. Even war governments knew the terror which lay in words. During the war the people were told that they could do almost anything they liked except talk or write. Only the guns must speak. It was no time for words. But now they learned from the directors of war propaganda that the thing which did break down the enemy was showers of pamphlets on the enemy lines! The terror of the word was far worse than poison gas or high explosives.

SPEECH.

ART OF PREACHING."

And even the Word of Comfort—

And even the word of comfort need not be an untrue word, surely. It was proper to say that there was no comfort save in truth, that when a man heard the last utterance of truth then and then alone would his heart reap comfort. But the preacher would be daring enough to say that not only did nothing but the truth comfort, but what really comforted would be found to be the truth. What kept a man at his work, what enabled him to die without fear, what fitted him for battle, what helped him to endure and brought him peace, that was as good a test of truth as anything one could find. Deceptions and deceits there were, but the heart was never deceived unless it wished to be. He was prepared to defend on purely rationalistic grounds his view that ultimately the word that comforted would be found to be the true word. The test of truth, according to Spencer, was consistency, harmony, a fitting in of things with the mind. The only test of truth we mortals had was that the whole nature was harmonised by its revelation, that the strange pain of the unrested mind disappeared. Real comfort was the only test of truth we possessed. And it was a great comfort to know that the Spirit of truth and holiness was also the Comforter.

A Word of Cheer.

It was marvellous what one could do in this world if he set himself to cheer and encourage people wherever he went. Intolerable burdens could be lifted simply with a word. There was a type of medical specialist arising now whose pharmacopœia consisted of nothing else but encouraging words. His diagnosis was wonderful and entirely scientific, but his therapeutic was simple. This kind of practitioner studied whole philosophies to determine which was the most comforting word, and he was the most wonderful medical man of his time. But all could practise this medicine, though this was a ministry for which a certain training was needed. It was both a science and an art. Nothing sickened sooner than words which the reader or the hearer knew were not really meant by the person who wrote or spoke them. Nothing rang more falsely than words merely quoted which the person quoting them had never been able to hallmark with the testimony of experience.

Vulgar Speech.

The present generation in its fear of the charge of cant, said Dr. Orchard, had come to the point of refraining almost entirely from religious phraseology. The people of to-day could hardly quote a verse of the Bible or of a hymn correctly. But this had the refreshing result that the words when they did come to the consciousness broke upon it freshly. When heterodoxy became so fashionable and universal, it was orthodoxy which had all the impact

of revolution; and now there was just a chance of setting the world on fire by preaching slowly through the Nicene creed. It was not that religious phrases had slipped out of our customary speech which was the most mournful thing, but the horrid degradation of common talk, the base uses to which we had put this noble instrument for expressing our feelings. Think of the ugly and meaningless slang, the jargon of new religious movements and cults, the hectic and exaggerated adjectives we used until we had no word with which to describe anything that was really awful, our slipshod and stammering speech, and the monotonous profanities of dustmen and undergraduates, in which the lower orders and the higher orders seemed to combine in order that they might reveal the bankruptcy as well as the filth of their minds. And the result of all this was that when friendship made a call upon us we were dumb.

The Touch of Sorrow.

We believed in downright sincerity in speech? Yes; but need sincerity be so harsh and barren a thing as we made it? It was a delicate and most beautiful art to know what words were like oil and wine to pour into a wound, what words were tender and yet strong enough to bind up a broken heart. Perhaps personal sorrow was needed to make one proficient in such an art. Of one minister it was said that he had had a perfect education for the ministry, but he lacked one thing; there was one thing he knew nothing about, and that was personal sorrow. If that was so the education of that minister was certainly incomplete. Sorrow gave to the soul a finer sympathy, a readier understanding, and a greater power to help. That was what Jeremy Taylor surely meant when he said, "I resolved to make the best of my sorrows." It was a divine thing to be able to learn something from sorrow.

MR. BOTTOMLEY ON THE CHURCH.

The Editor of "John Bull" has been adding to the gaiety of nations by giving us a description of his ideal church. Here are some of the gems:—

There will be but one single church in my Utopia—wide, universal, catholic—a true Church of England, of which, without baptism or any other rite of admission, every citizen will be a member from birth.

* * * * *

But I shall be told you cannot have a Church in which people believe nothing: Faith must ever be the mainspring of conduct; though creeds vanish, conviction must remain. All this, of course, is largely true, and it is the outstanding quality of my Utopian Church that it makes room for men and women of all beliefs, and of none.

* * * * *

And all will be welcome—those who bow before the name of Christ and those whose inquiring spirits seek communion with the Unknown. For no priest will bar the way of access to the Altar, and no priggish mentor shut out the common sinner from the sanctuary. The atheist will be as welcome as the acolyte.

* * * * *

Let us Pray!

Bookland. Plays for a People's Theatre.

There are many signs that the idea of a People's Theatre is in the air. Some will be inclined to curb the lip and say, "Yes—in the air!" And perhaps the implied criticism, cruel though it is, contains a grain or two of truth. But a beginning has been made. Enthusiastic pens are scribbling away; plans are forming; and great dreams are being dreamed. And even though some of the new plays do not make the reader feel very confident that we are about to witness a wonderful revival in stage-land, yet the movement they represent is nevertheless a real one, full of promise for the future. It has lofty ideals, and that is a first requisite if we are to break away from the commercialised theatre which at present holds the field.

Our soulless, mechanical civilisation has cast its evil spell. Vision and imagination seem to play only a very small part in the experience of the average man and woman. How shall we contrive to light the lamp of imagination once more in the hearts of our people? That is one of our problems; and it is the problem which the new movement in drama is bravely trying to solve. Many self-sacrificing men and women are hard at work in this good cause, and practical help is being offered not only by amateurs, but also by members of the theatrical profession.

Let it not be thought that the question is unimportant. It is vital. The renewal of society depends upon the renewal of its spiritual elements. We are quite right to pay much attention to organisation, but organisation is, after all, only secondary. If the new economic structure which we are planning is to be of any use, it must be energised in its every part by the living spirit of the people. And those who are striving for a People's Theatre are striving for essential things when they attempt to light imagination's lamp.

There is something in human nature which will inevitably respond to a true play. The play-instinct, the people's love of participation in drama—whether as performers or as spectators—may be depended upon. And those who are now appealing afresh to this instinct are sure to reap their reward at last. I have before me some examples of the new appeal. They are published under the heading, "Plays For a People's Theatre." So far the list comprises only four volumes, but it is announced that other volumes are already in preparation, and I notice that the publisher, Mr. C. W. Daniel, invites any budding playwright to send his manuscript along that it may be considered with a view to inclusion in the series. The plays already printed are as follows:—"The Fight for Freedom," by Douglas Goldring; "Touch and Go," by D. H. Lawrence; "The Kingdom, the Power and the Glory," by Hamilton Fyfe; "The Green Ring," by S. S. Kotliansky and Gilbert Cannan. The price of each is 3/6.

Mr. Goldring's play concerns itself with war, and in it he hits out lustily at conventional ideas. Mr.

Lawrence has depicted the struggle between employer and employed. Mr. Hamilton Fyfe takes us behind the scenes where secret diplomacy is laying its plans. The final play of the set is Russian.

I think my readers will be interested in a quotation from "The Kingdom, the Power and the Glory," and it will give them some idea of the kind of play in this series. The mob is outside the Palace; they are setting up a clamour. The Royal Personages in the Palace are shivering in their shoes. The soldiers are being called out.

"King Frederick: I've got another idea. Why not let them send a deputation—a dozen or so—?"

"King Sigismund: What for?"

"King Frederick: Why, to—well, what are deputations for?"

"Queen Charlotte (sarcastic): Hadn't we better ask them to lunch?"

"Prince George: Better shoot 'em down."

"King Henry (ignoring them): Not a bad idea of Frederick's, that, y'know. Wonderful how it pleases people, specially Radicals and Republicans, if you speak to 'em, shake hands with 'em, ask 'em to tea, or pay visits among 'em."

"The Emperor (still eating biscuits): Good God, do you mean to say you'd do that? I've never spoken to one of them in my life."

"King Frederick: They are well worth attention."

"The Emperor (with his mouth full): What do you say to them?"

"King Henry: Elizabeth does most of the talking. Asks how old their children are, and how much rent they pay, and says it's all very nice; and I say, 'Yes, very nice,' and she says, 'Very nice indeed,' and they're no end pleased, specially the Radicals and Republicans. We always pick them out if we can."

"Queen Constance (to Queen Charlotte): Go and see what they are doing now, Charlotte, there's a dear. You'll find a flap in that middle shutter."

And Charlotte goes to peep through the shutter—which, by the way, is made of steel for the better protection of Royalty.

RECONCILIATION with IRELAND

PUBLIC MEETING

At the MEMORIAL HALL, FARRINGTON ST., E.C.,
On Friday, September 24th, at 7-30 p.m.

Chair: Dr. HENRY T. HODGKIN.

Speakers:

Miss A. MAUDE ROYDEN, Mr. JAMES DOUGLAS
(of Dublin), Mr. F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE, The
Rev. Fr. JOHN BAPTIST REEVES, O.P.

ADMISSION FREE.

A limited number of reserved seats (1/- each) may be had on application Fellowship of Reconciliation Offices, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.

A Talk to the Irish.

Friends,—I wonder if you would mind my making a few comments on the present situation. I would like to do this because I fear that you will not secure self-government until you understand us a little better than you do. You see, we are rather thick-skinned, especially since the war.

The British workers, for instance, apparently satisfied with a useless vote, courageously endure a growing slavery, and support with punctilious regularity the Press which screens their eyes from that slavery and renders their vote useless. Now I doubt if you would do that. As a fact, you are making a heroic struggle for a freedom that we British have never known, and only a few dream of.

Most people in this country have a quite false idea of conditions in Ireland and of the aims of the Irish people. It is commonly thought that Ireland is merely seeking political freedom—a very doubtful advantage in these days of financial power. On the whole, the British workers are quite indifferent to your demand for self-government, just as they are indifferent to those of India, Persia, Arabia, etc., and for the reason that they have no self-government themselves. What does it matter, they think, whether your laws are made in Dublin or in London? In other words, it is precisely because the power of the vote is practically nil in this country, because political power has been absorbed by economic power, that British workers are not concerned about self-government for you or anybody else.

Needless to say, the British workers would not admit this, for they are ignorant of their own minds, of their own lack of faith in politics; nevertheless their conduct proves such lack of faith, and if they investigated their sub-conscious mind they would discover a belief that the vote was a surrender rather than a proof of liberty.

The point is interesting and suggestive. It suggests, for instance, that you should adopt new tactics in dealing with Britain. You are not likely to win political freedom until you prove to the British workers that you have rather more freedom than they, convince them that political freedom without economic freedom has rendered them one of the most servile peoples under the sun.

Now the striking fact about Ireland is that during recent years she has made remarkable headway in the direction of economic freedom. No one who has read the history of the Co-operative development in Irish agriculture during the past ten years will deny that in this respect Ireland has beaten Britain hollow, and is well on the way to becoming a Co-operative Commonwealth.

As a matter of fact, that development is one of Ireland's chief sins, for which there can be no forgiveness, and why, in the eyes of Capitalist and reactionary Britain, Irish self-government is dangerous. If self-government in Ireland were likely to prove as harmless as it is in Britain, it would be granted to-morrow. But the landlords, never quite safe under your charming naivete, are in terror. They have good reason to fear that you might really take self-government seriously, even try to possess the land; and that would be a terrible example to

the British workers. And the fact is, you do want to possess the land, and are quite ready to have the matter out with the landlords. That is the trouble. If anyone doubts this, let him study the opposition that Irish landlords and English cattle dealers have offered to the Co-operative development of the last decade, and consider that already no less than eighteen Co-operative creameries have been wholly or partially demolished during recent disturbances, and that, according to a Special Commissioner of the English "Co-operative News," in all but two cases the destruction has been connected with soldiers or police or both. And when we further consider that schemes are under contemplation for applying the Co-operative principle to industry also, the opposition of the Government to Irish self-determination needs little explanation.

Thus the real difficulty in the way of Irish self-government is that it may lead to British self-government—that is, to economic freedom. And it would be tragic if the complacency of the British workers should be destroyed by your antics! But really, when we think that your country has a population of only four millions, and is ruled by landlords whose tyranny is a heritage from the centuries, it does look as if you might give those people a rather uncomfortable time. Besides, you have the faculty of regarding your nation as a rather large family, and of exercising the liberties of a family in dealing with ALL its members. It would not need a great effort of imagination on your part to regard the land as a common heritage.

Of course, the British Government is concerned about the submarine bases on your West Coast; but then it would be equally concerned about the coasts of Great Britain, were the British workers to gain economic freedom, for its imperialistic policy would be doomed.

Thus, what you Irish should remember in demanding political freedom of Britain is that the British workers do not know what freedom is. You must show greater tolerance and not lose sight of the fact that it is you who are leading us to freedom and not we who are leading you. Unless you take that view you will misunderstand us, lose your tempers and do very foolish things. The British workers sincerely love freedom, but it is so very long since there was economic freedom in this country, quite fourteen centuries, that they don't know what it is. It is your duty to teach them. Appeal to our imagination as only Irishmen can. Your giving lessons in Irish history to British Generals, and in honesty and good manners to men like Hardy and his employers, appeal to us strongly, and if only you would continue on those lines I think you might gain your ends and do us a world of good at the same time. For people cannot be troubled to give things of which they know not the value.

Above all, do not kill your enemies: that were madness in a humorous folk like you. Just make fools of them, or let them see that they are making fools of themselves. Unless you realise that we also need saving I fear there is little hope for either you or us.

W.W.

The Real Dictatorship.

The idea of Democracy has suddenly become popular in most unexpected quarters. "The Times," the "Daily Mail," and eke the "Morning Post" sing its praises day by day, and leading politicians of the Coalition grow eloquent as they describe the menace to "our democratic institutions" offered by Bolshevism. No doubt some of this is sincere. The writers and speakers referred to are genuinely under the impression that the power to vote now possessed by the vast mass of the population constitutes democracy, and, in some cases, they are genuinely alarmed lest the existing order should be destroyed by the dictatorship of those professing to represent the proletariat.

Let us see what truth there is in this!

Why Political Democracy is insufficient.

We have frequently before in these pages referred to the matter, but it may be as well, once more, to repeat the statement that political democracy does not solve the question of popular self-government.

The real government of the country lies in the hands of those who command the means of life. Economic government is the thing that matters. It is the man who owns the land and the house on which and in which I live, the man who dictates the terms of my industrial life and who fixes the prices of the commodities necessary to maintain me in health and well-being who really governs me. These material conditions are the things that matter. At the present time comparatively few men and women have any wide choice as to the vocation they shall follow or the conditions under which they shall labour. To the Capitalist they are what the bees are to the beekeeper—producers of wealth which they are not allowed to enjoy. When they cease to remunerate him sufficiently they are cast into the outer darkness of unemployment. The opportunities to develop their full humanity are denied them. Their capacity for initiative is stunted. Their sense of responsibility is denied exercise. Life becomes an ignoble struggle, a monotonous round of mechanical toil and coarse pleasure. Beauty is shut out from the grimy centres of industry. The desire for knowledge is thwarted at every turn. To say that men and women living under these conditions are self-governing is a cruel joke. Yet it is precisely the people who thus dictate the material conditions under which millions of their fellow-beings shall live who are saying bitter things about the dictatorship of the proletariat. Have they the right to throw stones at any kind of dictatorship?

Economics governs Politics.

But, it will be said, the people could alter this state of things, if they pleased, through the ordinary political agencies. They have the vote; they possess sufficient numbers. The argument looks plausible. It deceived the generation that fought for and won the extension of the political franchise.

But the course of events has proved that it contains a fallacy. The people have secured political democracy but they have failed to secure self-government. Why?

For one thing the power to vote must be distinguished from the power to know how to vote.

In this connection it should be clearly understood that the capitalist system itself unfits the worker for the exercise of his privileges as a citizen. It dulls his mind. It trains him to look to the employing class for direction. It takes from him the ability to judge of large issues. If the question, "Is Labour fit to govern?" be answered in the negative, the fault lies with those who for so long have held in their hands the control of the conditions under which Labour lives. To the stupefied worker of today the power to vote is a fallacious privilege. To grant the franchise to our industrial population and pretend that you are giving it freedom is like binding a man's legs and then opening his prison doors and bidding him walk out and enjoy his liberty. To stupefy a man's mind and then to tell him to think for himself is only to jest with him.

In another way Capital frustrates the good that might have been achieved by franchise acts. Money controls the sources of public information, and can manufacture opinion through its hireling Press, as it will. The same power governs most of the agencies of recreation. An unofficial censorship shuts out from the ordinary worker the material by which he might come to an understanding of the situation. To point to exceptional men who have escaped the influence of these conditions and read and thought for themselves does not answer the indictment. Any system must be judged by its effect on the majority, and in the case of the majority it is undoubtedly true that the Capitalist Press is the dope of the people. The real dictators, therefore, are those who at present wield this economic power.

How Escape the Vicious Circle.

We seem to be in a vicious circle. How can we escape from it? Strange as it may sound, Capitalism has itself supplied the means. The capitalist method of production has necessitated the co-operation of large numbers of the dispossessed. A class consciousness has sprung up, fed and sustained by those very industrial conditions which threatened to deprive the workers of their freedom for ever. The spiritual factor of comradeship has appeared. Organisation along industrial lines has given Labour a power which political privileges could never have conferred.

If this power is used in a dictatorial way it must be remembered that it is at least the power of the majority, and that the class which uses it is composed of those whose claim to it is based on the fact that it is they who serve the community and without whom the community cannot exist. This is more than can be said for those who at present exercise a dictatorship based on the possession of wealth.

Jacob Montiboy's Possessions.

"I say, John, have you ever heard of Jacob Montiboy, of Hopton?"

"Jacob Montiboy? Not that I know of. What about him?"

"Just this, that he's one of the most remarkable men that ever I met, and what I can't understand is why his fame hasn't spread everywhere. The things he does! I spent two or three days in Hopton last week doing a little propaganda, and there I discovered Montiboy, although, really, he didn't require much discovering. He's the soul of the Hopton Socialist movement, and of many other things, too. He's just great! If every town in Britain had a Socialist leader like Montiboy, we should have Socialism within six months. It appears he used to have a good position in a cycle manufactory, but he threw up his job in order—as he said to me—'to ease his mind, satisfy his heart, and save his soul!'"

"A big demand! Did he succeed in his object?"

"I think it can be said so. And, mark you, he gave up a £6 (before the war) job to start a Socialist, rather, rebel bookshop. He lost much money at first, but that never worried him for, as he said, 'he was in his element.'"

"His outstanding characteristics are originality and a marvellous capacity for friendship. I never met a more genial or better loved man anywhere. He captured me straight off. One afternoon he took me out, and I thought we were never going to get clear of the town, and Hopton is only a small place, you know. Stopping in the street with this person and the other, calling at houses to leave a message or pay a greeting, I simply marvelled at the man."

"When we reached the fields he referred to a gentleman he had spoken with on the way, and hereupon related to me a most amusing incident. What do you think he had done? Actually made a party for all his enemies!—or, rather, for a few people who regarded him as their enemy and were continually saying nasty things about him—old liberal friends, and 'comrades with Socialist heads and bourgeois hearts!'"

"Yes," he said, holding his sides with laughter, "I had the whole gang of them before me; it was a fight for the gods, and certainly one of the most remarkable experiences I ever had. The strange thing was that they came; but I suppose they didn't know that I knew what they had said about me, and probably took this opportunity of putting things right. Of course, I was in a lively mood, and I gave them a jolly good meal, with plenty of sound Socialist doctrine brown in by way of sauce. And the funny thing was that they were all so anxious to prove their friendship to me that they swallowed the lot, sauce and all, with the most admirable grace. Oh, it was killing! For three weeks afterwards I did nothing but laugh." He confessed he would like to make another party of the same kind, but the trouble was that for the moment he had no enemies.

"Returning home we had a unique experience.

Passing a little tea-shop just as we entered the town, Montiboy said: 'Come along, let us have a cup of tea!' In the tea-room was a huge, round table at which a man sat, with a hard, unattractive face. Montiboy and he exchanged greetings, and the three of us conversed. I observed the stranger eyeing Montiboy rather keenly, as if he had some misgiving about him. And apparently he had, for after a little while he said: 'You're a puzzle to me, Montiboy. You made the mistake of your life when you left the cycle works, for you'd have been a rich man to-day if you had stayed there. To give up that job for a bookshop—and a Socialist bookshop at that—well, it was madness. I told you so at the time, but you took no notice of me, and I'll be hanged if you seem troubled about it even now.'

"Why should I be troubled?" asked Montiboy. 'I'm richer than you.'

"You're what?" asked the stranger.

"I'm richer than you."

"Look here! You see that row of houses across there? Them's mine!"

"Is that all you've got?" asked Montiboy.

"All I've got? How many d'you think—I say, how many houses have you got?"

"Well, you see," replied Montiboy, reflectively, "I'm a simple sort of man and have only need for one."

"The stranger looked puzzled. 'But don't you see,' he said, 'I needn't work.'"

"Why do you work, then?"

"Because I like to. A man's just miserable when he doesn't work."

"Just so," replied Montiboy, slowly. The conversation paused. Presently the latter resumed: 'By the way, do you happen to know Jim Fielding?'"

"Jim Fielding? I seem to know the name, but I can't say I know him."

"Do you know Sarah Grindle?"

"Not that I'm aware of. But why do you ask?"

"Because they are exceedingly fine people; to know either of them I would give a house any day."

"Oh? And who are they? What do they do, and where do they live?"

"Quite common people, but wonderful personalities, wonderful! They both live in those houses of yours across the way. Shall we slip over and have a chat with them?"

"Well—a—not just now. Tell me about them."

"No, you must find out for yourself."

"Yes, but I'm so busy."

"Buying houses, I suppose?"

"Well, yes, if you like to put it that way."

"We got up to leave. Montiboy put on his hat and gazed meditatively out of the window. Then he turned to the stranger. 'And so, after working for forty years like a devil, you are able to say that that ugly heap of stones and mortar is yours! Well, inside those miserable dens live Jim Fielding and Sarah Grindle—and them's mine! And I wouldn't exchange bargains.'"

"And with that we left the tea-shop."

When the Church went on Strike.

It is not generally recognised that the method now adopted by Labour to enforce its will was at one time frequently employed by the Church. The Interdicts, which various popes laid upon the realms of disobedient monarchs, forbade the continuance, in those countries, of the customary religious rites. "One of the most fearful consequences of the enmity between John XXII. and Louis of Bavaria, to the unfortunate subjects of the latter," says Chevalier Bunsen in his Introduction to the "Theologia Germanica," "was the Interdict under which his dominions were laid in 1324, and from which some places, distinguished for their loyalty to the Emperor, were not relieved for six-and-twenty years. Louis, indeed, desired his subjects to pay no regard to the bull of excommunication, and most of the laity, especially of the larger towns, would gladly have obeyed him in spite of the Pope; but the greater part of the bishops and clergy held with their spiritual head, and thus the inhabitants of Strasburg, Nuremberg, and other cities, where the civil authorities sided with the Emperor, and the clergy with the Pope, were left year after year without any religious privileges; for public worship ceased, and all the business of life went on without the benedictions of the Church, no rite being allowed, but baptism and extreme unction."

An interdict to-day would have no effect in this country. The vast majority would not miss the ministrations of the Church if they were altogether to cease.

But the action which the popes took in order to compel the obedience of monarchs is taken, by the working of an unavoidable law, against the Church itself. Because it refuses to listen to the voice of its Lord, and stones the prophets sent to it, the voice of prophecy ceases. No spiritual flame lights

the desecrated altar. The angels of prayer no longer fly to and fro between Heaven and the earthly sanctuary. It would almost seem as though the ministering angels themselves had gone on strike. It would almost appear as though a mocked Heaven closes its doors on a rebel world. And thus, though Church services are continued as usual, the Interdict

of God has made them barren and impotent performances. That is what it looks like to-day. Men visit the shrines of devotion to find them "cisterns without water." There is no prophet in the land and vision has ceased among the people. The Church bells ring, but they convey no message of "peace on earth, goodwill toward men." The priests administer the sacraments, but they no longer heal and nourish. The peoples of Europe managed to get on somehow without the external rites of their Church. For long years they disregarded the Interdicts. Can we, with equal justification, ignore the closed doors of Heaven? Is it ought to us that the prophets prophesy falsely, crying "peace, peace," when there is no peace, and "war, war," when the peoples would fain be at peace? Can we defy the law which bids vision cease among us?

It is accounted a terrible thing if, through the strike of our industrial servants, material things are denied us, miners are idle, factories are closed, and

trains cease to run. Is it a matter of no import that we have compelled God to withhold the inspiration of His Spirit and our souls are no longer nourished with the Bread of Life? If this Divine Help be not forthcoming, can we rebuild the world and set Society in order? Are we independent of these spiritual supplies? May it not prove that in losing them we have "locked out" the only Power by which we could hope to make the world what it ought to be?

THE HUNTERS.

"The Devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour."

The Lion, he prowleth far and near,
Nor swerves for pain or rue;
He heedeth nought of sloth or fear,
He prowleth—prowleth through
The silent glade and the weary street,
In the empty dark and the full noon heat;
And a little Lamb with aching feet—
He prowleth too.

The Lion croucheth alert, apart—
With patience doth he woo;
He waiteth long by the shuttered heart,
And the Lamb—He waiteth too.
Up the lurid passes of dreams that kill,
Through the twisting maze of the great Untrue,
The Lion followeth the fainting will—
And the Lamb—He followeth too.

From the thickets dim of the hidden way
Where the debts of Hell accrue,
The Lion leapeth upon his prey:
But the Lamb—He leapeth too.
Ah! loose the leash of the sins that damn,
Mark Devil and God as goals,
In the panting love of a famished Lamb,
Gone mad with the need of souls.

The Lion, he strayeth near and far;
What heights hath he left untrod?
He crawleth nigh to the purest star,
On the trail of the saints of God.
And throughout the darkness of things unclean,
In the depths where the sin-ghouls brood,
There prowleth ever with yearning mien—
A Lamb as white as blood.

RUTH TEMPLE LINDSAY.

(From "Eyes of Youth"—a collection of poems by various authors—published by Herbert and Daniel, 3s. 6d. net).

THE CRUSADE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Crusade consists not of public speaking alone. During the last week one friend has sent 10s. for the purpose of supplying the Labour Leaders with a copy of the September 10th issue of the "Crusader." Another friend has sent 10s. for a number to be sent elsewhere. From Nelson we learn that a number of crusaders have clubbed together to send 30 copies of the "Crusader" weekly, for a given period, to ministers and other prominent church workers in the district with the intention of following this up later with an attempt to secure new subscribers to the paper.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

PUBLIC MEETINGS.—In addition to the meeting TO-NIGHT, FRIDAY, at the Memorial Hall, there is the meeting at the LARGE ESSEX HALL NEXT TUESDAY, 28th, at 7.30 p.m. At this meeting, of which an advertisement will be found elsewhere, an opportunity will be taken to bid farewell to Dr. and Mrs. Hodgkin, who are returning to China to carry thither the message of the F.O.R.

BREAKING ALL RECORDS.—We are very glad to be able to announce that, although our open-air mission has been going on for over five months, the meetings have never been more successful, nor the speakers more kindly received by the audiences or more generously helpful to the organiser. Although we have not all names in yet, we are able to give a record list of meetings, which includes the special TEN DAYS MISSION ON "CHRISTIANITY OR CHAOS" IN LEYTONSTONE AND WALTHAMSTOW:—FRIDAY, 24th:—At 6.30, Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon, Dorothea Strevens; at 7.30, Leytonstone, G.E.R. Station: Rev. Frank Fincham; at 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. SUNDAY, 26th:—At 10, Leytonstone, The Green Man: Muriel Lester, A. M. Millen. At 3.30, Hampstead Heath, Jack Straw's Castle: Marjory Bonar, C. Paul Gliddon. MONDAY, 27th:—7.30, Leytonstone, G.E.R. Station: Rev. Frank Fincham, A. M. Pullen; 8, Walthamstow, opposite The Mitre: E. Oakes, C. H. Offley; 8, Walthamstow, Church Hill: Alfred Cordell, C. Paul Gliddon; 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Rev. R. W. Sorensen. TUESDAY, 28th:—6.30, Marble Arch, Rev. Frank Fincham, C. Paul Gliddon, Dorothea Strevens; 7.30, Leytonstone, G.E.R. Station: W. Green, Rev. R. W. Sorensen; 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Alfred Cordell, J. B. Lief. WEDNESDAY, 29th:—7.30, Leytonstone, G.E.R. Station: C. Paul Gliddon, Violet Mortimer, E. Oakes; 8, Catford, near Town Hall: Horace Fuller; 8, Walthamstow, Church Hill: Alfred Cordell, Rev. Frank Fincham; 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Rev. Frank Fincham, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. THURSDAY, 30th:—6.30, Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon, Dorothea Strevens; 7.30, Leytonstone, G.E.R. Station: Alfred Cordell, C. Paul Gliddon; 8, Kentish Town, Leighton Road: Marjory Bonar, J. B. Lief, E. Oakes; 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Rev. R. W. Sorensen. FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1st:—6.30, Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon; 7.30, Leytonstone, G.E.R. Station: Alfred Cordell, Rev. Frank Fincham, Violet Mortimer; 8.30, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: C. Paul Gliddon, Rev. R. W. Sorensen; 8.30, Walthamstow, Church Hill: Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. Sorensen.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

THE CRUSADER GROUP

WILL BE

AT HOME

Monday, October 4th, 5-30 to 7-30, at The MINERVA CAFE, 144 HIGH HOLBORN, W.C. (Entrance at rear in Silver Street), and invites you to meet

WILFRED WELLOCK.

R.S.V.P. to "The Crusader," 23 Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

To the Editor of the "Crusader."

Dear Sir.—There is in this week's issue of your paper a mocking paragraph about a certain clergyman, who, while attributing inspiration to the conference at Lambeth, declared at the same time that its decisions would not be binding on the consciences of Churchmen. While we may not agree with the good clergyman, I fail to see that his position is ridiculous. It is one held by many thinking people about the writers of some of our Scriptures. We believe in their inspiration, but we do not think that inspiration necessarily carries with it infallibility. I, for instance may, and do, believe in the inspiration of Isaiah, Paul, George Fox and many others, but, knowing that we have this treasure in earthen vessels, I should not attribute infallibility to any of them. It seems to me that the reporter who makes merry over that statement has himself not clearly thought out the relations between these two differing things—inspiration, which comes to none in varying degrees, and infallibility which belongs to none.—Yours,

A CONSTANT READER OF THE "CRUSADER."

CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH FELLOWSHIP

FELLOWSHIP WANTED.

5429 (London, W.C.) will be glad to link with London members.

4400 (Crewe) wishes to write to a woman in New Zealand who is interested in courageous thinking and who is eager to talk of life out there; she is a keen Fellow herself.

4243 (Rochdale) would like to link with a man who is interested in spiritual healing.

2189 (Woking) will be glad to meet local Fellows, and to compare notes with them. She has had a varied experience on both sides of the world.

THE FELLOWSHIP PAGE.

Four pages dealing with C.C.F. matters will be found in the October number of "Brotherhood" (2s. 6d. annual subscription, post free, single copies 2d., by post 2½d.), which may be obtained from the Fellowship Organiser, 53 Southern Road, Basingstoke.

Do friends realise the trouble and expense involved in sending out reminders of accounts owing? The office staff would regard it as a great favour if all to whom this applies would forward amounts owing at their earliest convenience.

Oxford Park Boys' School, Ilfracombe, N. Devon.—Pupils made very happy, and carefully studied as individuals. Development of character first aim. Public exams. when desired. Anti-militarist speakers encouraged to visit school.—John D. Ware, Esq. (Lond. Univ.), Oxford Park, Ilfracombe.

The Christian Alternative to War

PUBLIC MEETING on TUESDAY NEXT,

September 28th, at 7-30.

In the LARGE ESSEX HALL, STRAND (near Law Courts)

Speakers: HENRY T. HODGKIN, M.A., M.B., Miss MURIEL LESTER, Miss T. WILSON WILSON.

Chairman: The Rev. JAMES FRASER, M.A.

The Chairman and all the Speakers were present at the International Christian Conference lately held in Bilthoven, of which they will give some account.

ALL SEATS FREE.

SIDELIGHTS.

America and Ireland.

Saturday's papers contained cablegrams reporting that a commission is to be set up in America to investigate atrocities in Ireland. We are glad to be able through the kindness of the London correspondent of the New York "Nation" to give the full text of the appeal sent out by that paper. It reads as follows:—

"The struggle between Great Britain and Ireland which has gone on for many months, with an increasing use of armed force by both parties, is widely reported to be accompanied by atrocities planned by the British Government and answered in kind by the Irish people. One grave result is the rapid growth of anti-British feeling which threatens the unspeakable calamity of war between the United States and Great Britain and endangers the peace of the world. In the interest of peace and international friendship the editors of the 'Nation' earnestly invite you to serve as a member of a non-partisan committee of representative Americans with power to add to their number, who shall designate a select commission to sit at Washington or elsewhere for the impartial investigation of atrocities in Ireland, regarding which the British Ambassador and Professor De Valera and others shall be invited to submit evidence. The proposal does not contemplate any recommendations regarding the future political relations between Great Britain and Ireland."

The Spiritual Meaning of Communism.

"The Workers' Dreadnought," of September 11, publishes a significant article, by Edgar T. Whithead, entitled "The Spiritual Purpose behind the Communist Movement." It expresses a truth which the "Crusader" has often stated. The following passages will give our readers an idea of the writer's point of view:—

"No one supposes that we want to usher in the Day of the Co-operative Commonwealth, the Day of Economic Equality, just in order that humanity may evolve to the level of fat and well-fed pigs in comfortable styes, with plenty of good straw, good food, good grooming, and plenty of physical laziness.

"No one supposes that the 'material well-being' is an end in itself. The suggestion is ridiculous. If there is any purpose whatever in Bolshevism, it is that this MATERIAL EQUALITY AND MATERIAL WELL-BEING IS MERELY THE FIRST FUNDAMENTAL FOR CULTURAL GROWTH. AND FOR SPIRITUAL GROWTH—the first essential for the development of all those things whereby Man is superior to the lower creation.

"The coming age will be a veritable age of 'Light.' It will be a deeply religious age, beyond anything yet known on earth, where Man himself will be the temple of the living God, glorious physically, glorious in comprehension and understanding, with new morality, new ideas, new culture, where each will understand the thoughts and emotions, aspirations and development of the other, and 'Universal Consciousness,' from being a rare phenomenon in our Walt Whitmans and Edward Carpenters, will become the heritage of each one of us.

"It is against this glorious dawn for humanity, that Capitalism marshals its last forces.

"The whole essence of our Bolshevik theory lies in the fact that Man is a Spiritual Being, and that the human family is all one. The oneness of all humanity is the cardinal dogma underlying our efforts. Not one physically, but sharing the same thoughts, the same emotions, the same psychological experiences, the same life-force, the same spirit.

"After our night-long march through past ages, we see the glorious Canaan before our eyes. Those in the van of the army see the spires and turrets of the New Jerusalem and hear the swell of the Olympian music wafted by the breeze. Along the eager faithful ranks, the word is passed along, and as the light grows stronger in the heavens, the refrain is taken up:

"England arise, the long, long Night is ended;
Faint in the East behold the Dawn appear,
Out of your evil dream of Toil and Sorrow,
Arise, O England, for the Day is Here."

Is Hunger-Striking Wrong?

An interesting discussion is going on in the Roman Catholic Press on the above subject. In the "Catholic Times," of September 11, the Very Rev. Vincent McNabb, O.P., writes a special article on the question. Speaking "as a theologian, a Catholic and an Irishman" he comes to the conclusion, having specially in mind the case of the Lord Mayor of Cork, that "Hunger-striking is morally wrong."

From the Lower Deck.

R.000 (stoker) H.M.S. Reliance, in the "Dreadnought," gives the following account of the revolutionary movement in the navy:—

"The wonderful change that the late war has wrought in the mass mind of the rank and file in the Navy is not fully realised by our civilian comrades. Conscription brought into our ranks hundreds of the finest young men in the country—men, who, unwilling to go through the ordeals of the conscientious objectors, preferred the Navy to the Army as the easiest way out. We had artists, musicians, and many others of a rebellious nature among us. They disliked the routine life; to them, the strict discipline was unbearable, and the agitation they carried on against petty restrictions placed on our personal liberty, was very effective. Insomuch that the rules relating to saluting and other minor matters are now widely disregarded. The old tradition of the happy-go-lucky sailor caring for nothing but rum, cards and prostitutes is gone for ever. On several ships, I have noticed the new spirit among the men. Many slight incidents have contributed to the craving of the rank and file for Socialist literature. At one barracks, charges were preferred against a seaman for reading the 'Daily Herald.' The case was dismissed and other men wanted to know what sort of a paper it was that caused the trouble. Since then, there has been quite a demand for the 'Herald.'"

The Turn of the Tide in India.

The following, taken from an editorial in a recent issue of "The United India," is significant:—

"Reactionary Anglo-Indians in India are now having a little of the plain truth told to them. This is only to be expected, because the mood of the nation is no more what it was, and the age of flattery is, like that of chivalry, gone for ever.

"As Mr. Chakravarti says: 'We have reached the parting of the ways and you must make your choice. Either you continue to live as one of us enjoying the same rights as we do, or you make room for others who are prepared to adapt themselves to an altered state of things. It is not a question of right and wrong. The unique position which you have occupied investing you with special rights and responsibilities for maintaining peace and order among a disarmed people at the point of the bayonet must be abandoned for the simple reason that Indians will not have it; the British democracy will not suffer it; and civilisation will judge it.

Profits in the Mining Industry.

At the present time a profit of one hundred million pounds a year is being made in the mining industry. Of this, 34 million pounds (nearly three times as much as before the war) goes to the coalowners. The balance of 66 million pounds goes to the National Exchequer to pay, Mr. Austen Chamberlain says, the war debt, but in fact to finance new military adventures in Mesopotamia and elsewhere. In reality, we are being taxed 14s. 2d. a ton on coal. The miners and the whole Labour movement wish to remove all taxes upon the necessities of life, and to transfer them to the unearned incomes of the rich. Thus the cost of living might be reduced.—Fenner Brockway in Birmingham "Town Crier."

"A Very Significant Fact."

Stephen Gwynn, writing in Sunday's "Observer" on affairs in Ireland makes an amazing admission. The Curfew, he says, has been in force so long in Dublin that I cannot remember the date of its institution, though attacks on police in Dublin ceased months ago, not because the curfew was imposed, but because the police were sent out unarmed—a very significant fact.

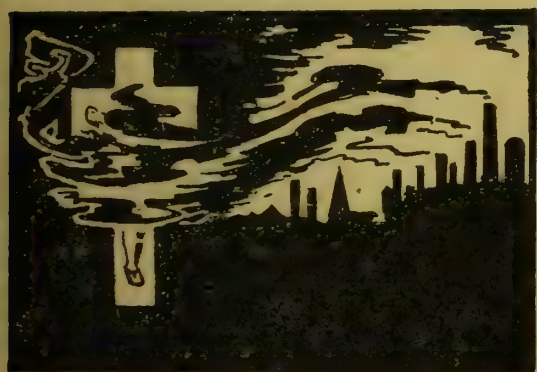
The Crusader

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Twopence.



The Outlook.

INDICATIONS accumulate of decline in industrial activity and a consequent increase in unemployment," says the "Outlook." The utterly irrational character of our economic system is seen in the fact that this unemployment occurs at a time when half the world is starving, and the price of food and other necessities is rising. Yet the very paper that confesses to this increase in unemployment complains that "the workers' desire to take as much and to do as little as possible" is partly responsible for the state of affairs.

EVEN the Government's supporters are beginning to realise the terrible nature of its policy in Ireland and to tremble for the consequences. The "Observer," on Sunday, remarked:—"In all men's sight, the state of Ireland has been plunging from bad to worse, as we have been steadily predicting for weeks. The latest developments are a scandal to civilisation, and nothing has ever done more harm abroad to the name of Britain. The Premier and Sir Hamar Greenwood are ill-served by their military subordinates. . . . We said last week that we could not believe in the charges that the "Black and Tan" auxiliaries were

carrying on reprisals, irrespective of age or sex, without a glimmer of distinction between the innocent and the guilty, without a vestige of disciplined proceedings. We were wrong. The hideous story of the sacking of Balbriggan is like a tale of Bashi-Bazouks carrying out the old Turkish terror in the Balkans. . . . It is deadly to the moral interests of Britain through out the world and to those of the Empire."

* * *

MR. BALFOUR has issued, in the name of the Council of the League of Nations, an appeal to the various Governments for a quarter of a million pounds to combat typhus in Poland and Galicia. A similar appeal was made last May, but "as yet the appeal has met with scant success." Mr. Balfour dwells upon the serious and growing character of the menace. The peril is now so great that "its gravity cannot be over-estimated." Mr. Balfour appeals on behalf of Poland and Galicia. The total number of cases in Poland last year amounted to a quarter of a million. But the total number of cases in Soviet Russia amounted to 1,600,000. It is Russia that is the centre and breeding-ground of the disease. And it is Russia that Mr. Balfour is engaged in blockading, starving, depriving of medicines and drugs, and excluding from all relief. Instead of removing the cause of this deadly disease, it is even suggested that peace with Russia would occasion the spread of infection. General Sir David Henderson, K.C.B., Director-General of the League of the Red Cross Societies, in an interview reported in the "Observer" to an inquiry as to the effect upon the situation of peace between Poland and Soviet Russia, replied that the position would be further complicated. "The first effect would be the return of a host of refugees from Russia to Poland, Esthonia, and probably Rumania. This would mean reinfection with typhus of these areas and of large portions of the remainder of Eastern Europe. If the Polish Army should be completely demobilised it would be impossible to maintain the quarantine on the eastern frontier. Before the fighting the Poles did their best to use their Army as a quarantine barrier against typhus; but demobilisation would make that impossible."

BED-ROCK.

At ye
Signe
of ye
Broken Sword



Those who have never touched bed-rock in the struggle for existence have missed a great experience. Life can never, one imagines, have the same intensity for those who are secure in regard

to material needs as it may have for those in whom the instinct of self-preservation is pulsating at full strength. The need to struggle in so many cases has to be artificially created. Life must be represented as a game in which one desires to score as heavily as possible. The passion for knowledge or the love of beauty or the excitement of political life, however genuine these things may be, cannot have the same degree of reality as the struggle for physical existence. These pursuits must appear academic and unnecessary to the man who, with starvation facing him, braces himself for a life-or-death wrestle. Perhaps that is one of the compensations of poverty. It may afford an answer to the question how people manage to exist under certain conditions. When we look at the places in which they live, the work they are compelled to do, the starvation of mind and body they are obliged to endure, it appears to us that life, under those circumstances, would be scarcely worth living. Such a judgment, however, would betray our ignorance of the psychology of poverty. To those thus situated, life has all the excitement of a battlefield. And the conflict is real. The game has not been artificially created; the rules have not been drawn up by ingenious minds with the view of yielding the greatest amount of sport. It is something in the constitution of things, something which could not be avoided.

Rightly utilised, this state of affairs, instead of crushing mental effort, should have the effect of intensifying it. That it does frequently have that effect is to me not a matter of doubt but a certainty. The steady emergence of Labour is due to the fact that while the defenders of privilege are contending for social and economic supremacy, Labour is contending for life. To the one side, politics is a game, to the other side it is a matter of vital and serious interest. The older classes and races are suffering intellectual eclipse because their secure possession of the elementary necessities of life have deprived them of the passionate urge which prompts the dispossessed to acquire knowledge and to understand the laws governing social and economic organisation. The same reason which so often makes the heir of large fortunes a fool and the unprivileged youth an earnest and painstaking student, may be seen operating on a large scale in the class struggle now going on.

The same is true of moral idealism. The admirable people who cultivate goodwill and preach the principles of brotherhood in the safe seclusion of suburbia, however correct may be their standards, lack the contact with physical necessity which would supply passion to their idealism. Among the workers, on the other hand, the ethics of fellowship have emerged in their day-by-day struggle with adverse fate. Comradeship among them approximates to the kind of relationship that springs up between men who have been together under fire when the life of each depended on the loyalty of all. There is an absence of self-consciousness, a simple seriousness, a work-a-day gravity, from which all sentimentalism has been eliminated in the manner in which the principles of brotherhood are practised among those who have learned those principles in the struggle for existence.

Civilisations get top heavy. The luxuries of the few overbalance the necessities of the many. There comes a time when more labour is expended on making cakes than that devoted to baking bread. The amenities of life are cultivated at the expense of elemental virility. A thin or erotic culture spreads like a weed, crushing out the plants that minister to life. When that happens there is a sudden return to barbarism. The people turn with relief to the crude realities of war which involve, at any rate, a life-and-death struggle. The superfine disappears. — Bed-rock reappears. Then follows famine. The military struggle gives place to the economic. Society begins again from the foundations.

That is what is happening to-day. We are paying the penalty of regarding bread and butter as matters of course, to maintain the supply of which required no special intelligence, or social idealism or religion. It has been said frequently that the war and the aftermath of the war were the penalties consequent upon a rank materialism. It would be quite as true to say that they were the penalties of a thin anæmic spirituality. We must sink our foundations deeper amid the grossness of material things.

That is why Labour is coming to the front. It has had the training necessary for this task. The dilettanti, the people living "sheltered lives," are paying the price of their exclusion from the rough and tumble struggle. The doom of the middle and upper classes means suffering for thousands. But there is a rough justice in it. Suburbia did not go out of its way to assist those who were fighting famine day by day. That fight has created a new race—a race of realists who have small patience with the sentimentalism of the parasitic class.

The intensity of this economic struggle is the remedy for the horrors of military warfare. — The excitement of the organised effort to secure social justice acts as a counter-attraction to war. It is the people whose empty lives clamoured for some conflict that puts a man on his metal, who were responsible for the war. It is the people, every week of whose life has been a thrilling and all-engrossing conflict with poverty, who have been called upon to end war.

THE TRAMP.

Coal—and Internationalism.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Now that the coal crisis has passed (I write on Sunday, but there is every reason to anticipate a settlement before this issue of the "Crusader" reaches our readers), it may be well to dwell a little on an aspect of the case which has not received the serious attention it undoubtedly deserves—I refer to the effect, not of a strike, but of our present normal relationship with the starving peoples of Europe in the matter of coal supply. When the strike was threatened a few people drew attention to the terrible effect a complete stoppage of the coal supply would have on those countries of Europe which are hopelessly struggling against something very near extinction by starvation.

In the early days of the coal crisis, an anonymous advertiser took a whole page in the "Daily Herald" in which to protest against the strike policy of the miners on the ground of its inhumanity to the people of Central Europe. With all due respect to those who quite sincerely held that view, I confess that I regarded their protest as completely missing the whole point of the situation. What they appeared to overlook was that the coal mining industry of this country, taken as a whole, is making huge profits out of the sale of coal to the people of Europe. The actual figures matter little or nothing. What does matter is that the people of this country are acquiescing in deliberate and shameful profiteering in coal at the expense of the starving people of Europe. True, the position would have been infinitely worse in the event of a strike. But my point is that the protest against the threatened strike was misdirected: it should have been made against the action of the Government in regard to the export price of coal to Europe.

This brings me to the question of the position of the miners in this sorry business. And here also, I am bound to confess to a feeling of disappointment at the turn of events from the earliest days of the crisis. I know it is very easy to stand by as an onlooker and criticise, and that it is another matter to deal with a situation such as that which faced the miners' leaders. But I cannot help regretting the loss of a great opportunity of furthering the cause of Internationalism by the miners. The justice of the miners' claim for an increase will, I think, be admitted by all fair-minded people. Their original claim that the price of coal should be reduced by 14s. 2d. per ton (which would have meant a drop in the price of everything depending on coal), should have been one to appeal to the people of this country, who are the victims of an ever-increasing cost of living. But how much greater and nobler would have been a demand from the miners themselves that this exploitation of famished people in other lands should cease, and that an international arrangement be made for the pooling of coal supplies and a distribution according to need.

I wrote last week in what some of my friends regarded as an unusually pessimistic tone. But I am not a pessimist. All I am anxious about is that the Labour movement should at all costs keep its idealism ever before the people; and I could not see any idealism about the later stages of the coal crisis. I think it was a grave mistake when the claim for a reduction in the price of coal was dropped. At that moment the miners' case lost even the semblance of altruism, and degenerated into a dispute about the division of the spoils. But in my view an even greater mistake was the complete silence of the miners' leaders on the all-important question of how the spoils were being secured.

It may be agreed, and with considerable force, that the public would not have listened to a plea for a general reduction of the price of coal to other countries—or at least to those countries hardest hit by the economic collapse resulting from the war. That may be true. But I am not concerned with the public outside of the International Labour movement: my concern is for the advancement of Internationalism. And I believe that if the news had gone round the world that the British miners had threatened to down tools in order to put a stop to the exploitation of their fellows in other lands, it would have done as much to further the cause of Labour as the events of the past few weeks have done in the opposite direction.

But, of course, it is all a matter of education—and education, not so much of the "outside" public, but of those within the Trade Union movement of this country. I said last week that the miners were beaten by the Capitalist Press of the country almost before the ballot was taken. I believe that to be true; the out-manceuvring of the miners by the Government was made all the easier because of the "dope" put out day by day by the anti-Labour Press. And I am more than ever convinced that until the British Trade Union movement tackles the matter of a really effective Labour Press, on similar lines to the continental Labour Press, it will continue to be at the mercy of its opponents, and—what is worse—it will continue to be jockeyed into positions which make the spread of its ideals impossible.

"I AM IN THE SCHEME OF THINGS."

I am in the scheme of things
As the song the blackbird sings,
As the blossom of the tree,
As the treasure of the sea.

I shall live, and art will die:
Art is half, or all, a lie.
Art is made of mud and death:
I am filled with holy breath

JOSEPH CAMPBELL.

—"The Nation."

The Crusader

Friday, October 1st, 1920.

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The Power of Speech.

Dr. Orchard's utterance, of which a report was given in our last issue, is a valuable reminder of the power of the spoken or written word. It would be an interesting story if one could recall the influence of speech on human history. What changes in social life can be traced to the translation and publication of the Bible! How closely connected as cause and effect were the writings of philosophers and pamphleteers, at the close of the eighteenth century; and the French Revolution! Of Mazzini's Secret Press it might almost be said that it created the movement for Italian liberty and unity. The revolution now taking place can be traced back to the writings of Karl Marx. The power of the popular Press to-day is an instance of another kind, but no less telling as an example of the power of speech to control and inspire action.

Men of Action.

A false antithesis, for which Carlyle is largely responsible, is often made between speech and action. There are some words that are themselves actions. They are creative and have the power to dissolve Empires and rebuild Society. Books can be deeds. Manifestoes and pamphlets can do more than guns. Bolshevik propaganda is more dreaded than Bolshevik armies. Many a sermon or open-air address has been delivered under circumstances which demanded heroism of the highest order. Those who delivered them were, as truly as any soldier, explorer, or revolutionary leader, men and women of action.

How Revolutions are made.

There is another form of action, closely akin to that of the writer or speaker, which, though seemingly humble, may have great results in making history. In a notable passage of "Mutual Aid," Kropotkin bears witness to the devotion and courage of those in Russia and elsewhere who distributed revolutionary literature. "Every Socialist newspaper," he says, "has the same history of years of sacrifice without any hope of reward, and, in the majority of cases, even without any personal ambition . . . Every quire of a penny paper sold, every meeting . . . represent an amount of energy and sacrifices of which no outsider has the faintest idea." These are the men that made possible the Russian Revolution. And it is by some such methods that that change of thought and feeling is to be brought about which are the conditions of the Revolution for which we of the "Crusader" are working. Let no sneer at "words" as harmless and costless things deter us from becoming, according to our opportunities, "centres of action" in making known the truth concerning the Kingdom of God!

The Death-knell of Capitalism.

Comrades, friends, Capitalism must go; its iniquities increase; under it men cannot live in peace.

Capitalism is war; it divides man from man; sows suspicion and enmity among those who should be brothers; producing spiritually opposed classes which destroy fellowship.

Capitalism is a pestilence; for a few pieces of silver, a monopoly, it will starve an entire Continent and thereby render it a victim to the ravages of disease.

Capitalism is a monster; it prowls the earth and preys upon the helpless, devouring women and children rendered weak by unemployment and beggarly wages.

Capitalism is a roaring lion, a daily torrent of sound which proclaims the lie of lies, that man is a beast, a grovelling worm, and drowns all gentler voices, the silver tones of the trumpet of truth.

Capitalism means workers idle, workers hungry, and land that would provide labour and food, also idle.

Capitalism means unemployed workers while yet the community is possessed of thousands of needs that Capitalism cannot satisfy. Need, and workers, and a bountiful earth, yet no work!

Capitalism means big profits, high prices, minimum production and consumption. Common sense demands minimum profits, low prices, maximum production and consumption.

Capitalism means starvation and unemployment in Central Europe and in Russia, in 1919, and starvation and unemployment in Britain in 1920.

Capitalism, we repeat, is war, perennial, internecine war; war within the nations, war between the nations; between profiteers and producers at home, between monopoly hunters and producers abroad; wars against hunger, against slavery, against the oppressions of an idle, profit-made class; war upon all who dream of freedom, all who would break down the barriers which divide man from man and nation from nation, chief of which are the Rights (the wrongs) of Wealth, of Property.

Comrades, friends, in the name of God and humanity, in the strength of an unshakable faith in the divine nature of the human soul, rise up and purge the world of this great iniquity, Capitalism, and establish a holier law upon the earth!

THE CRUSADER GROUP

WILL BE

AT HOME

Monday, October 4th, 5-30 to 7-30, at The MINERVA CAFE, 144 HIGH HOLBORN, W.C. (Entrance at rear in Silver Street), and invites you to meet

WILFRED WELLOCK.

R.S.V.P. to "The Crusader," 23 Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

A laugh has often landed me in trouble, and I am there once more. Last week, in their "Crusader," my readers doubtless saw the letter rebuking me for laughing over the story of the vicar who, looking forward to the Lambeth Conference, wrote in his parish magazine: "While the pronouncements can be in no way binding on the Church, we shall gain much help from them, as they will be guided by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit." Inspired by the Holy Spirit, but not in any way binding on the Church! That struck me as being a truly delectable example of unconscious humour. But my critic deliberately refuses to smile. He affirms that the position of the vicar is so far from being ridiculous that it is "one held by many thinking people about the writers of some of our Scriptures." So I am asked to straighten my face and take it seriously. I do so with pleasure.

* * *

Let me begin with thanks to my kindly censor for stating so ably my own views of inspiration in stating his. I agree entirely when he says: "Inspiration comes to many in varying degrees, and infallibility belongs to none." I agree, too, that Isaiah, for example, was certainly inspired, but that, "seeing we have this treasure in earthen vessels," we should not attribute infallibility to him. However, when it comes to the case of the vicar, I do not see that his position is made any better by pleading that inspiration is always incomplete. Surely we are responsible to such inspiration as we have—not to a kind of inspiration we cannot have. And let me go on to press a further point. When we take it upon ourselves to judge Isaiah's inspiration, we are at least judging something already there to judge. But when we stand with the vicar, we are actually judging inspiration before it has arrived, and rejecting it before we know what it is. If that is not a bit funny—well, I give it up!

* * *

The "British Weekly" reviews Lord Frederick Hamilton's new book, "The Days Before Yesterday." It is evidently a lively volume, and includes some capital stories—true and otherwise. I extract one of the stories—probably of the "otherwise" sort. It refers to Calcutta, where it seems that mosquitoes are in the habit of attending Church in large numbers. According to Lord Frederick, St. Andrew's Scottish Presbyterian Church in Calcutta stands in its own wooded grounds, in which there are two large ponds. The Church is consequently infested with mosquitoes. The last time Lord Frederick was in Calcutta he tells us that the Gordon Highlanders had just relieved an English regiment in the Fort, and on the first Sunday after their arrival, four hundred Gordons were marched to a parade service at St. Andrew's. The most optimistic mosquito had never in his wildest dreams imagined such a succulent banquet as that afforded by four hundred bare-kneed, kilted Highlanders, and the mosquitoes made the fullest use of their

unique opportunity. Soon the Church resounded with the vigorous slapping of hands on bare knees and thighs, as the men endeavoured to kill a few of their little tormentors. The minister, hearing the loud clapping, but entirely misapprehending its purport, paused in his sermon, and said: "My brethren, it is varra gratifying to a minister of the Word to learn that his remarks meet with the approbation of his hearers, but I'd have you remember that all applause is strictly out of place in the House of God."

* * *

Refreshed by such a tale, we plunge back again into the gloom. Lately returned from a month spent in Alpine solitudes and little French country towns, a writer in the "Methodist Times" reveals the following significant fact:—"On one figure in the United Kingdom I found all eyes in France were fixed—the figure of the Lord Mayor of Cork. If there was no other item of news from the United Kingdom, in every French paper I saw there was always a telegram about him. I do not think I have ever seen such interest taken in the life of any foreigner in any country. The nearest parallels I can recall are the interest taken by the English people in the death-beds of Presidents Garfield and McKinley. Both died by an assassin's hand. I am very much inclined to think that at the back of the average French mind the view is that the British Government is assassinating this Irish Lord Mayor by the method of slow torture."

* * *

Next Sunday, October 3rd, is to be Dedication Day in Nonconformist places of worship throughout the country. The headquarters of the various denominations have issued appeals and a special order of service. The ministers are to lead their people in a solemn act of re-consecration to the service of Jesus Christ, "that His great purpose for the world's redemption may in greater measure be accomplished." Such an occasion will be a severe test of all taking part, and much will depend on how far the awful severity of the test is realised. The deep and tragic failure of the Churches is almost universally acknowledged within the Churches themselves. The fact is they have been terribly compromised by complicity in the present anti-Christian social order, the world-war, and the subsequent peace. Their position at the moment is largely the result of yielding ground to the State. Little by little they have subordinated their own professed principles. But the end has been disaster to the Church; and the world has been robbed of the Christian witness to another way of life. It is a time for all Christians to remind themselves of the fact that the most glorious hour of Christian history was when the early followers of Christ dared to rise up and challenge the pagan State. Let the Free Churches, meeting next Sunday, dare to face the same issue frankly and boldly, and they will retrieve their position. Otherwise they will remain as they are.

Socialism and Organised Religion.

CAN SOCIALISTS REMAIN NEUTRAL?

The "Communist" of September 16th publishes a letter in the course of which the writer says:—

"There is a scientific type of mind, and this type is now going to pour into the movement, that does hold that the root of all human servitude lies in organised religion, and any in the movement who favour any kind of organised religion will receive from us no quarter. . . . By exploiting through the churches and chapels what is called the religious instinct, priests have been able to enslave the minds of men, and kings their bodies, and while respecting all private faiths, we shall yield no quarter to the mind-poisoning chloroform of organised religion."

The attitude defined in this letter goes beyond that which is officially adopted by most Socialist and Communist bodies, an attitude which may be described as that of neutrality. The very earliest declarations of the Marxians laid it down that religious matters were outside their province. "As early as 1878," to quote Professor Nitti's "Catholic Socialism," "the 'Zukunft,' of Berlin, the scientific organ of German Democratic Socialism, reproved the anti-religious propaganda carried on in the name of the party. 'The programme of Social Democracy in Germany,' said the 'Zukunft,' 'asserts that religion is a purely private interest, the origin of which is derived exclusively from the individual conscience. In virtue of its constitution and fundamental code, German Socialism . . . remains neutral in all questions of creeds and schools, striving only for the furtherance of its own end.'"

Inasmuch as the writer of the letter in question departs from this attitude of neutrality, he is to be congratulated. Such an attitude to-day is impossible.

We have got far beyond the stage in which men's varied interests were regarded as existing in so many separate water-tight compartments. That idea is philosophically and psychologically false. We cannot cut off our economic beliefs from our theological conceptions. Sooner or later the Socialist will endeavour to arrive at some definite view of the Universe, as a support for his social creed. The attempt to unify our personalities is irresistible, and such an effort must inevitably bring us up against those beliefs we term religious.

This is recognised by Socialists in their condemnation of those religionists whose religious professions are in violent contradiction with their social creed and practice. Are they not for ever girding at those who profess the religion of Jesus, but oppose all efforts to realise His principles in social life? But we cannot have it both ways; if Christianity is related to economics, then economics must be related to Christianity.

We may oppose or we may identify ourselves with organised religion, but we cannot logically be neutral towards it.

And if we are not to be neutral, then there devolves upon us the task of discovering whether those who agree with the writer in the "Communist" are correct in supposing that all religious institu-

tions, officials, and creeds, as such, are necessarily the foes of the Socialist Movement. If we come to that conclusion, there is, of course, no more to be said. The whole force of our propaganda must be directed towards the overthrow of traditions instituted and maintained in the interests of the exploiters.

On the other hand, we may be unwilling to make so sweeping a change. We may feel, for instance, that while the original basis of the institutions in question lends support to our own social and economic ideals, the manner in which the Church has been captured by the dominant classes has obscured the primitive tradition and intention. In this case we shall render valuable service to the Socialist Movement if we can make that clear to all who accept the Authority of the Church. To capture so influential an institution in the name of its own credentials, to convince its adherents that their own professions pledge them to support us, would be no small achievement. Or, again, we may be called upon to exercise discrimination between different sections of Christendom. What are the relative values, to us as Communists, of Catholic and Protestant conceptions? Is it true, as G. K. Chesterton asserts, that "the Protestant type of Society is capitalistic"? This and many similar questions would devolve upon us, and we should be under the obligation of bringing the "acid test" of our Socialist faith to bear upon religious traditions.

Once more let it be said that the attitude of neutrality must be abandoned. In these days we cannot afford to leave any area of life to the enemy. We are out to conquer the whole domain of human interest and activity. Already we have made serious inroads on the traditional views of history. We have invaded the realm of philosophy. We are capturing, point by point, the great field of Literature. Art, we are assured, in all its varied aspects, must feel the influence of the proletarian movement and cease to be the hireling of a luxurious Capitalism. In this campaign of conquest, are we to leave untouched the vast sphere of religion?

MR. G. K. CHESTERTON ON STRIKES.

Strikes are a nuisance; but they cannot be positively prevented without establishing slavery. And they cannot even be reasonably discouraged until we have a bold alternative policy of the distribution of property, which means ultimately the destruction of capitalism.

This could be done sanely and systematically; but the poor do not believe that our rulers are trying to do it at all; and they are right. There comes in here something that is always left out—political corruption, or the general belief that modern government is in the hands of trusts and capitalist combines.

And it is futile for journalists to tell the workers to trust to Parliament, when the journalists themselves have more and more to denounce the breakdown of that Parliament. What is the good of pointing out a politician to the middle-class reader as a shuffling egoist, and then pointing out the same politician to the miner as a great democratic arbiter?—"Daily Graphic."

Reformism or Revolution.

BY WILFRED WELLOCK.

There are periods when reforms are natural and necessary. There are periods when revolutions are no less natural and necessary. It is impossible to get behind the fact that if a revolution in thought has taken place, a revolution in conditions must follow. The war has shocked the conscience of mankind; events since the war have shocked it still more; with the result that thought has advanced at an enormously rapid rate, and is demanding a complete reversal of social policy, a new social order.

Our age is moved by revolutionary ideas; to try and cast those ideas in the mould of reformism is to destroy them, to rob them of their soul. You cannot have communism piece-meal; you either have it or have it not. The condemnation of reformism as a method of "revolutionising" society, therefore, is this, that if you do not change your social system sufficiently to allow a new spirit to operate within it, you make matters worse, both from the standpoint of society and that of your own cause, for you cripple the old system without killing it, and so make it easy for the defenders of that system to show how disastrous your methods and ideals are. Unfortunately, there are many avowed Socialists, including a large section of the I.L.P., who still believe in reformism. They somehow imagine that if they multiply reforms they will accomplish revolution; whereas what they will do will be to make a number of circular tours, whence they will come back each time to pretty near the point from which they started out. I believe such people are sincere, but, really, they seem to learn little from their excursions, notwithstanding that they let down the workers every time. They are appallingly ignorant of history, and not less of psychology.

What I should like to point out to these people is that their position is an irreconcilable contradiction. They believe in revolution, yet practise reformism. In other words, they believe in the possibility of wheedling the classes out of their privileges, of skinning them by inches. What they do not realise is that while they are operating upon a certain part of the capitalist body, the skin is already beginning to grow on the parts previously dealt with. For the capitalists can naturally afford all the best medicines and the best medical advice. If you increase wages to-day, prices will go up to-morrow. If you tax the rich to-day, the poor will discharge the account to-morrow. If you fight a war for liberty to-day, the rich will secure new monopolies to-morrow. If you pass a Land Values Act in one decade, a war-made, reactionary Government will repeal it in the next. If you persuade the workers to fight a war for freedom on the promise of a new social status, two years later you will find the old evils of the profiteering system emphasised, unemployment as rampant as ever, and the ex-soldiers begging bread!

But, you say, all that is to cease once we get our Labour Government. It will do nothing of the kind. Besides, there is no likelihood of you getting

your Labour Government. The present Government holds the whip hand. It can choose the time of a General Election; it can also choose the issue. Moreover, it and its supporters possess a stupendously powerful Press, and control all or almost all the agencies of "education." In a struggle which involved the existence of Capitalism, these agencies would stir up such passions, create such an atmosphere as would put even the bestial election of December, 1918, into the shade.

But even if by some miracle Labour did win a General Election, does anyone imagine that the capitalists would accept its decrees? Either the Government would have to compromise with capital, or there would be a revolution instigated by the Right—which, of course, would be a bloody revolution. And what would be the effect of a compromise? Supposing the capitalists were bought out of the chief industries on "reasonable" terms, given 6 per cent., say, on all their capital, and joint control, what would happen? Would it not be the easiest thing in the world for them to play for a big loss in those industries, and so to use the fact in their Press as to discredit the whole idea of nationalisation?

Indeed, the entire course of reformism is crowded with dangers. So long as the capitalists reject the principles of Communism, they will reject or undermine every instalment of it. Then why not face the issue openly, lay all our cards upon the table, and concentrate on a big, clean fight for Communism? This is the honest method, and, I believe, the only practical and effective method.

Instead of working for reforms which involve the sacrifice of principle and the spirit of our ideal, why not devote ourselves to proclaiming the pure gospel of Communism? Christ commanded the rich young ruler to give up all that he had! There was no compromise about that! Give that thou hast, receive that thou needest! Such is the doctrine to which we must give our whole-hearted assent, and for which we must win the assent of others. It is the law of true Communism, and it is the law by which this age is feeling more and more that society must be governed.

What might not happen if all those who believe in the class-less State, in the true Kingdom of Humanity—Communists, Socialists, Christians—were to concentrate on preaching Christian Communism, and demand the immediate reorganisation of society in accordance with that ideal? Once the ideal gripped the people, nothing could prevent its application.

Our age lacks faith, faith in a great principle, a finer social idealism. Such a faith would remove the mountains of opposition which reformism serves only to increase. We must create that faith! The saying of Jesus: "The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand!" is a declaration that the New World must come suddenly, as a revolution, or not at all.

A Declaration of Dependence.

1776 - 1920.

Nearly one hundred and fifty years ago the American Colonies, driven to desperation by the action of a British Government, issued a Declaration of Independence.

Political, social and economic tyranny have reached a point to-day far in excess of that endured by the colonists who revolted in 1776. Its effects are felt over the whole world. An evil power seems abroad poisoning the minds and consciences of men, turning the thoughts of Governments from peace, hardening the hearts of the rich, and embittering the souls of their victims. We seem to be on the verge of a material and spiritual collapse, whose consequences would be beyond our imagination.

It is these circumstances that have given birth to what may be called

A Declaration of Dependence.

1.—We appeal beyond kings, parliaments, and constitutions to the God of the Peoples, of whom long ago it was written:—

“He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their heart.

He hath put down princes from their thrones,
And hath exalted them of low degree.”

To Him Who has raised to the Throne of the Universe the Carpenter of Nazareth, and promised to Him all the Kingdoms of the World, we commit our cause. We invoke His Spirit. We declare our dependence upon Him and Him alone.

2.—Dependence upon Him involves dependence on one another. His power is made known to us in association and co-operation. We raise a banner for those of all lands, all classes, all churches, in whose hearts is holy revolt against the reign of Mammon. Our need is one. Our prayer is one. Our God is one. We cannot dispense with each other. When we come together He will stand in our midst, Who is the terror of the mighty and the hope of the weak.

3.—The sower must study the seasons, the navigator must co-operate with tides and winds. We, on our part, cannot work in defiance of the laws of history. We can but interpret the will of God as that is made known to us in the signs of the times, and co-operate with it.

The confusion of the world to-day, the discontent of the peoples, the conditions of industry, the organisation of the workers, compel us to see that the very evils of which we complain have created an opportunity which is a call of God. There is not a wind that blows that may not be used to speed us to our haven. On all these we depend. They are our allies, though they know it not. By understanding and adapting ourselves to the opportunity of the present hour, we can create the New World out of the ruins of the Old.

This opportunity stares us in the face and summons us to create a civilisation that, at last, shall be worthy of the name Christian. The hour has struck. The Day of Deliverance is here.

4.—Seeing that our strength is in God and in His working, there is no limit to our expectations. The mighty empires of man, the resources of material wealth, the cunning of subtle minds, are powerless to resist the omnipotent Word declaring, “Let there be Light, Liberty, Love.”

The specious plea that certain evils are inevitable that certain compromises are unavoidable, that “human nature being what it is,” we must content ourselves with methods otherwise regrettable, does not deceive us. In view of our dependence on God we are independent of armies and navies, police courts and prisons, the dishonesties of political life, the falsehoods of the Press, the advantages of wealth.

No institution is too ancient or too deeply entrenched to be overthrown. Standing amid the glories of the Temple of Mammon and jostled by the thronging crowds of his worshippers, we prophesy that to-morrow not one stone shall be left standing upon another, and the place whereon it stood shall be an unvisited solitude.

IT IS THE WILL OF GOD to create a Society in which all shall labour for the common good, where ownership of the means of life shall be reckoned a sin against the community, and where all shall share, according to need, the resources of nature and the product of human labour.

IT IS THE WILL OF GOD to abolish all that has made the nations competitors for wealth and power, to topple down the pride of imperialism, and to create a world-community in which each race shall have its place, and in serving which each nation shall find its own life nourished.

IT IS THE WILL OF GOD to provide all the means necessary for a full and vigorous life for all, in which the entire powers of our humanity, physical, mental, and moral, shall be realised. The sordidness and ugliness of life to-day shall become as a nightmare of the past. Secure in all that can maintain their strength, secure in the affection and care of their fellows, men and women shall go to their day's labour, their hearts unshadowed by any fear of disease, or poverty, or war, or of one another.

GOD WILLS IT, and, therefore, with human faith responding, it shall come to pass, not in some far-off century, but NOW.

In the Middle Ages, when Europe mustered its forces for the crusades, the cry that rallied the peoples to the banners of the nations engaged was “Deus Vult”—God wills it.

The Holy Land we march to conquer to-day is the sacred soil of the whole earth, which is given for the joy of all and the selfish ownership of none. But our rallying cry is the same:—

DEUS VULT
GOD WILLS IT.

The Fore-runners.

No age explains itself. The meaning of the work we are doing to-day will be understood to-morrow. At present we are but laying foundations and building walls, the purpose of which is hidden from us.

Thus, for instance, those who laboured for Freedom of Thought in the last century, and wrought to break down the barriers of bigotry and superstition, were ignorant of the results which Freedom would achieve. They could not see the marvellous revelations of Science. They did not know that Science would become the hand-maid of Religion, that it would point the way to a truer social order. They desired Freedom for its own sake and not for any benefits it would procure. But to-day we can perceive that they were but links in a long chain. Their work was not an end in itself. Its full value was found only when the work of a later generation made use of it.

To-day all our thoughts and efforts are directed towards the creation of a form of Society which shall replace the present capitalistic system. But though that seems a mighty achievement, and one sufficient to satisfy us, it is not the end; it is only a means to something greater. Of that "something greater," we are probably as little aware as were those Roman soldiers whose conquests created an Empire, conscious that they were preparing the way for the greater conquests of the Son of Man.

But one thing we can do: we can refrain from claiming to put the final touch to man's long labours. We can echo John the Baptist's self-effacing statement, "After me cometh One, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose." This subordination of self to the Future, this taking of our place in the co-operative scheme of universal history, is one of the signs of greatness. Even the Commune, when it comes, will be but a step. The Messiah is yet to come. It requires no little self-restraint to persuade oneself that the movements of one's own day do not satisfy all the requirements of human nature. It is so easy, in our enthusiasm, to believe that, if our demands were granted, we should immediately enter upon the Golden Age. One of the hardest things to say is, "I am not He." When everything seems coming our way, and ideals, long laboured for, are on the point of realisation, it is difficult to reserve any enthusiasm for the future.

We are not entirely without guidance as to the nature of the edifice that shall be built on our foundations.

The reconstruction of the material basis of Society must have an important effect upon human character. The new economic and industrial environment we are striving to build up will, it is not too much to say, create a new race. The spiritual results of the economic revolution will be incalculable. A type of humanity devoid of greed and free from the haunting of fear is almost inconceivable to us, yet it will surely emerge. The disappearance of the coarse pleasures which are now the natural reaction against our degrading labour conditions, will

leave room for a spontaneous gaiety and unforced playfulness that will transform life. The vast increase that will result to the stock of common knowledge and the new avenues that will be opened up for the democratic enjoyment of the best art will make the age that is coming one that will eclipse, in intellectual brilliancy, any the world has ever seen.

Most important of all, the new economic society, freed at last from armies and navies and penal institutions, organised on an international and class-less basis, will find its point of unity, its creative centre, in the worship of the Son of Man. Is it too much to say that, in building broadly and firmly the economic structure, we are laying the foundations of the Universal Church, which shall one day cover the entire field of human

activities, and include every section of the human race?

How much better we shall play our part and how much easier will it be for us to reverence the greater things yet to be, and to regard our own share in the work modestly, if we consciously look towards this Future! Though we cannot claim to be more than forerunners of the Age of the Messiah, we can declare that, for all that have eyes to see, He already stands in our midst. "We must decrease, but He shall increase."

The old world is dying around us; let it also die in us.—GENERAL SMUTS.

Philosophers have interpreted the world differently—our task is to change it.—KARL MARX.

"THAT GREAT HEART."

*A Boy was born at Bethlehem
That knew the haunts of Galilee;
He wandered on Mount Lebanon
And learned to love each forest tree.*

*But I was born at Marlborough,
And love the homely faces there,
And for all other men besides
'Tis little love I have to spare.*

*I should not mind to die for them,
My own dear downs, my comrades true;
But that great heart of Bethlehem
He died for men he never knew.*

*And yet, I think, at Golgotha,
As Jesus' eyes were closed in death,
They saw with love most passionate
The village street at Nazareth.*

—YOUNG, quoted in "The Challenge."

Bookland. Gorky on Tolstoi.

To understand Gorky's impressions of Tolstoi one must know something of Gorky. Both Tolstoi and Gorky were realists, but they were not realists in the same sense. Even the "ideal" was "real" in Tolstoi's stories, for he found it in children, old men, and simple peasant folk, and had thus no need to create characters which embodied it. Gorky differed from Tolstoi in his conception of the ideal. There were many things in Gorky's writings which Tolstoi held to be too horrible to be embodied in literature, while Gorky held the stories of Tolstoi which exemplified the doctrine of non-resistance, to be an expression of a fatal weakness in the Russian character. And yet Tolstoi's influence in the West is chiefly due to his advocacy of non-resistance. Gorky was impressed by the enormous energy, the aggressive spirit in Western civilisation, and believed that if the East was to hold its own, it could only do so by adopting Western ideas and methods.

With such a fundamental difference between them, it is interesting to learn what Gorky thinks of Tolstoi. And although this book of reminiscences (*Reminiscences of Leo N. Tolstoi*. By Maxim Gorky. The Hogarth Press, Richmond. 70 pp.) abounds with criticism and "unpopular" impressions of Tolstoi, it would scarcely be possible for one distinguished man to speak more highly of another than Gorky does of his great contemporary. And observe the unusually striking language in which this appreciation is expressed!

"If he were a fish, he would certainly swim only in the ocean, never coming to the narrow seas."

"His silence is impressive like that of a real hermit driven out from this world."

"In Yassnaya Polyana he seemed to me a man who knew everything and had nothing more to learn—a man who had settled every question."

"With God he has very suspicious relations; they sometimes remind me of the relation of two bears in one den."

"Sometimes he seems to be conceited and intolerant, like a Volga preacher, and this is terrible in a man who is the sounding bell of this world."

"There is something in him which made me desire to cry aloud to everyone: 'Look what a wonderful man is living on the earth.'"

"I am not an orphan on the earth as long as this man lives on it."

"I do not know whether I loved him; but does it matter, love of him or hatred?"

"To lie to him, even out of pity, was impossible—it would be banal to pity a man like him."

"The man is godlike."

"He is like a God. . . . not very majestic, but perhaps more cunning than all the other gods."

Gorky's admiration of Tolstoi begins with the latter's physical characteristics, "his wonderful hands—not beautiful, but knotted with swollen veins, and yet full of a singular expressiveness and the power of creativeness." "With such hands one can do anything." Then his eyes. "I remember his keen eyes—they saw everything through and through." "The most eloquent eyes I have ever

seen. In his two eyes Tolstoi possessed a thousand eyes."

Gorky's interest in Tolstoi was Tolstoi, the man body and soul, with all his passions, physical and spiritual, and not his "teachings," the doctrine which converted men into "Tolstoians." As a fact Gorky could neither tolerate Tolstoians nor the doctrines which produced them, telling us on one occasion that he greatly appreciated the fact that Tolstoi never spoke of his non-resistance teachings in his presence.

But Gorky does not argue this question. He simply states that Tolstoi's "passivism" was yielding to a fatal, sluggish element in the Russian character, and a denial of the more virile side of Christ's life and teaching. Whatever the facts may be with respect to the Russian character, so far as the West is concerned few of the admirers of Tolstoi will be inclined to regard his advocacy of non-resistance as weakness, after what has occurred during the last few years. Western civilisation is tumbling in ruins by reason of that very aggressiveness, that "conquering" energy, which Gorky seems to think is the great lack of the Russian people. We wonder if he thinks so now; for these reminiscences were written before the war?

Much space is taken up in these "notes" with the sex question, Gorky affirming that this was a frequent topic of conversation with Tolstoi. I must be remembered that Tolstoi was brought up in a society which believed in the "wild oats" theory and the necessity of sexual indulgence. And with his mind thus perverted, and possessing strong passions, Tolstoi had in later life a terrible battle to fight, and passed through the fiery furnace if even a man did. He never forgot it, and believed to the last that life's greatest tragedies had their origin in the sex passion.

Probably many will disagree with Gorky's contention that Tolstoi's "flight" was the outcome of a desire to suffer in order to "compel" people to accept his non-resistance teaching, and will continue to regard it as a final attempt to free his soul from the bondage of circumstance.

When Gorky, protesting against the conversion of Tolstoi into a saint, cries: "I do not want to see Tolstoi a saint: let him remain a sinner close to the heart of the all-sinful world," most of us will agree with him.

The following noble passage may be said to sum up Gorky's impressions of Tolstoi:—

The old magician stands before me, alien to all, a solitary traveller through all the deserts of thought in search of an all-embracing truth which he has not found—I look at him and, although I feel sorrow for the loss, I feel pride at having seen the man, and that pride alleviates my pain and grief."

Nevertheless, this book, full of crisp expression and challenging thought, is scarcely fitted to those not familiar with Tolstoi's writings.

W.W.

Poster Pie.

The "Crusader" Commissioner had an appropriate sense of awe as he stepped inside the London Museum. The magnificent entrance hall of Lancaster House, with its fine marble pillars and stairways, created a feeling of subdued expectation. He wished "to see the war posters, please," and being directed, climbed the stairs to—the top of the house. "What a fall was there! He would have fled, but the "Crusader" expected him to do his duty. Heroically taking out his book, he began to take notes. The old fears came over him. He was watched; he could feel it.

Cautiously turning his head, he saw—a woman policeman! It was only a war-time dummy, but the scarecrow unnerved him. Still, duty called. Around the room there were other dummies of costumes worn during the war. On the lower part of the walls, and on the "line" were sketches and photographs; over them, fittingly "skied," were our old friends, the war posters.

Ghosts of the past. Hideous nightmares. How they haunt us! Listen: "Boys, come over here; you're wanted." O God! how true. Wanted, wanted, but—they never came back. Here is a picture of a Boy Scout: "Everyone should do his bit." Some of them are proud of their bit; others are in— "Don't lag! Follow your flag."

How they followed! Brave lads! Britain is so proud of them. But would they have followed if they had known what we do now? Here is a picture of the flag, under it soldiers at their guns, Red Cross nurses and munition workers: "Are YOU in this?" Yes! how soon the women were dragged into it! But the next is an even steeper descent, an appeal—"Women of Britain, say GO."—And the women said it.

Lord Kitchener says: Men, materials, money are the immediate necessities. Does the call of duty find no response in you, until reinforced—let us rather say superseded—by the call of compulsion?" "Enlist to-day."

We are reading a poster history of the great war. Military diplomacy foreshadowing conscription. The next chapter begins: "Men of Britain, will you stand this?" Underneath is a picture of a ruined Scarborough house, with a list of the horrors of the bombardment.

"Enlist NOW." Note the change in the slogan, from "Enlist to-day" to "Enlist NOW." There is a stern insistence about it. "NOW." We are in it! Throw your qualms overboard. Meet devilry with devilry. "NOW."

"NOW" is the accepted time; "NOW" is the lay of damnation! Then follows a picture of the sinking Lusitania. "Take up the Sword of Justice." It sounds better than vengeance; and the war is yet in its infancy.

"Single men! Last days for voluntary enlistment." The sands are running out. Then a pathetic picture of a mother, homely, comely and sweet, saying to her son, "Go! it's your duty, lad; join to-day." And he went. To what? "Join the brave throng that goes marching along"

—a string of cheery Tommies. What were they marching along for? The next poster explains: "The Empire needs men." It must not collapse; and the Empire builders require human cement. Here he is at last, the good old British Lion. He always rouses us. We don't exactly know why, but that doesn't matter. "Helped by the young lions, the old lion defies his foes." Poor old British Lion! Thou hast a lot to answer for. But thou art British, so thou hast a right to defy and devour.

The musings of the C.C. were interrupted by the kindly voice of the attendant: "There's some more in the other room, sir!" Not wishing to damp the attendant's enthusiasm, and perhaps from reasons of discretion, he succumbed to the poisoned atmosphere of camouflage, and tried to look as if he was enjoying himself.

As he turned into the other room he was transfixed. There was his old friend, "Why aren't YOU in khaki?" O, that YOU. There it was in the big circle, glaring at him. The searchlight had got him. He must dodge it. Military aid was at hand. Nearly next door, under the picture of a boy in khaki, was this legend—"Make us as proud of you as we are of him."

The C.C. breathed again. He knew that a grateful country was as proud of him as the boy in khaki, and he felt a sort of uneasy comfort in the fact. Still another khaki figure with another legend—"He's happy and satisfied; are you?" The C.C. felt he would be when he was out of that room, but he had his "doots" about that boy in khaki, who, it was rumoured, had taken to "grousing"—the base ingratitude of the man! "It's our flag. Fight for it. Work for it." He had done so. And now, what is left of him, goes to Trafalgar Square and sings "For that flag we'll live and die." But the colour of it is red; and there are ugly hints that what he has learned on one field he may use on another.

"To the women of Britain: Some of your men-folk are hanging back on your account. Won't you prove your love for your country by persuading them to go?" And they persuaded them.

Let the curtain drop on the tragedy. "Stand not upon the order of your going, but go at once." So ran the poster. The C.C. went.

A few hours before a friend had been telling him of another "museum" that is not open to the public. Off a quiet square in the heart of London may be seen some of the finished products of the great war. Actual flesh, bone, brain and nerve, preserved in all their ghastly and hideous distortions. A veritable chamber of unprintable horrors.

As wisdom increases with knowledge, the question will be not "What did you do in the Great War?" but "What did you do to STOP the Great War?"

"There are three types of men—
Those who hear the call and obey,
Those who delay,
And—THE OTHERS."

(See poster). The ranks of "the others" are filling up. And the "war to end war" is yet to begin.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

OPEN-AIR MISSION CONTINUED.—We have resolved to carry on our open air work for another fortnight, at the end of which time, Oct. 18-24 inclusive, there will be a week's mission at Marble Arch. The following meetings are arranged: **FRIDAY**, 1st:—6.30, Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon; 7.30, Leytonstone, outside G.E.R. Station: Alfred Cordell, Rev. Frank Fincham, Violet Mortimer; 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: C. Paul Gliddon, Rev. R. W. Sorensen; 8.30, Walthamstow, Church Hill: Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. **SUNDAY**, 3rd:—Noon, Leytonstone, The Green Man: C. Paul Gliddon; 3.30, Hampstead Heath, Jack Straw's Castle: Marjory Bonar, E. Oakes. **MONDAY**, 4th:—7.30, Leytonstone, G.E.R. Station: H. W. Green, Muriel Lester, Violet Mortimer; 7.30, Tooting, The Mitre: C. Paul Gliddon, C. H. Offley. **TUESDAY**, 5th:—6.30, Marble Arch: Alfred Cordell; 8, Forest Gate, G.E.R. Station: W. H. Hancock, Muriel Lester; 8, Clapton, Kenninghall Road: C. Paul Gliddon, E. Oakes. **WEDNESDAY**, 6th:—8, Catford, near Town Hall: Horace Fuller, C. Paul Gliddon. **THURSDAY**, 7th:—6.30, Marble Arch: Rev. Frank Fincham; 8, Kentish Town, corner of Leighton Road: Marjory Bonar, J. B. Lief. **FRIDAY**, 8th:—6.30, Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon; 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Rev. R. W. Sorensen.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

AN OFFER OF SPEAKERS.

Dear Sir,—It might be of some interest to those responsible for obtaining speakers for Adult Schools, Brotherhoods, Debating Societies, etc., to know that there is a small group of people connected with the Fellowship of Reconciliation who are keenly anxious to lay before such organisations the very radical international and social implications they believe to be involved in the Christian Faith. These speakers do not pretend that their views are likely to prove particularly popular, they would only very humbly suggest they may be entitled to some consideration. If, therefore, your own Society would care to invite one of them to give an address, or even to arrange a debate, they would be very glad to try to serve in any way possible.

Perhaps it ought to be said that we are making this move as a result of the rather extraordinary success of considerably over a hundred open-air meetings held this summer. We have at these meetings been told to put our case before the members of the Churches from which we come. It is in the hope you may find us an opportunity of so doing that we now write to you. There are, of course, no speakers' fees.—Yours sincerely,

C. PAUL GLIDDON.

17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.
Sept. 18, 1920.

**CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH FELLOWSHIP
INTRODUCTIONS.**

Please help us to welcome the following:—

5443 (Leamington) who is anxious to link up with people who are prepared to do the rough pioneer work of forming a communal settlement in S. Wales; also to write to those in co-operative and communal experiments.

5441 (near Maidstone), who has lived in the country all her life, and is anxious to meet friends who will broaden her outlook on life, and whom she can help and encourage. She is a student of art and literature and much interested in people, old and young.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND NEW MEMBERS.

We acknowledge, with thanks, the following annual subscriptions:—P.M.A. (Hyderabad Sind, 1s. 6d.); L.E. (Rajnarag, India, 5s.); W.H.S. (Edinburgh, 2s.); W.M.D. (Brynmarw, 2s.); L.P. (Sunderland, 3s.); J.A.D. (Finchley, 2s. 6d.); G.V.K.R. (Bombay, 6s. 6d.); L.L. (Mansfield, 2s.); W.G.T. (Paignton, 2s.). And the following donations:—L.E. (Rajnarag, 10s.); W.F.L. (Mansfield, 6s.); H.K. (Manor Park, 1s.).

We welcome the following new members:—M.P.B. (nr. Maidstone, 5441, 2s. 6d.); J.H.D. (Leamington, 5443, 1s. 6d.).

THE FELLOWSHIP PAGE.

Four pages dealing with C.C.F. matters will be found in the October number of "Brotherhood" (2s. 6d. per annum, post free, single copies 2d., by post 2½d.), which may be obtained from the Fellowship Organiser, 53, Southern Road, Basingstoke.

CORRESPONDENCE.**THE FORCE OF THINGS.**

From a letter signed M.F.C.H. regarding the recent "Call to Christians" we quote the following:—

Dear Sir,—The signatories of "A Call to Christians" are unquestionably right in their statement that "the processes of war and blockade are a denial of our Christianity and a complete barrier to the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. And yet the Crusaders, who so heroically supported the adverse opinion can hardly be denied the quality of Christians. The fact is that since their time repeated and painful experiences—commencing in the World War—have taught us that "the process of war and blockade are a denial of our humanity and a complete barrier to human progress on earth." So much so that is Labour which recently took most effective steps to render war impossible in practice. Does it follow that to be a Christian of no use? Far from it; it is to be able to understand fully the Force of Things—a very different matter than to understand the sense of events and help others to enjoy their possibilities. For instance the "Call to Christians" is alluded to the "false value" so far accorded to "nationality." Christians dared to observe what is now going on under the natural pressure of circumstances in those young States emerging from the European chaos they would see how spiritual unity is getting prepared by God himself. . . .

OPENING CONFERENCE, Brotherhood Church, Southgate Road, October 3rd, at 3.30. A. Fenner Brockway, "The Road to Revolution."

THE CLASS WAR.—A series of Lunch Hour Addresses on this subject will be given at Devonshire House, 136 Bishopsgate E.C., from 1.20 to 1.50 p.m. on Mondays, Oct. 4th to Nov. 8th inclusive. Speaker: Oct. 4th, C. Roden Buxton

LEYTONSTONE, Burghley Hall, High Road. Service on **SUNDAY**, 3rd, at 6.30, conducted by C. Paul Gliddon. Address at 7 p.m. Subject: **THE OPPONENTS OF JESUS** (1) The Church.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Mr. Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

WHAT LABOUR THINKS.

DINNER-HOUR ADDRESSES on Social and Industrial Questions on Fridays at 1.25 p.m. at St Martin's-in-the-Fields Church, Trafalgar Square, W.C.2.

Oct. 8th.—"THE EDUCATION OF A WORKING MAN." Mr. William Strang.

Oct. 15th.—"THE CHRISTIAN SOLUTION OF THE PRESENT SOCIAL UNREST." Mr. Fred Hughes.

Oct. 22nd.—"THE MENACE OF UNEMPLOYMENT." Mr. E. Williams.

Oct. 29th.—"THE PROBLEM OF NATIONALISATION." Mr. Edward Whitlock.

ALL ARE INVITED.

Particulars from the *League of Faith and Labour*, 11 Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.4.

Funds are Urgently Needed to carry on this and other work.

Robert A. and Mary Sheldon need someone keen on running a simple house with minimum of labour and ready to help Betty (7½) and Norah (5½).—727 Chester Road, Erdington Birmingham.

Parasites and Producers.

WHICH ARE YOU?

Every person (prince or pauper) comes into the world a naked, helpless infant.

Every person (prince or pauper) needs food, clothing, and shelter.

Nature has provided plenty for ALL; but her provisions need preparation for man's use.

Every person (prince or pauper) should therefore prepare in that preparation, because—

Every person (prince or pauper) who does not do so causes other persons to do more than their share.

There are, in every community, a certain number of persons who are unable to do their share, on account of age or infirmity; there are also a certain number whose services are required by the community in other directions than in production and preparation of the necessities of life; these must, of course, be provided for by the others. This provision, necessarily, entails extra labour upon those who do produce or prepare; but, seeing equivalent service is rendered, it is not grudged.

But when persons (prince or pauper), from arro-

gance or pride or laziness, refuse to "do their bit" in production or preparation, they are parasites, and should be treated as such.

Nature has also provided sufficient room on the earth for all. There is no need for human beings to be crowded into barracks or tenements, slums, or hovels. The whole earth and all that it contains is intended by nature for man's use and welfare. No man has any inherent RIGHT to more than his fair proportion of the earth or anything that it contains. When any person (prince or pauper) claims or takes to himself more than his fair share of the things that nature has provided, he is not only a parasite, but a robber, and should be treated as such, for he is depriving his brothers and sisters of their fair share of what God intended they should enjoy.

Are you a producer and preparer, or a parasite?

R.B.M.

[The writer says that he who takes more than his share is to be treated as a robber. The question still remains as to how the "robber" is to be treated in a Christian Community?—Ed.]

Death the Putter-on.

By T. A. ELWELL.

The bishop felt a thumb-prod on his right shoulder. He turned round eagerly, for he felt sorely, although wedged in by an immense crowd. "What's the name of the firm, mate?" said the owner of the thumb.

"Firm?" said the bishop.

"Yes, or the name of the putter-on. Not that it matters much, for I don't reckon I shall get a job."

"Sir," said the bishop, "I think you are showing due levity on such an awful occasion."

"It is awful," agreed the first speaker, who was the owner of an expression that Zeno would have admired. "I knew there was a pile of men walking about, but I never saw a stand like this before. You could think all the world was here."

"It is," assented the bishop.

"He will have a lot of his regular men on," said the man, "but never mind, if we have no luck here we can try somewhere else."

The bishop shuddered. "Are you not afraid?" he said.

"Afraid of what?" said the man, and then: "Look here, mate! I have been doing this for the last forty years. Go where I think I will get a job. The putter-on picks a few men. One of them in front of me, one from behind me. Then he says, 'That's this morning.' Run round to some other stand. Chaps get picked. If not, go home and try again

at one o'clock. Don't jump for joy if I get a job, don't get too miserable if I fail. What's the use?"

"What did you—er—do you work at?" asked the bishop.

"I am a dock labourer," said the man.

"You have no idea of what is taking place here?" questioned the bishop. The man passed his hand across his brow.

"No!" he replied. "I was working at one of Budgee's boats, yesterday afternoon, and I remember a fall breaking, and I think I ran to push one of my mates from under a heavy case that was falling down the hatch. I don't remember going home, or anything else, till I found myself here."

* * * * *

"Something moving," said the man.

A rustle as of wind over ripe barley swept through the assembly. The bishop was trembling.

"Cheer up, mate!" said the man. "If I get a job here, and you don't, I will put in a word for you; and if I get a bob sub, you can have sixpence of it."

"Thanks, m-m-mate," said the bishop.

A voice, clear and piercing as the stars on a frosty night, but as sweet and thrilling as the thrush's song, called "John Collins."

"Here," cried the man, as he elbowed and shouldered his way through the throng.—"Daily Herald."

COMMON ACTION FOR INTERNATIONALISM.

A keen and critical audience attended the lecture arranged by the I.L.P. at the Kingsway Hall, on Friday, given by Jean Longuet, Charles Roden Buxton being in the chair.

The burden of the lecturer's opening remarks was that it is not the declaration of common principles, but common action which the world needs to-day.

He reminded us of a meeting in the same hall before the war, when Jaures and Anatole France, Keir Hardie, and others were present, and in lucid retrospect he recalled the efforts of Jaures on behalf of solidarity of the peoples. It was Jaures who, foreseeing the "inevitable" war, declared that it was not enough to vote and to pass resolutions.

At Basle, Jaures pleaded passionately against war. "I weep," he said, "for the victims of Capitalism in the Balkans, I weep for those who will die in the coming war."

Longuet insisted that there had been slackness, too rare meetings and too mild an attitude amongst Socialists before the war. Resolutions were not enough. Speeches in Parliament were not enough. A general strike of all workers was needed. When war broke out, the Majority parties in Belgium, France and Great Britain opposed a meeting of the International, and Germany for another reason also opposed. "There was a common sacrifice of Internationalism on the altar of Jingoism."

It is common to us all, urged the speaker, to make blunders, but what is bad is for us to go on making them.

Jean Longuet declared emphatically against the "monstrous peace" and that only a peace of the peoples was of any value.

It was clear that the audience was severely critical on the question of the "Third" International, and the Russian manifesto, but while supporting the Russian Revolution and its methods, the lecturer took the position that while we must support Russia against the plots of the bureaucrats, some of the principles upon which the Soviet Government depended could not apply in the West. He was not necessarily out against physical violence, but he believed that Russia was too isolated to-day to understand clearly the true International position. There was no bitterness in his mind against her, and he considered that eventually the International must be built round Moscow, but it must be an "International International, not a Russian International."

The whole survey was illuminating, and my mind throughout was forced into drawing a moral regarding "Christian" slackness, disunity, and want of effective "action." T.W.W.

The B.B.S.

The British Boy Scouts and the British Girl Scouts' Association has kindly sent us papers which show a laudable desire to keep out of the B.B.S. all rifle practice and military training. At the same time the Movement stands for "Defence not Defiance, and for giving a boy a proper training (ordinary and physical drill, signalling, first aid, etc.) which fits him to be of service when he is grown up, should the Empire need him, and many officers and senior scouts have laid down their lives in the cause of freedom and peace; it stands firm by the principles our brave men have fought and died for, and for all that the League of Nations means."

We would heartily welcome the anti-militarist spirit of the B.B.S., but we are compelled to see within it exactly that dangerous and anti-Christian principle of the right of self-defence at the cost of the life of another, that keeps the suffering nations still in the bogland of militarism. The movement is supported by the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, and we could wish that they could come right over to the side of the Swordless Christ, and lead our boys and girls to an even higher adventure than to kill for their country. Why not the Brotherhood Boy Scouts?

CRUSADER CENTRES OF ACTION.

BIRMINGHAM—

Mrs. J. H. Dearne, 332 Moat Road., Warley, Langley Birmingham.

BRITON FERRY—

Mr. D. Gibbon, Jesmond House, Waters St., Briton Ferry Glam.

DUDLEY—

Mr. J. Downing, 86 Park Rd., Netherton, Nr. Dudley.
Mr. W. E. Leedham, Canal Side, Netherton, Nr. Dudley.
Mr. S. R. Tilley, 4 Hampton St., Netherton, Nr. Dudley.

DUMFRIES—

Mr. G. Douglas, 95 Queensberry Street, Dumfries.

GLASGOW—

Mr. R. Barclay Murdoch, 48 Cumberland Street S., Glasgow.

HEREFORD—

Mr. Edmund Jones, St. Omer, Whitehorse St., Hereford.

LEICESTER—

Rev. Seaward Beddow, 108 London Road, Leicester.

LONDON—

Mr. G. Bickers, 133 Geere Road, Stratford, E. 15.
Mr. G. P. Coverdale, 38 Glengall Road, S.E. 15.
Miss E. Fall, 69 Morley Road, Stratford, E. 15.
Miss E. Martin, 18 Avon Road, Walthamstow, E. 17.
Mr. C. H. Offley, 43 Eastbourne Road, Tooting, S.W. 17.
Rev. R. W. Sorensen, 31 Palmerston Road, Walthamstow, E. 17.

NELSON—

Mr. R. Bland, 203 Barkerhouse Rd., Nelson, Lancs.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—

Rev. J. C. Spokes, Cambridge House, Rowlands Hill, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

NEWPORT—

Mr. Trevor C. Griffiths, 40 Oakfield Road, Newport, Mon.

PENRITH—

Mr. F. Lester, Forest Mount, Penrith, Cumberland.

READING—

Mr. J. T. Hull, 89 Grange Avenue, Reading.

SCUNTHORPE—

Mr. C. Allcock, Rose Cottage, Ashby Rd., Old Brumby Scunthorpe, Lincs.

These Crusader Centres of Action, as has been explained, are being organised with the object of enabling us at short notice to get into touch with various parts of the country, and, as occasion may demand, supply extra "Crusader" copies for special purposes. Volunteers are badly needed in the districts not yet represented and we should be glad to hear from readers who will act as our agents in their own localities.

Thus Frederic Harrison on the New Era in the "Fortnightly Review":—

A portentous sign of the New World in which we live is the suddenness with which rooted ideas are abandoned and dominant changes are made. Reforms that have been fought over for generations pass almost by consent. The franchise is doubled, women have votes and even exceed the male voters; Home Rule is carried by Unionist majorities against the Liberals; Labour becomes the New Rich, and the lower Middle Class whose fixed incomes are now sinking incomes, become the New Poor. Bishops and Deans invite Nonconformists to their cathedrals. The Minister of Education welcomes denominationalism in public schools. The House of Lords leads the way in Divorce. Socialism is advocated in academic, literary and aristocratic quarters. The biggest Empire on earth is transformed into the millennium of Labour. And the biggest republic on earth goes "dry" and retires from the world.

The Crusade.

RECONCILIATION WITH IRELAND.

The Farringdon Street Memorial Hall was filled with an enthusiastic audience on Friday evening last. The meeting was called by the F.O.R. to promote Reconciliation with Ireland. Mr. Hodgkin, who presided, read letters of sympathetic apology from Dr. Meyer, Robert Smillie and the Secretary of the League of Peace and Freedom.

Miss Maude Royden, in an eloquent speech, moved the resolution, "That this meeting of British citizens calls upon the Government to withdraw their troops and grant full self-determination to the Irish people, and also calls upon their Irish friends to respond by giving up methods of violence and trust wholly to reason and goodwill."

Mr. James Douglas, of Dublin, felt it a privilege to speak from the Irish point of view, for however strong the hatred of England might be there was not hatred of Englishmen. Some of Ireland's best friends were amongst the soldiers and no country with any respect for itself would ask them to do their work. Censuring several cases of order being maintained by Republican police, he said it was not so much the granting as the recognising of self-determination that was needed. Violence was not a part of Republican policy. The great mass of the Irish people do not want bitterness.

Mr. F. Pethick Lawrence, in seconding the resolution, said it was essential we should have imagination and attempt to understand one another. The peoples of the world are one and must live out their lives in their own way. They cannot be coerced into submission.

The Rev. Fr. John Baptist Reeves, O.P., in the picturesque garb of a Dominican Friar, supported. In opening, he made the very modest claim that every Catholic is entitled to hold whatever political opinions he chooses and entirely free to belong to whatever nationality God has placed him in! He had no wish to see the typical Englishman converted into a typical Irishman and vice versa. In a plea for tolerance he said we must recognise the difference was a religious one, and be prepared to look for reconciliation some other way. If we had seen the Irish country at prayers in the midst of their calamity, we would have been moved to tears. Most Irishmen think that military methods are intended to provoke. They don't know of your goodwill, if they did, they'd begin to hope. The problem could only be solved by reasonableness, good will and Christian methods.

The carrying of the resolution, with about two dissentients, brought a highly successful gathering to a close.

CONFERENCE OF THE CATHOLIC FRIENDS.

The conference of Catholic Friends, which was to have taken place at Whitby a few weeks ago, and which was unavoidably postponed, took place on Thursday, September 23, in St. John's schoolroom, Stockton-on-Tees.

The half-hour from seven to half-past was spent in silent prayer and meditation in St. John's Church, and the conference itself assembled at 7.30 p.m.

The programme included discussion of the report of the Lamineth Conference, and the practical ways in which the spirit of peace can be spread.

The conference expressed its gratification that the Bishops have expressed themselves as definitely as they have done on the subject of international relations, but deplored the fact that the Church always seems to wait for the State to give them the lead.

It was proposed that a letter should be sent to the chairman of the committee asking for a fuller explanation of their attitude towards the inclusion of Germany in the League of Nations.

On the following day Mass was said with special intention in several churches throughout the country, and those who were present at the Conference made a corporate communion at St. John's Church and had breakfast together immediately afterwards.

It is hoped that another conference may be arranged early in the New Year, and any who are interested are invited to be present.

It is also hoped that a summer retreat at Whitby may be arranged next summer.

WILFRED WELLOCK'S MEETINGS.

After the magnificent time we had with Wilfred Wellock yesterday, I feel it only just to write you. The Adult School which he addressed in the morning is exceptional in many ways, containing an unusual variety of opinion and interests. In fact, they are all intelligent and thoughtful men. I can assure you the work done by Wilfred Wellock yesterday cannot be measured by the numbers of those present. A critical body, and sometimes difficult to keep in order, he quickly inspired confidence. An able man, as they soon found out, and one brimful of enthusiasm for the great cause of human emancipation, his message was listened to with wrapt attention from beginning to end. Many spoke to me afterwards in terms of highest appreciation. One man, a large employer of labour, said to me: "You cannot listen to a man like Wellock, with a real message, and not be affected by his splendid enthusiasm."

We had a bigger meeting in the evening, both men and women being present. To a very appreciative gathering, Mr. Wellock dealt with the social condition of Central Europe at the present time. The facts, outlined in such an arresting manner, made a great impression. The speaker showed that there were unmistakable signs of a general break-up of the old régime. There is, he said, a definite struggle going on between two ideas—one, the materialistic conception of life which finds expression in the present socially-destructive commercial system; the other, in the idealism which is coming to the fore and which is embodied in the Christian Faith. The speaker contended that Christianity is the social revolution we need, but that its vital truths have been obscured by Custom, Convention, Social Prejudices, the Press, and the Pulpit. He made a powerful appeal to the thinking element in the community to do all in their power to free the revolutionary teaching of Christianity from these artificial barriers.

There is no doubt that Wilfred Wellock's visit has done much to create a new enthusiasm in our Adult School, and from many sources I was asked if it would not be possible to have his services again.

EDMUND JONES.

On Friday last the first meeting in the winter's campaign under the auspices of the Trades Council was held in Worthing, and was addressed by Wilfred Wellock. As Worthing is a pleasure resort, and the season is being extended, many supporters were not able to be present. Moreover propaganda meetings are always difficult in residential, non-industrial districts. Nevertheless, although the audience was not as large as could have been desired, the enthusiasm and determination of those present were most marked, and we had a really rousing time. Even the chairman was astonished, who had previously warned the speaker of the sluggishness of Sussex audiences. Many "Crusaders" were sold.

From Frau Kirchhoff, of Bremen, a prominent member of the Women's International League, we have received an enthusiastic letter of appreciation of the "Crusader," of Mr. Wellock's visit to Bremen, and of the splendid work that the pacifist bodies, particularly the Friends, have done in Germany, not only in relieving the hunger of the body, but the still more terrible hunger of the soul for friendship. She begs that we will make known this appreciation of the workers for peace in Germany. She describes a meeting she recently attended in Frankfurt-on-the-Main, which was addressed by Miss Wood, of America, on "Why the Quakers feed German children." "It was as if the spirit of love spread itself over the entire assembly," and adds "that if only that spirit could be made to grow there would be no more need to fear further wars." At this meeting it was moved by a German gentleman and enthusiastically passed by the vast audience, to name one of the streets of Frankfurt Quaker Street. Frau Kirchhoff, concludes her letter by citing the complaint of a young widow who had informed her that much of the relief work in Germany was done through bourgeois organisations, and that these would not give anything to people who belonged to the Left Wing, or Radical Socialist, movements.

[We are glad that Frau Kirchhoff has stated this fact and we trust that those English people who dispense relief in Germany will take note.]

SIDELIGHTS.

German Missions.

There was no qualifying or limiting clause to the command given by our Divine Saviour to His Apostles to go and teach all nations. Had He so desired, He could have added that the preaching of the Gospel was to be dependent on the approving nod of Caesar. But He made no such stipulation. As a matter of fact the preaching of the Gospel went on in spite of Caesar—and the blood of the preachers testified to the independence of their mission and the futility of Imperial wrath.

In their efforts to silence the voice of Christianity, the Roman Emperors showed great brutality certainly, but were free from the slightest suspicion of hypocrisy. They made no pretence of believing in the Gospel, of basing their Imperial rule upon it, or of following out its precepts.

It remained for an Imperialism of a much later date to profess itself Christian, to hold itself up as an exemplar of godliness, and at the same time to silence effectively the voice of Christ's missionaries by an arrogant and presumptuous imitation of the Divine command. "Go and teach all nations," said Our Saviour. "No, not all nations," interposes the modern Caesar. "I will decide where you may teach. You must have my permission. And if you are a German, the command of Christ—you can take my word for it—does not apply to you at all."

Incredible though it may seem, this is the attitude taken by Great Britain on the question of German missionaries.

During the currency of the war, when it was the Allied policy to foster national hatreds, and when even the Pope's prayer for peace and for the restoration of a feeling of brotherhood amongst the nations was censored, the Church could do nothing else but accept the staggering blow given by the withdrawal of 1,100 German priests, 850 German Brothers, and 2,000 German Sisters from the mission fields. This depriving of 500,000 natives of their spiritual guides was accepted as a temporary measure that would vanish when the war, with its passions and prejudices, would be over, and people returned to a sane and sober way of thinking. But alas! peace has come, and with it a bitter disillusionment.

Great Britain, victorious in war by the help of her own Catholic soldiers, and those of Italy, France, America, Canada, Australia, and Ireland, has declared war on the Catholic missions.—"Irish News" (Belfast), quoted in the "Catholic Times."

Hungarian Militarism.

The latest news coming from Budapest seems to prove that the eagle of Prussian militarism has found a new eyrie in Hungary. There the officers are considered a privileged class and enjoy all the advantages of a ruling cast. They strut about the streets in brand new, richly gold embroidered uniforms lording it over mere civilians as in the days which everybody thought had gone for good. In crowded restaurants, clubs and cafes, room is made for them at once, at booking-offices they never wait their turns in the queues but are attended to first. So it is only natural that everybody who wants to be anybody dons a uniform. The frequent street disturbances, particularly the attacks on Jews, are mostly the work of young students with the connivance, if not active participation, of the police and army. Jew-baiting is considered good sport and a highly meritorious game in these circles.

The Hungarian Official Journal recently published a decree whereby two Field-Marschals, one Major General and seventy-nine Colonels, all of them pensioned, have been reinstated into active service and eight Major-Generals promoted to Field-Marschals and eleven Colonels to Generals. The recent revelations at the trial of the murderers of Count Tisza and of the pogromists furnish further proofs of the preponderance of the officers over the civilian authorities. Austria which has practically no army and no desire to engage in armed conflicts, is a chief sufferer from this state of things. German Western Hungary which the Peace Treaty of St. Germain has conceded to Austria, could not be incorporated till now although the Treaty has come in force and the Entente has many times promised their assistance in annexing it. So it is but natural that the stronger States, like Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia and Rumania, are guarding themselves against Hungarian aggressiveness.—"Reconstruction," September, 1920.

The Third International Congress.

Writing on the Second Congress of the Third International, to which he was a delegate, John S. Clarke, in a refreshingly frank article in the "Worker" (Sept. 18, 1920), says:—

The utter incapacity of the Congress to legislate for the British movement was perhaps the most conspicuous fact there. Some of the tactics that were useful and successful in Russia would be grotesque failures if put into operation here.

The difference between conditions in this highly-organised, industrially-centralised, politically-compact and insular country, and mediæval, semi-barbaric, loosely-organised (industrially) and politically-infantile Russia is almost inconceivable to those who have not been there to see.

The Bolsheviks are masters of manœuvre and have absolutely nothing to learn from us in the conducting of their own affairs, but they know very little about British workshop conditions and organisation and less about British working-class psychology. Their knowledge of unofficial workshop action was nil, and their exaggerated idea of the influence of the Guild Socialists and certain political parties was positively ludicrous. This was due to the fact that they have had to depend on totally unreliable sources for their information. Books, semi-reformist periodicals, bourgeois papers, bourgeois people with Labour sympathies who have visited Russia, and that worst of all evils, special pleaders who can't see the World Movement because the rotten Party patriotism blinds them, have been responsible for the erroneous ideas of the Bolsheviks.

The New Times.

When, oh Peace! will you live in the blood of Man? in the flesh and blood of men and women? Humanity is still in her throes, and the pains of her tortured social conscience have not ceased thrilling the nations. The unity of all with human features is approaching achievement. What was not accomplished by the Roman Empire, nor by the Catholic Church, nor by Napoleon: the Unity of Mankind, is coming about in our own days. It is rising from the blood of the sacrifices of a long world-war, and from the blood of the Revolution streaming from land to land. The International of the Human Mind is triumphantly on the march. The true human life is awakening. The feeling of unity has taken root at last. It is our earnest duty to spread the roots, to create a real community of life. Onward and forward.—Otto Volkart.

"A Labour Parson."

Norwich, Sunday.—The Rev. P. S. Carden, the uncompromising Labour parson of Scott Memorial Church, Norwich, has offended certain members of his congregation by his appeal for the liberation of Lord Mayor MacSwiney.

Three members of the Scott family—in memory of a relative of theirs the church was founded—announce to-day that "the very gravest reasons" have driven them to resign all connection with the church.

Another former Church member states, that the Rev. P. S. Carden's statements are "a gross misuse of the office of a Christian minister."

Meanwhile the general body of church members has passed an emphatic resolution of confidence in Mr. Carden.—"Daily Herald," Sept. 20, 1920.

"If you see it in the 'Times' —"

"Innocent Imperialists who write us long letters about Great Britain's civilising mission, or about the supreme importance of protecting India at commanding vantage-points 2,000 miles away from the Hindu Kush, would be intensely surprised if they could peer behind the scenes. They would find the Government engaged in long and continuous discussions with the representatives of oil interests. The pleasant dream of the oil organisations is that they may get control of Mesopotamian oil on highly advantageous terms, while the British taxpayer, duly inoculated with imperial enthusiasm, pays the cost of a big permanent garrison to protect the oil wells."—"Times," Sept. 18, 1920.

Impending Ruin.

During the past year I have visited many countries of Europe, and in most of them I have found a sense of impending ruin.—Sir Philip Gibbs.

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The Outlook.

AS an instance of the way in which public opinion is manufactured by capitalist interests, the example given in this week's "Forward" is illuminating. After quoting a highly coloured picture of the irresponsible character of the miners in the Midland Area, our contemporary continues:—Had you seen that in the Press you might have believed it all, and cursed the miner: or perhaps you would have flamed with anger and cursed the Press; but in any case you would never know (if we didn't tell you) that that pernicious stuff had been posted to the newspaper offices "with the compliments of the Coal Association," and the warning note in big type that the information had been "Received from a reliable source. As, however, it is not sent out as an official statement by the Coal Association, I should be glad if you would not mention the name of the Association in the event of publication." It is surely a curious thing that an age which makes a boast of its scientific acquirements and its disbelief in all kinds of "authority" should have allowed itself to come so completely under the influence of an "inspired" Press as has this generation. The credulity of the Dark Ages is as nothing to that of a people which has elected Lord Northcliffe to the papacy, and chosen as its bible the columns of a hireling Press.

THE policy of postponement has found expression in regard to two controversies. From several quarters it has been proposed that "a Truce of God" should be proclaimed with regard to industrial disputes. Sir Charles Wakefield, an ex-Lord Mayor of London, has been suggesting five years as the period during which employers and employees should refrain from militant action. Again, we have the proposal, emanating from Viscount Grey, that the Irish question should be dealt with in a similar way. Briefly, his suggestions are that the British Government should continue to perform the function of government in Ireland during a period not to exceed two years, during which the Irish people themselves should draw up their own scheme of self-government under which they should be as free as the peoples of the great self-governing Dominions to settle for themselves how their country is to be governed; that for Great Britain and Ireland there can be only one foreign policy, one army and one navy, and that in these matters there can be no separation. These proposals are hopelessly inadequate and come at far too late a stage in the development of the quarrels in question. How, for instance, can a truce be called that shall leave unsettled the great question of unemployment? Are men now unemployed to remain in that condition till the allotted period expires? And, turning to Ireland, what is to happen during the two years mentioned by Viscount Grey to the dispossessed workers of Belfast? To settle the terms of an armistice would be as complicated a matter as to draw up final terms of peace.

* * *

THE continued survival (at the time of writing) of the Lord Mayor of Cork and his fellow hunger-strikers partakes of the nature of a miracle. And why should it not be a miracle? A whole nation is on its knees on their behalf, and they themselves are being sustained by the sacraments of their Church. Is there no room for the interposition of God in such cases? McSwiney is but carrying out the principle which he laid down months ago. "Not the side which can do most," he said, "will win, but the side which can endure most; only through suffering can freedom be won."



By What Authority?

The policeman, to look at, is not an imposing figure. Perhaps he has been too roughly handled by our satirists, (not to speak of our mobs), to have kept his pristine

dignity. The pantomime has burlesqued him. "Punch" has caricatured him, and, most deadly blow of all, Mr. James Stephens has given us a picture of him, in "The Charwoman's Daughter," as a lover. But in spite of all these attacks upon his authority, the policeman is still an awesome being. It is curious to see what advantages his official position gives him in a rough and tumble scuffle. Where another would feel compelled to enforce his will with his fist, the policeman has but to speak and it is done. It is true that the power behind him is that of penal institutions and that the unruly know that he has but to blow his whistle (literally or metaphorically) to call to his assistance the entire physical force at the command of the State, but that is not all. He represents the mystical authority of the community, and when he lays his hand on you it is as if some millions of your fellow creatures were taking hold of you.

This instinctive response to authority is a part of human nature. It used frequently to be said, and is still said by old-fashioned people, that the tyrannies under which mankind has suffered are the creation of kings and priests who have exploited the people's fears for their own interests. This naive account of the matter, however, fails to state who gave the kings and priests their position and power.

The need of authority is so great that we require it even to confirm us in our liberties. That, as Mr. G. K. Chesterton pointed out some years ago, is the meaning of charters. A charter is a recognition of certain liberties. Before you can get a charter you must get some "authority" to grant it. To draw up a series of demands and call that a charter is a misnomer.

If that be so, then the first requirement for any emancipation movement is that it shall acknowledge the authority on which its proclamation of freedom depends. Obviously, for the widest kind of liberty you need the highest kind of authority. As Mr. Chesterton says:—"Man was free, not because there was no God, but because it needed a God to set him free."

Recently I have been examining a number of documents issued by various bodies setting forth their conception of the new social order. There is a remarkable similarity about them, so much so that one wonders why the organisations responsible do not amalgamate. But this similarity, unfortunately, extends to a defect common to all. The ideals thus published are issued in the name of quite insignificant bodies of people to whom, apparently,

it has never occurred that anything more than their bare word is required to confirm our desire for the things contained in their programmes. In other words, they are unanimously silent on the question of any authority outside themselves. This is unfortunate, because directly they begin to act they will find themselves up against some recognised authority opposed to their designs. Probably it will be the State. To the opposition of this body they can bring only their own desires, ideals, or sense of what is "right." But why what they consider "right" should be carried into effect, they are unable to say. The only way to overthrow an oppressive authority is to invoke a higher. That is where God comes in. That is the place which Jesus Christ occupies in the Christian scheme of revolution. He confirms and authorises our ideals. He grants us the charter of our liberties. In His name, however insignificant we may be personally, we can confront any human institution in existence.

To work from this point of view is to lose the egotism that mars so many of the efforts of "progressive" people. We are but servants carrying out the will of our Chief. We have not drawn up a charter; we have accepted one. We are not declaring what we mean to get; we are publishing to the world the Good News of what has been given to us and to all men.

In deciding what is the will of God we must again subject our egotism to discipline. It is not enough to say that certain things "appeal to us" and certain other things do not. The conclusions to which many generations have successfully come are surely worthy of consideration even if they do not "appeal" to us. A deaf man who observed throngs of people sitting in Concert Halls while other men blew down brass instruments and thumped at a queer-shaped wooden box, might reasonably suppose that there was more in the performance than he had discovered. If he learned that mankind had been indulging in similar practices since the dawn of history, he would feel quite sure that somehow he was defective.

And yet people in whom the religious sense is small, sweep on one side, with a gesture of contempt, the thoughts and customs of nineteen centuries, as though the consistent testimony of so many generations was as nothing compared to the negative evidence of their own experience.

The exclusive emphasis given to "the rights of private judgment" is a species of egotism. Much as one admired, on the whole, the stand taken, during the war, by those who refused military service, one could not but feel that in some cases the stress was laid unduly on the individual's right to put his judgment over against that of the community. The case for the Christian Conscientious Objector lay, not merely in the evidence of his own conscience, but also in the fact that he belonged to a community of superior authority to the State, in whose charter it is laid down that we have the right to regard "as brother-men and treat accordingly those of all races and all classes."

Let me say again that the recognition of Authority is the essential condition for the enjoyment of freedom.

THE TRAMP.

On Anticipating the Revolution.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

The remarkable challenge issued by Stephen Hobhouse to Quaker employers will, I hope, at least have the effect of compelling the Society of Friends to get to grips with the facts of the present industrial situation. That it may even compel the Society to face up to those facts and declare itself uncompromisingly for "the Christian way of life" applied to every detail of our present social disorder is, perhaps, too much to hope for at the moment.

I am by no means convinced that the course proposed by Stephen Hobhouse is either the most rational or economic course to adopt. For myself, I am not keen on the "levelling down" process. My early experiences of slum life have left me with such a horror of that life that I would rather seek the least painful form of shuffling off this mortal coil than willingly return to such conditions. I do not want to see wealthy people giving up the comfort and decency which, under present conditions, only wealth can procure, merely to "pig it" in slums or in the Ministry of Health's "non-parlour" brick boxes. On the contrary, I want to see EVERYBODY as well housed and clothed and fed as are Quaker and other employers.

The kind of challenge I would issue to Quaker employers would be something on the following lines:—Let every Quaker employer who believes in "the Christian way of life" ask himself by what moral right he is entitled to his present standard of living, his well-built, roomy house, his servants, his facilities for travel, education, long holidays—in short, all that goes to make it so easy for people in such surroundings to live "saintly lives." (I do not mean to be offensive in this reference; but I do insist that in spite of much we hear to the contrary, it is easier to be godly when one is clean and well housed and clothed than it is when one is filthy and starving in a one-room tenement. I know; for I have tried both methods.) Let all Quaker employers, then, ask themselves this question, keeping in mind all the time the conditions of life of "the least well-housed of the hands of the firm."

I submit that no Christian employer can answer such a question in such a way as to permit of his continuing the existing relationship between himself and his least well-housed "hand" with a perfectly free conscience. If that be admitted, I would suggest to all conscience-stricken employers that they call their "hands" together at the earliest opportunity and address them in the following terms:—

"Friends, I have lately come to see that my present position in this industrial community is not in accord with much that I have said at religious meetings. Without going too fully into details, I want to say that I now realise that there is something wrong about a system which has given to me, as a

director of this firm, an income far in excess of that of the average worker whose labour produces that income, which means that I am able to live in a large house in ideal surroundings, with servants to wait on me, motor cars to carry me about; and everything that makes for comfort and decency and healthy living is mine for the asking. If I have a 'concern' to visit the remotest corner of the earth, or to render service in other lands, there is nothing to prevent me; if I feel in need of a six months' holiday abroad, I can take it; if I want to subscribe generous sums to foreign missions or relief work, I can do so without interfering with my personal comfort and without having to curtail my holidays or make any similar sacrifice.

"On the other hand, the vast majority of you, whose labour by hand and brain is so essential to the production of the wealth which I enjoy, are housed in conditions which I do not regard as satisfactory for myself; you have to exercise considerable care and economy in order to secure even the barest necessities of life; you cannot have the joy of life which comes from travel in other lands, from real education, from freedom from financial worries, from the 'feel' of good clothing, the comfort of a well-built house with all the latest labour-saving and other improvements. In a word, your position is almost exactly the reverse of mine in every respect.

"Now I want to do the right thing. I believe every one of you should be able to enjoy just those things which I regard as essential to the life of myself and my family. To that end I am prepared to make over the entire business to a committee of the most suitable people you can elect from among you. I am also prepared to continue to render every possible service to you in any capacity you may allot to me. But, above all, I want the wealth produced as a result of our collective effort so to be distributed that it may be possible for the standard of living of every one of you to be raised to that which I have hitherto enjoyed. If that may not be, I want you to discover the highest standard of living possible for all with the present standard of production, and I shall be happy to adjust myself accordingly until such time as we may be able to raise the general standard.

"I trust that the result of our action may be that the whole industrial life of the country may follow the example we are setting, and that our country may thus be saved from the horrors of a revolution brought about by methods of violence."

With Stephen Hobhouse, I believe "there will be more joy in Heaven over one such change . . . than over the life-long generousities of many conscientious stewards of wealth."

THE CRUSADERS' CHARTER.

OUR CALL AND OUR NEED.

It is to be hoped that every reader will study the Declaration of Dependence, republished, with certain changes, in this issue. We have tried in that Document to focus attention on the very centre of our message. This is our profession of faith, our charter of freedom. These are the things we most passionately believe. For them, week after week, we have been labouring. For that Message we are willing to labour and suffer still more.

"We raise a banner for those of all lands, all classes, all churches, in whose hearts is holy revolt against the reign of Mammon."

The Declaration of Dependence is not to remain buried in the pages of the present number. It will be republished from time to time in the "Crusader," and special space will be devoted week by week to its exposition. In addition, we hope very speedily to be able to print it as a separate leaflet, distributing it in thousands everywhere. It is to become the ensign of a wide movement.

THE FORWARD MOVEMENT THUS INAUGURATED WILL TAKE SEVERAL FORMS.

CREATE.

The first thing, obviously, is to create a body of thought and feeling in sympathy with our aims. Miss T. W. Wilson and Mr. Wilfred Wellock are devoting themselves entirely to an apostolate that will carry them throughout the country. Others will probably join them. Meetings will be addressed in Churches, Labour Halls, and wherever an audience can be found. Personal interviews will be sought. Ministers will be invited to take up the matter. The challenge to discuss the Declaration will be sent out far and wide.

We must get people talking about the Declaration. We must get them to think about it. We must get them to act upon it.

UNITE.

Another function we must exercise is that of giving a sense of unity and cohesion to all those who are drawn into the movement. Those in isolated districts, those who stand alone in their Church or their Socialist party, must be made to feel the presence with them of a great host. The "Crusader" will play a large part, it is evident, in this work. Its columns will be open to the discussion of questions relating to our Message. Reports will be published of meetings held and progress made. Our travelling speakers will form another link. Their visits will enable those in the provinces to come face to face with those responsible for the movement. Thus will be created a spirit and loyalty to

one another and a corporate sense of devotion to the cause.

MOBILISE.

But no less important than these will be the need, on occasion, to mobilise all our forces for immediate action. Crisis succeeds crisis, and we know not what a day may bring forth. That there should be the means of marshalling Christian thought and conviction on these occasions, and publishing to the world the Mind of Christ as we understand it, is imperative. We have waited for the Churches to speak till their silence has become intolerable. But the expression of Christian faith at these times must be organised, and the only means of doing this is to create a body such as we propose, ready to act at a moment's notice.

Our Centres of Action must be multiplied until their number enables us, in a few hours, to set the necessary activities going through the length and breadth of the land.

THE WORLD IS DYING FOR WHAT WE CAN GIVE.

To issue an appeal of this kind at any ordinary time would be to invite ridicule. But the sense of impending ruin that hangs over the world to-day demands drastic remedies and unprecedented sacrifice. This is no time for giving of our superfluous wealth. The Day has come when we shall be asked, in order to save Humanity from an incalculable disaster, to strip ourselves of all that can be of use in averting the tragedy.

Men and women, some of you have been growing uneasy as to the sources of your wealth. But you have sought in vain a means of escape from the false positions in which you have been placed. This is your opportunity. Here are men and women waiting to go out in your name to preach the Gospel of the Kingdom of God. Will you send them?

YOU MUST HELP TO DO THIS OR IT CANNOT BE DONE.

Just as this vision of service dawns on us and vistas of opportunity open up to us, we are made aware that even to maintain our present work a large increase of income is needed. There is no mistake about the fact. In spite of economies effected we cannot pay our way. Each copy of the "Crusader" we send out costs us, irrespective of propaganda work, approximately 5½d. The work that has been outlined above will demand not hundreds but thousands of pounds if it is to be done as it needs being done.

Will you take a share in this?

Will you do so at once?

If so, fill in the form on page 6 and forward it to us.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

I wonder how some of the Congregationalists at the Autumn Assembly at Southampton liked Lord Hugh Cecil when he bluntly told them that war and Christianity could not go together. I remember that there were some Congregational ministers who lost their pulpits a little while ago for venturing to say that. The "Christian World" reports the brave Lord Hugh as saying to the Union: "It was certainly incongruous with Christianity to teach that one good Englishman should kill one good German over some difference of political opinion." That rather took the halo off the recruiting sermons. Then the speaker went on to tell them what kind of war it was that so many of them had supported. "The war of 1914-18 was not the sudden breaking forth of violent passion—it was the war of a deliberate mechanism of war against other deliberate mechanisms of war, and the existence of these mechanisms pointed to the idea in the minds of the statesmen of all nations that war was a normal and inevitable thing."

"Deliberate mechanism versus deliberate mechanism"! That was a hard saying, surely, for those of Lord Hugh's hearers, who had so often, and so eloquently, told people how entirely unprepared we were. Another halo was off, or at least very badly damaged, and the gleeful pacifists were enjoying themselves. Then came that further statement:—"In the minds of the statesmen of ALL nations, war was considered NORMAL and INEVITABLE"! More pacifist chuckles, and more halos missing—this time from the heads of some of our dearest political saints. Really, it seemed as though nothing was going to be sacred to this extraordinary speaker.

What made the great war unique? Its ideal purpose? Oh dear, no! Lord Hugh explained to the Union that "it was the linking together of all the resources of civilisation with the wicked purpose of war that made the late war unique." The war, he roundly declared, was the "union of the highest civilisation with BARBARISM." Dear, dear me! Yet another casualty among the shining halos. I notice that when Lord Hugh came forward to speak he was given a most enthusiastic reception, the audience standing up to cheer him. He had come to address the Union on the League of Nations. The remarks I report were evidently intended to clear the ground.

Another outspoken utterance, reported in this week's religious papers, was that of Dr. Selbie, preaching at Northampton. "Ninety per cent. of the people of this country," he affirmed, "were totally ignorant of what Christianity really was, and it showed that if the Church had done her duty she had done it in the wrong way. A revolution was needed in the teaching of Christianity. The Free Churches were tied to tradition. They liked the old easy ways and did not like to be stirred up at all." We agree with Dr. Selbie. A revolution is needed in the teaching of Christianity, and that

is precisely why we publish the "Crusader" and invite those who want the revolution to join us heart and hand. The present appalling situation, both in the world and in the Church, seems to us a call to service, not a reason for despair.

We may properly draw encouragement from utterances like those of Lord Hugh Cecil and Dr. Selbie. Here and there a bold voice is heard. The truth, little by little, is being made known. If the people are not yet at anything very constructive, they are at least discovering that they have been pretty generally fooled by their pastors and masters. In the "Methodist Times" a frank leading article provides yet another sign of the spreading disillusionment. I quote. "Without honesty in business, sincerity in politics, and straightforwardness in diplomacy, peace and prosperity can never return to us. But we were promised all these qualities in the reformed society that was to follow the war. Instead of that, it is no exaggeration to say that in all these particulars we have suffered loss. The whole standard of public and private truth has been debased. The declension began with the censorship of the Press, which was a necessary evil during the war. News was doctored and doled out to us according to the political and international needs of the hour. When the party spirit returned to political life, it became necessary for the Government to buy up its own Press for propaganda purposes, and the necessity still remains. We no longer ask when a Government statement is issued, or when it is allowed to drift innocently into the news columns, 'Is it true?' but, 'What are they getting at now?'"

The article next takes up the question of the Peace, and we find the following: "We were led astray at the Treaty of Paris and have never been able to get straight again since. Mr. J. M. Keynes, in his 'Economic Consequences of the Peace,' formulated an argument for fair-play as a wise expedient. Mr. Keynes resigned his position as British economic adviser because he considered that the principles of justice were violated by the Treaty and that the consequences would be disastrous. His book remains unanswered as a painful revelation of the triumph of cynicism over the idealism of the war."

By such plain talking the "Methodist Times" has earned the gratitude of many. What is said about the Peace Treaty is, I think, specially useful. Such a clear-cut statement in a denominational paper will be of immense value to those in the Churches who are still wavering on the matter. It is just this sort of leadership that is needed and has been lacking in the Churches. Of course, there ought to have been, from the very first, a repudiation of the Peace Terms, on moral and Christian grounds, by all the leaders of the Churches, and by all the papers connected with the Churches. One is thankful to know that the "Crusader" ranged itself with the few who protested from the beginning.

Our Allies.

THE FIGHTING LINE AND THE HOME BASE.

During the war we were constantly reminded that the fighting line was dependent on the home-base. Munition workers, coal-miners, and others were told that on their efforts, no less than on those of our soldiers, depended the issue of the conflict. The argument was perfectly sound. In such a war as that which we have waged the whole community plays its part.

The same is true of such an advance movement as that represented by the "Crusader." The pioneer is dependent, however disinclined he may be to confess it, on those who do not share with him the perils of his adventure. In quiet studies, libraries, lecture rooms, far from the din of strife, busy minds are preparing the spiritual and intellectual munitions, without which he could not conduct his campaign. Where would a Wesley have been without the stores of information and the mental discipline he acquired in the early Oxford days of his life? How much did Livingstone owe to the scientists with the results of whose researches he enriched his mind and by whose help he was equipped for his explorations? Could the Socialist propaganda speaker carry on his activities if it were not for the army of Sociologists preparing his munitions for him?

There is another, and an even more important, way in which the activities of the pioneer are seconded by those who safeguard and build up systems of learning and organised institutions. The effects of an emotional appeal prove ephemeral unless they can be conserved by the work of those who labour on more permanent lines. Enthusiasm must be directed towards some body of thought or institution in which it will be disciplined and enabled to serve some deep, strong, abiding current of thought and activity. Socialism would have perished from the face of the earth if it had depended on the street-corner orator. It is because the orator is able to introduce his converts to organisations painfully built up, and to an economic system laboriously wrought out by innumerable men and women hidden in the background of his more dramatic activities, that Socialism is to-day a force to be reckoned with.

The quarrel between the apostle and the institutionalist is of a long standing nature. The Pauls and the Peters of every movement are liable to undervalue each other. Sometimes the Peters excommunicate the Pauls, as the Anglican Church excommunicated Wesley; sometimes they succeed in introducing the spirit of compromise into advance movements, as the Roman Church did in the case of Francis of Assisi. On the other hand, the apostle not seldom takes the bit into his mouth, separates himself in disgust from those whose vocation is institutional, and, in consequence, sees his work evaporate and come to nought.

But the apostle and the institutionalist need each other. They are allies, and must work in conjunction. The natural impatience of each with the other must be overcome. Only so can the Church derive the full benefit of the labours of its more militant members. Only so can those members see the full fruits of their sacrifices conserved and carried forward to the future.

THE Declaration of Dependence Fund.

*In support of the effort to extend the work
of "The Crusader," I have pleasure in
enclosing the sum of £* : :

Name.....

Address.....

To "THE CRUSADER,"

23 Bride Lane, Fleet Street,
London, E.C. 4.

THE "CRUSADER" IN GUERNSEY.

A Guernsey correspondent writes:—"You will be interested to know that I sent a 'Crusader' article to our local paper, 'The Star.' It was replied to by Government Secretary, Correspondence followed. Later the editor

asked me to write an article on 'Revolutionary Christianity,' which I did, getting my material from W. E. Wilson's article in the 'Venturer' on 'Christian Social Revolution.' You will also be interested to hear that we are trying to organise an opposition to the re-introduction of the Guernsey Militia Service Act. The 'Crusader' is the paper that I like the best. It is, I expect, a hard struggle to keep the paper going, but it would be a great loss if it ceased publication."

Do friends realise the trouble and expense involved in sending out reminders of accounts owing? The office staff would regard it as a great favour if all to whom this applies would forward amounts owing at their earliest convenience.

Towards the New World.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

The only life worth living is that which is inspired by vision; all others are prison existences, no matter whether they be enacted in pot-houses or in palaces. Without vision there can be no fundamental change either in the life of an individual or of a State. And just as individuals degenerate and become spiritually dead unless some tragic circumstance or the guidance of some friend comes to the rescue, so is it with nations.

Our country, our England, is at this moment in a condition of rapid moral decline, and unless it can be persuaded to adopt a quite new view of life, to revolutionise its method of conducting its affairs, its outlook, its moral and social assumptions, its relationships with its neighbours and the relationships between its members, it must prepare itself for disturbances of a far-reaching character. Greed is destroying the world; a new principle, that of service, must restore and rejuvenate it. Never was it truer than it is to-day that "the old order changeth, giving place to new."

In our pages this week is a Declaration which we are asking you to accept and sign. It states, so far as general terms can, the conditions and relations which must exist in the world of the future, in the only world that can abide in the future, and may be said to embody the principles and the programme for which the "Crusader" has stood from the beginning.

Unceasingly we have declared that the social change we need cannot come out of petty reforms inspired by a desire for Law and Order or even for "justice," but must be the outcome of a vision. Without vision we cannot take a single step towards real emancipation; as every social and industrial event, not excluding the present miners' dispute, proves.

Thus we would cry from the house-tops: Men and women, look for a vision! Remember that without vision nothing that you do will be worth while, will abide, whereas with vision you will take the straight path to liberty and be able to continue therein until you win it.

It is a question of all or nothing. For that reason we believe in revolution and have no faith in Parliaments or other assemblies wherein men, divided by powerful spiritual antagonisms, meet together to barter and to compromise, and in diverse ways to get the better of one another. The time has come for petty bickering about pence to cease and for a gigantic attempt to be made to appeal to the imaginations of men, capitalists and workers alike.

The great task for us to-day is to present to the people, the entire community, pictures of the new world we would see, descriptions of the simple, beautiful relations which ought to exist between men, of life freed from the fear of poverty and unemployment, and in which every individual possesses full right of self-expression. If all the workers for social emancipation would concentrate

upon such a campaign, we believe that the New World could be established speedily.

The churches are decrying the growth of the class war, but that war is growing and will continue to grow until classes are abolished. It is for the complete abolition of classes, and thus of the privileges upon which they rest, that we uncompromisingly stand, and we plead for a great crusade whereby this issue shall be brought before every individual, every professing Christian in the country—nay, throughout the world.

What a glorious release of spiritual force the communalising of property, of the means of production, would accomplish! The soul, thus freed, would seek expression in ways that would fill the world with wonder and grandeur. For the first time during centuries the souls and the imaginations of men would have a chance. Men and women everywhere would begin to breathe, to live! By abolishing rent, poverty, interest, you would free industry from ten thousand encumbrances, make it as mobile as potter's clay. Whatever the people needed, machinery could be made for its production and taken to where the people were idle. Moreover, it would be to the interest of the State to allow every member of the community to do what he or she desired to do. If there were jobs that no one particularly desired, special advantages would be given to those who did them. And if there were not enough work for all when all needs were satisfied, then, obviously, people would only need to work six hours or five hours per day instead of eight hours.

But even as wonderful and far-reaching in its consequences would be the freeing of society from convention, from enslaving custom, from fashion and the vicious morality of a class-dominated society. No classes! Think of it! No poor to be looked down upon, no rich to be looked up to because of their riches! Real independence, a true commonwealth. No value but in personal worth, no respect but for service. A world in which every man might find his soul and express it; in which truth and beauty might come into their own. A world of souls seeking to serve their fellows, to beautify the earth and to enjoy beauty and fellowship.

We want believers in such a world, for only those who believe in it can possibly create it. To-day men squander their energies in all kinds of useless agitations because they are too timid or too much in haste to read their own hearts and the signs of the times. We want more daring, more of the spirit of adventure; but without vision we can have neither.

The only thing that can cause men to give up their wealth is a vision of a sinner, a fuller and freer life, and such we must give them by one means or another.

A DECLARATION

1

Nearly one hundred and fifty years ago the American Colonies, driven to desperation by the action of a British Government, issued a Declaration of Independence.

Political, social, and economic tyranny has reached a point to-day far in excess of that endured by the colonists who revolted in 1776. Its effects are felt over the whole world. An evil power seems abroad poisoning the minds and consciences of men, turning the thoughts of Governments from peace, hardening the hearts of the rich, and embittering the souls of their victims. We seem to be on the verge of a material and spiritual collapse, whose consequences would be beyond our imagination.

It is these circumstances that have given birth to what may be called

A DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE.

1. We appeal beyond kings, parliaments, and constitutions, to the God of the Peoples, of Whom long ago it was written:—

“He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their heart.
He hath put down princes from their thrones,
And hath exalted them of low degree.”

To Him Who has raised to the Throne of the Universe the Carpenter of Nazareth, and promised to Him all the Kingdoms of the World, we commit our cause. We invoke His Spirit. We declare our dependence upon Him and Him alone.

2. Dependence upon Him involves dependence on one another. His power is made known to us in association and co-operation. We raise a banner for those of all lands, all classes, all churches, in whose hearts is holy revolt against the reign of Mammon. Our need is one. Our prayer is one. Our God is one. We cannot dispense with each other. When we come together He will stand in our midst, Who is the Terror of the mighty and the Hope of the weak.
3. We cannot work independently of the industrial and economic conditions of our times. As the navigator must study tides and winds in order that he may make the best use of them for his purpose, so must we learn to understand the material conditions of our age in order that we may overcome and utilise them. Capitalism, as it develops in organised power, has created a vast mass of propertyless workers, whose only hope of economic salvation lies in the organisation of their forces. These very conditions create for us an opportunity which is the call of God. On all these we depend. There is not a wind that blows that may not be used to speed us to our haven.
4. Seeing that our strength is in God and in His working, there is no limit to our expectations. The mighty empires of man, the resources of material wealth, the cunning of subtle minds, are powerless to resist the omnipotent Word declaring “Let there be Light, Liberty, Love.”

The specious plea that certain evils are inevitable, that certain compromises are unavoidable, that “human nature being what it is,” we must

DEPENDENCE.

content ourselves with methods otherwise regrettable, does not deceive us. In view of our dependence on God, we are independent of armies and navies, police courts and prisons, the dishonesties of political life, the falsehoods of the Press, and utterly refuse to avail ourselves of them.

No institution is too ancient or too deeply entrenched to be overthrown. Standing amid the glories of the Temple of Mammon and jostled by the thronging crowds of his worshippers, we prophesy that to-morrow not one stone shall be left standing upon another, and that in its place shall arise the City of God.

A CHARTER FOR ALL PEOPLES.

5. Emboldened by this faith, we accept as a charter for all peoples the assertion that—

IT IS THE WILL OF GOD that all shall enjoy the blessings of health, home life, education, leisure, travel, and art, and be able, in the Family-life of His Kingdom, to develop their personalities by every pure and noble activity. In that Society, boys and girls will be free from the burden of labour. Men and women will work according to ability through their years of full strength. There shall be no difference of status, for all shall own and control the means of production and all shall serve the community. The children, the aged, and the infirm, will share fully in the common results of labour.

In this world-wide community each nation shall have its place, and in the service of all each race shall find its own life nourished.

GOD WILLS IT, and, therefore, with human faith responding, it shall come to pass, not in some far-off century, but NOW.

6. In what way must the faith act that is to realise this vision?

Faith in God, for the dispossessed, must mean faith in themselves and their destiny. They must throw off the habits of servility, and, by education, organisation, and moral discipline, prepare themselves for the responsibilities to which they are called.

To others the acceptance of this Declaration of the WILL OF GOD will mean entering fearlessly upon the adventure of abandoning all privilege of title, control of natural resources and accumulated wealth, and working actively and faithfully to create a life of security for all.

In the Middle Ages, when Europe mustered its forces for the crusades, the cry that rallied the peoples to the banners of the nations engaged was "Deus Vult"—God wills it.

The Holy Land we march to conquer to-day is the sacred soil of the whole earth, which is given for the joy of all and the selfish ownership of none. But our rallying cry is the same:—

DEUS VULT
GOD WILLS IT.

Theatreland. The Right to Strike.

If it be true that there is a time for everything, certainly the present were the time for plays on the right to strike. I use the plural advisedly, for after witnessing the play by Mr. Hutchinson the other night, I came to the conclusion that there was room for at least another. And perhaps all the more so because the play now being presented at the Garrick Theatre is a powerful production which, especially in these days of increasing industrial unrest, promises to have a large vogue, possibly larger than any other serious play now being acted in London.

Rarely have I witnessed such outbursts of excitement from the well-dressed portions of a theatre. For once the stalls rivalled the gods in their freedom of expression. At times the effect was startling. The war on the stage was extended to the auditorium. A statement by the Socialist agitator was greeted by cheers from the gods, while the retort from a doctor serving as a blackleg found an equally voluminous response in the stalls. Had anyone present, instructed by the capitalist Press, been under the impression that theatre stalls were usually occupied by miners and railway workers and their wives, they would have been puzzled. Let it be said, then, that "The Right to Strike" stirs up class feeling from beginning to end, even by the melodramatic scenes at the close, which are supposed to be an appeal to Christianity. There is something unreal about those final scenes, something that jars, but I will speak about them later.

Frankly, I do not like the play, and my reason for not liking it is that it is not fair, does not present the whole truth. It puts the point of view of the Law-and-Order-defending Middle Classes, that respectable section of the community which believes in "justice" and "fair play," and objects to being inconvenienced, and certainly to being held at ransom by unruly workers and "shameless agitators." It condemns strikes, particularly on this last-named ground, but what it overlooks is that capital is always and increasingly holding up the community to ransom. One of the "telling" passages of the play is where the blackleg, Dr. Wrigley, states that this country, having just successfully secured its liberty against the threats of an enemy without, is not going to yield that liberty to an enemy within. But the obvious retort is that in "normal" times three-quarters of the community is deprived of liberty by an unscrupulous few who, by means of combination, "wars for liberty," etc., control and thus set their own price upon almost all the commodities upon which the life of the nation depends. But, of course, doctors and the like do not feel this tyranny, and so are able to utter high-sounding heroics in denunciation of workers who decide not to tolerate longer what the Dr. Wrigleys are afraid of enduring for a single week. Practically all strikes are in reality protests against the conduct of those who hold up the masses to ransom. Mr. Hutchinson does insert one sentence in support of

this view, but that is all, and it is not enough.

"The Right to Strike" will undoubtedly convince the classes, workers who do not think, and—by reason of certain deliberate appeals to feminine sympathy—women generally, that the workers have not a right to strike; whereas the thinking sections of labour it will probably infuriate.

But there are other vital questions connected with strikes which this play does not face. For instance, when the workmen strike they only do in fact what the capitalists do when they refuse to grant better wages or conditions. To refuse to give his labour is the worker's equivalent to the capitalist's refusal to give his wealth. But the former act involves depriving the community of goods, whereas the latter involves depriving the workers only of goods—and, incidentally, of liberty also. And where liberty is concerned it is not possible to calculate duty in terms of suffering. Also it must not be forgotten that in a strike the strikers suffer most. Furthermore, most believers in liberty would be prepared to suffer many inconveniences, if need be, in order to secure liberty for a number of their unfortunate fellow-men.

One of the most pitiable bits in the play is where the inevitable conference of masters and workers lapses into a discussion of equality. The workers object to some people being born with £100,000 to their credit and others nothing. To this Dr. Wrigley retorts with the remark that some are born blind, others with weak hearts, etc.—at which the stalls cheer vociferously. It is deplorable!

But to come to those concluding scenes. They grated on me terribly. The strike is over and the men have won, but the strike-leader's wife is about to be confined, and she needs the special skill of Dr. Wrigley, whose chum (a doctor acting as a blackleg) has lost his life as the result of a transport motor accident caused by foul play. For striking his name has been crossed off the roll of physicians. He refuses to attend the needy woman. But after much talk on the part of the wife and father (also a doctor) of his deceased comrade, he yields, and with this act the play closes. In these final conversations much is said about justice, Christ, the Cross, suffering, etc., which is intended to reflect upon the entire question of strikes, but what is obvious throughout is that the existing social order with its class distinctions, its millionaires, and its starving masses, is taken for granted. Thus, to call that talk Christianity is to make Christianity odious to every thinking man and woman.

As I left the theatre my impression was that unless the situation can be saved by a powerful Christian revolutionary movement, a fiercer struggle looms ahead than probably most of us imagine, but I was convinced that no help towards such a movement was to be found in the play I had just seen,

W.W.

Equality or Fraternity ?

The French Revolution wrote upon its banners the three words, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." But these three words were not pronounced with the same emphasis. Events proved that more importance attached to the first two than to the third. In France, instead of the nationalisation or socialisation of property, peasant proprietorship was instituted; in England and elsewhere the ideal of those who followed in the wake of the revolution was "equality of opportunity"—an ideal not inconsistent with the most ferocious competition.

Many who are dissatisfied with the Capitalist system believe that its evils could be overcome by a more equal distribution of property. Mr. Belloc, for instance, argues that private property cannot be abolished without introducing what he calls "the Servile State."

Is the sharing-out principle practicable?

The theory that all Society needs is that each individual should be allotted, for his private use and enjoyment, an approximately equal share of the world's wealth, does not fit the facts. However possible it may have been at certain stages of social progress, it is not possible to-day. The conditions of industry and commerce forbid it. The factories, mines, railways, cannot be divided up like an allotment field. The more advanced agricultural operations of the present time would be impossible under a system of peasant proprietorship. Economy demands co-operation. Capitalism has introduced methods of production which demand the massing of both capital and labour. And it was precisely because this method was found more economical than the old individualistic methods that there was, at the time of its introduction, some justification for its adoption. It made possible the use of machinery on a large scale, with the consequent increased production. To bring about that result was capitalism's historic mission. To go back on that achievement would be a retrograde step. The next stage must be the taking over by the community of these large scale industries organised by capitalism.

Would it last?

But there is a further objection. Such a system of small ownership would not be stable. It could not prove permanent, but would speedily introduce the old conditions. This has been well put by N. Bukharin in an article in the current issue of "The Workers' Dreadnought." He says:—

If by our division we had succeeded in increasing the class of small owners, the following result would be observed: A part of them (a very large part), would on the very next day dispose of their gains in some junk-shop, and their property would in this way soon fall into the hands of the more well-to-do owners; among the others there would arise conflicts for the sale of their materials; and in these conflicts the well-to-do would get the best of the poorer. The poor would soon become still poorer, and would by this process be converted into true proletarians, while the richer would become still richer and would gradually be transformed into true capitalists.

Thus, we should finally return, after some time, to that very structure of society which we have just destroyed. We should very soon find ourselves once more confronting the self-same trough of capitalistic exploitation.

It seems obvious that, as Bukharin says in another passage, "a mere dividing up will throw capitalism out by the front door, to admit it a little later through the rear entrance. The only solution of this difficulty is a fraternal (Communitic) society of workers."

The Moral Question.

It is sometimes argued that the possession of private property develops personality. The child who has been given a little plot of ground which he may cultivate for himself acquires an interest in gardening and a sense of individual responsibility which he could not otherwise have attained. In like manner, it is said, the average citizen needs some play for his individuality. There is, of course, undoubted truth in this, and one of the gravest indictments of our present method of distributing property is that it deprives the vast majority of men and women of the opportunity for this.

The objection would have more weight if what was contemplated was some hard and fast bureaucratic state. But Communism does not so envisage the future. Each industry, in its own sphere, will be self-governing. The workshop will be the final basis of authority. The worker will learn to take a pride in his guild. The sense of individual responsibility will be developed in conjunction with the sense of social responsibility. The two are not inconsistent with each other, but rather complementary. Just as in a football team each plays his best not only for the sake of his own reputation, but also for the sake of the team, so in industry we may expect that the individual and the corporate sense of responsibility will be found to require each other.

Just as the capitalistic accumulation of wealth served a purpose in preparing the way for Communism, so private property has performed a necessary mission in cultivating certain moral qualities. The child's bit of garden teaches him that if he desires to raise flowers he must not run over flower-beds. He learns as an individual what he will be required to remember as a unit in society. By and bye he will develop a social conscience which will enable him to take the same care of public parks that he once took in his own private possession. Men have, in some cases, learned through having entire control of some piece of property the capabilities of that particular domain. They have built finer houses, acquired more beautiful pictures, organised their businesses more efficiently, because these belonged to them. But the acquisition of the knowledge and skill thus secured must now be devoted to the community in a spirit of corporate loyalty. Communism is not only economically necessary, it is morally necessary also if the higher traits of personality are to be developed.

Bookland. Bolshevik and Gentleman.

Under the above title, Robert Muller, of Vienna, has just published a brochure of some 60pp., through Erich Reiss, Berlin, in which he makes some very interesting comparisons between Bolshevism and Democracy, or, rather, between the Eastern and Western methods of constructing the new social order which the failure of Capitalism, exhibited in the suffering, waste, and ruin in every part of the world to-day, has rendered inevitable. There is a freshness and force about some of Muller's comparisons which it were a pity to lose, and so I will let the author speak for himself.

"The system of the West (so-called democracy) is held down by stiff, impregnable convention, while the method—it is too naive to be called a system—of the East (Bolshevism) is controlled by an intuitive mind, the spontaneous grasping of the social situation as occasion demands. The West is calculative and phlegmatic, the East is all aglow and incalculable. In the West, race prejudice rules, but in the East, under Bolshevism, races come together like many waters to a great reservoir, uncultured in the Western sense though they be. Bolshevism is not a pure Marxist movement, but a self-formed structure, like Pauline Christianity, modified by Hellenic elements and Northern influences. In Bolshevism, many national, racial, and religious streams come together. And the achievements of these naive Asiatic peoples without technique, ignorant of scientific economics, through the adoption of the idea of Marxist Communism, cannot be overestimated. That Turks, Kurds, Afghans, Hindus, and Chinese, should have entered into definite relationship with Moscow, and that Lenin should have so easily and naturally entered into relationship with leaders of such varied character, shows not only the vigour of this new Eastern type of political leader, but is evidence of a productive power and a passion for creation which put the protective, foresighted policies of our Western "gentlemen" into the shade. The Law and Order fanatics of the West have cried out in holy horror against the leaking apparatus of the Bolshevist Government, yet it must be genially acknowledged that men like Lenin have often accomplished more in two or three days than Western Ministries have done in as many months."

"In spite of all the criticisms of trembling Western statesmen, Russia's exhibition of political power, of capacity for world organisation, for creating order out of chaos, are unparalleled in history. Her leaders have with ease and dispatch settled all the minute difficulties connected with a large number of Border States settlements, difficulties which the 'phantasyless' heads of Western rulers would have converted into interminable sources of disease and despair. The incompetence of the West is proved in the 'finely' laid Polish policy, whereas Russia, proceeding in straightforward fashion, makes a satisfactory map within a few days, and abides by it.

"Also, from the first, Russia has endeavoured to carry out a peace offensive, and the eyes of awakened humanity throughout the world have been upon her. Russia sought peace because peace was natural to her. She had no use for wars, her object was to produce, not conquest, to build up, not to destroy, and in spite of all the evil her Western enemies have done her, her condition will compare favourably with theirs to-day. For while in the West conditions grow worse from day to day, in Russia they grow better. In Europe the condition of the bulk of the people becomes more and more insupportable. Russia thrives, the Western nations decline.

"And yet the Russian Revolution is not the working out of a great plan. It simply turns, defines itself as it proceeds, takes one step at a time. Its men are scouts, pathfinders, discoverers of new lands, who burn their bridges and their ships behind them.

"Whereas Democracy punishes itself by its own lying. For wherever its rule extends, it prevents the free play of human energy, and rules with a strong if hidden hand. Over everything is the shadow of the plutocracy, beneath which every ideal, every noble human impulse, must die. The Democracy of the civilised West is pure Plutocracy. And a monopoly of education follows the monopoly of wealth.

"By insuring human existence, Bolshevism renders the ennobling of humanity easier. The struggle for a minimum wage has no attraction for Bolsheviks, neither do they accept the theory that every man must start at the bottom of the social ladder and fight his way up. Only the Western nations do that, and thereby create a leisured class which sooner or later stifles and destroys culture.

"The belief of the Reformers that by means of amelioration the situation can be saved and the worst forms of destitution avoided, is denied by the facts. The capitalist atmosphere inculcates and strengthens even to fever point the passion for wealth. This passion becomes a prison and the only way to cure it is to take out of the air the capitalist bacillus. . . . Bolshevism is a cosmic movement destined to raise Western civilisation from its stark, dried-up condition and to renew its spiritual energies. . . . We have no more use for Western civilisation. . . . A New World dawns in the East."

The above will at least enable readers to realise what the more moderate men, the pacifists, revolutionaries in Europe, are thinking.

THE CLASS WAR.—A series of Lunch Hour Addresses on this subject will be given at Devonshire House, 136 Bishopsgate E.C., from 1.20 to 1.50 p.m. on Mondays, Oct. 4th to Nov. 8th inclusive. Speaker, October 11, F. E. Pollard.

To Rich Quakers.

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE'S APPEAL.

The following letter from Mr. Stephen Hobhouse, a well-known Quaker, who lives among the poor of Hoxton, appeared in the last issue of "The Friend":

These critical times call for daring action. We Friends have spoken much of the need for sacrifice. Work for the relief of distress is good, and so are prayers and efforts for reconciliation. But some more dramatic, more permanent change is required for those Christians of the employing class who have become convinced that our social and industrial order is on an unjust basis, that there should be one standard of living for all, and that the democratic control of industry is a reasonable demand, and the only hope for an uncertain future.

A Venture of Faith.

I ask for a venture of faith, a daring experiment on the part of at least one or two Quaker employers of labour. Will some Friend in the position to do so anticipate the possible revolution by making over

his entire business to be co-operatively managed by his employees? Will he and his family remove from their comfortable residence, abandon their investments, and will he take up, for the remainder of his working days, the position, not necessarily of a well-paid manager or foreman, but rather of one of the least well-housed of the hands of the firm?

"Stewards of Wealth."

I believe there will be more joy in Heaven over one such change of career, however faultily accomplished, than over the life-long generousities of many conscientious stewards of wealth. It may not be the easiest, or, indeed, the most rational or economic course to adopt, but it will surely show Labour, more than anything else, that we Christians are in earnest to follow the Divine Bondservant, who said to His disciples, "If any man would be first, he shall be last of all and servant of all."

The Typhus Scourge.

Mr. Kingston Fleming writes:—

Sir,—You referred in one of your recent issues to the appeal made by Bonar Law for money to fight the typhus scourge in Central Europe. It is singularly interesting to read Mr. Law's statement. It is interesting but it is not stimulating. To anyone who is acquainted with those areas the appeal does not ring true. There is an inconsistency about it. It serves as an example of the policy that the Government is pursuing to regenerate a starving and a bankrupt Europe.

Mr. Law is a member of a Government which has done everything in its power to accentuate the spread of typhus. From Grodno to Galicia the Poles are armed with Allied munitions. The Polish army encloses and surrounds the worst disease centres in Europe and the Polish army could not do so unless the Allies had armed them.

When I was in Zavada some weeks ago French officers were doing the staff work immediately behind the Polish lines. French tanks and French 75's were responsible for the success of the recent Polish offensive and a French paper "La Journal de la Pologne" disseminates anti-Bolshevik propagandist views of the most virulent type.

From first to last the French have pursued a policy of militarising Poland with cynical indifference to disease, to starvation or to anything else. We are Allies of the French and presumably our ideals are no different. No criticism of French foreign policy has emanated from Mr. Law, from Lloyd George or from anyone else. Only one word has the oracle spoken in the last few weeks and that was an appeal. An appeal by Mr. Law in the name of humanity. An appeal for money to fight the typhus. Surely the position is ridiculous. It is more than ridiculous. It is tragic.

The Friends Relief Contingent of which I was a member were forced to evacuate their typhus centres as the tide of war swept over them and typhus in these areas will consequently flourish and will spread without a hand to stop it.

The responsibility must rest entirely on the shoulders of the Allies. The Allies have armed the Poles and without their assistance the Poles could not have lasted one half an hour.

There is an old adage that men reap whatsoever they have sown. The French by their insistent and persistent propaganda have militarised a bankrupt Poland and kept them fighting the Bolsheviks.

They have played upon the Polish temperament and have successfully appealed to their very worst ambitions. The result is inevitable. Transport is at the front and there is none for the supplying of relief to villages and towns. Millions are spent in war material and women and children starve and live in houses that by all that is christian and humane should never be houses at all.

In Danzig the French are pursuing a policy which is rapidly driving the East Prussians over to the Bolsheviks. On the Ruhr Valley they are driving the German miners to the verge of revolution and in the plebiscite area of Upper Silesia they, and they alone, were responsible for the riots and bloodshed by their flagrant favouritism of the Poles.

When I was in Berlin quite recently I witnessed a demonstration of German Socialists. It was an immense demonstration, but moreover it was a sign. The air was tense with a feeling that was unmistakeable and the police in the Unter den Linden were armed with machine guns.

Anyone in Germany will admit that anything may happen in the next few months—even in the next few weeks.

No words are sufficiently strong to condemn the policy of the French. A policy which we must necessarily share in. They alone, of all the nations of the world understand nothing of the new ideals that are permeating the continent to-day and they alone have no sympathy for starving and diseased-ravaged peoples.

It is this policy of the French that is driving the countries of Europe still further into the morass, a morass which may not only engulf France, but the rest of the civilised world.

The Crusader.

THE CHRISTIAN INTERNATIONAL.

Those who were sufficiently enthusiastic to attend the meeting on the Christian International, at the Essex Hall, Strand, the other evening, convened by the F.O.R., were amply rewarded by the farewell address of that valiant Crusader, Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, who is shortly leaving for the Far East.

After exposing the fallacy of war as a necessity, and uttering a warning not to let ourselves be drawn into discussions on the NEXT war and thereby subconsciously weaken our convictions; he proceeded to three fundamental causes of war.

We should not attempt to blame individual diplomats for war or a Wilson for the false peace. We must seek for fundamental causes and cease dabbling with effects. No one knew better than he did as a medical man, the futility of concentrating on symptoms. We must dismiss the old practice of following up and perhaps perpetuating symptoms (while it paid) and seek like the new medical practice the cause and its prevention.

1. Exploitation, in its widest sense, was the first cause he desired to reveal. The use of one's fellow-man for selfish ends. We must readjust our individual and national conceptions of life and its purpose.

Individual worth must be recognised regardless of creed, race, sex, caste or colour.

2. Prejudice. We all lived in castles of prejudice. Race prejudice, religious prejudice, class prejudice, but it had recently been proved at Bilkhoven that these prejudices could all be dispipated by fellowship.

3. Indifference. He had been wonderfully impressed with a statement by H. G. Wells to the effect that the tragedy of the war was the weakness of will of Christian people of righteous intent. He maintained there was plenty of goodwill abroad but no passion behind it to make it effective. All the forces in man expressed in hatred, violence, and aggression, must all be transmuted to express goodwill. It was no excuse that as individuals we were powerless to affect other nations.

Were we exerting our individual influence on those of our immediate acquaintance? To discover one another was a tremendous Christian duty involving upon each of us.

E.A.R.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

HELP FOR CHILDREN FROM THE FAMINE AREAS.—The secretary of the London Union is now hon. secretary of the F.O.R. Hospitality Committee for children from Central Europe. He would like to make an appeal to London members and friends to assist in the organisation of the scheme, as well as in the actual offers of help. We want to organise a body of regular voluntary workers, to whom we should gladly pay all out-of-pocket expenses, if desired, especially all who can assist in ADDRESSING, INDEXING and SHORTHAND TYPING. Without very considerable additional help it will be quite impossible for us effectively to break much of the ground at present untouched.

OPEN-AIR MISSION.—The following meetings are arranged : **FRIDAY, 8th** :—6.30, Marble Arch : Rev. Frank Fincham, C. Paul Gliddon; 7.30, Leytonstone, outside G.E.R. Station : C. Paul Gliddon, Dorothea Strevens; 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St. : Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. **SUNDAY, 10th** :—Noon, Leytonstone, outside The Green Man : C. Paul Gliddon; 7.30, Hampstead Heath, outside Jack Straw's Castle : Marjory Bonar, Dorothea Strevens. **MONDAY, 11th** :—7.30, Leytonstone, outside G.E.R. Station : Rev. Frank Fincham, Rev. R. W. Sorensen; 7.30, Tooting, outside The Mitre : C. Paul Gliddon, C. H. Olney. **TUESDAY, 12th** :—6.15, Marble Arch : Dorothea Strevens; 8, Forest Gate, outside G.E.R. Station : W. H. Hancock, Rev. R. W. Sorensen; 8, Clapton, Kenninghall Rd. : E. Oakes. **THURSDAY, 14th** :—6.15, Marble Arch : C. Paul Gliddon, W. H. Hancock. **FRIDAY, 15th** :—6.15, Marble Arch : Rev. Frank Fincham, Dorothea Strevens; 7.30, Leytonstone, outside the G.E.R. Station : C. Paul Gliddon, E. Oakes.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

CRUSADER CENTRES OF ACTION.

BIRMINGHAM—

Mrs. J. H. Dearne, 332 Moat Road., Warley, Langley Birmingham.

BRITON FERRY—

Mr. D. Gibbon, Jesmond House, Waters St., Briton Ferry Glam.

DUDLEY—

Mr. J. Downing, 86 Park Rd., Netherton, Nr. Dudley.
Mr. W. E. Leedham, Canal Side, Netherton, Nr. Dudley.
Mr. S. R. Tilley, 4 Hampton St., Netherton, Nr. Dudley.

DUMFRIES—

Mr. G. Douglas, 95 Queensberry Street, Dumfries.

GLASGOW—

Mr. R. Barclay Murdoch, 48 Cumberland Street S., Glasgow

HEREFORD—

Mr. Edmund Jones, St. Omer, Whitehorse St., Hereford.

LEICESTER—

Rev. Seaward Beddow, 108 London Road, Leicester.

LONDON—

Mr. G. Bickers, 133 Geere Road, Stratford, E. 15.
Mr. G. P. Coverdale, 38 Glengall Road, S.E. 15.
Miss E. Fall, 69 Morley Road, Stratford, E. 15.
Miss E. Martin, 18 Avon Road, Walthamstow, E. 17.
Mr. C. H. Offley, 43 Eastbourne Road, Tooting, S.W. 17.
Rev. R. W. Sorensen, 31 Palmerston Road, Walthamstow, E. 17

NELSON—

Mr. R. Bland, 203 Barkerhouse Rd., Nelson, Lancs.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—

Rev. J. C. Spokes, Cambridge House, Rowlands Hill, New castle-on-Tyne.

NEWPORT—

Mr. Trevor C. Griffiths, 40 Oakfield Road, Newport, Mon.

PENRITH—

Mr. F. Lester, Forest Mount, Penrith, Cumberland.

READING—

Mr. J. T. Hull, 89 Grange Avenue, Reading.

SCUNTHORPE—

Mr. C. Allcock, Rose Cottage, Ashby Rd., Old Brumby Scunthorpe, Lincs.

These Crusader Centres of Action, as has been explained, are being organised with the object of enabling us at short notice to get into touch with various parts of the country, and, as occasion may demand, supply extra "Crusader" copies for special purposes. Volunteers are badly needed in the districts not yet represented and we should be glad to hear from readers who will act as our agents in their own localities.

The attention of our readers is called to the following list of meetings to be addressed, according to the "Daily News," by Mr. Asquith and other leaders of the Liberal Party. "The Crusader" should be on sale at all these meetings, and we hope that our readers will see to it that this is done. Copies can be obtained at the office on sale or return.

Oct. 8—Mr. G. Howard at Altrincham.
Oct. 9—Sir D. Maclean at Leith.
Oct. 11—Sir D. Maclean at Glasgow.
Oct. 12—Mr. G. Howard at Melksham.
Oct. 14—Mr. Asquith at Ayr.
Oct. 14—Mr. Masterman at Plymouth.
Mr. G. R. Thorne, M.P., at Leicester.
Mr. Pringle at Leominster.
Oct. 18—Mr. Runciman at Edinburgh.
Lord Beauchamp at Darwen.
Oct. 19—Lord Beauchamp at Bacup.
Lord Buckmaster at Cambridge.
Capt. Wedgwood Benn, M.P., at Middlesbrough.
Oct. 20—Sir D. Maclean, M.P., at National Liberal Club.
Oct. 23—Major H. Barnes, M.P., at Skipton.
Oct. 25—Mr. McKinnon Wood at Bournemouth.
Oct. 28—Mr. G. R. Thorne, M.P., at Hanley.
Oct. 29—Mr. Asquith at Leicester.
Sir D. Maclean, M.P., and Mr. G. R. Thorne, M.P. at Wolverhampton.
Mr. Masterman at Southend.

CORRESPONDENCE.

IRELAND AND LABOUR.

To the Editor of "The Crusader."

Sir,—I have just returned from Ireland and expected to find recent events there had evoked a great wave of moral passion throughout England that would sweep from power the Government which has disgraced her in the eyes of the whole world. Instead I find the average Englishman accepts the daily record of organised assassination and pillage as complacently as he eats his breakfast every morning. It would appear the only appeal to move the English nation is one to self-interest. Therefore on rounds of self-interest English Labour should consider the sinister possibilities of the present Government tactics of suppression if they were used to crush the democratic movement in this country. In Ireland the British Government have developed an instrument of oppression that in fiendish cunning and brutality is unparalleled in modern history. This organisation could be transferred to England to crush the Trade Union movement if the demands of the workers threatened the stability of the capitalist system.

In their own interests therefore English Labour should insist on:—

1. The immediate withdrawal and disbandment of the notorious "Black-and-tans" to be followed by the progressive gradual withdrawal of the British troops.
2. The appointment of a commission of enquiry into the conduct of the military occupation in Ireland.
3. The abandonment of the present farcical Home Rule Bill and the handing over of the whole question to Dail Eireann.—ours, etc.

T.C.F.

TO SOUTHEND FRIENDS.

We are anxious to place the "Crusader" on sale at the Church Congress, but there is a practical difficulty to be overcome.

We should like to send our little salesman, R. Theodore Wood, down to Southend. He has a most winning personality, and does yeoman service for us in London. Those who have the privilege of entertaining him once will want him to come again. Any Southend friend could offer him hospitality from Tuesday, 11th, to Friday, 22nd, inclusive, and would please write us IMMEDIATELY, we should be very grateful.

LONDON READERS, PLEASE NOTE.

Have you a spare bedroom? If so, would you be willing to accommodate German business men who, when visiting London, find hotel doors closed to them? Anyone willing to co-operate in the scheme for promoting international goodwill is asked to write to Miss E. Crohn, 14 Carholme Rd., Forest Hill, S.E.23, for particulars of dates when the room would be available and the charge per day for bed and breakfast.

WEEDS.—Any length cut. Suitings, Costumes, Overcoatings, Ladies Coats. Patterns sent on application.—R. A. Anderson, 21 St. Andrew Street, Galashiels.

ELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

DIET ROOMS at nominal rental offered to any who appreciate, and would be willing to give useful help in garden, etc.—(Miss) R. F. Broughton, Rest Cottage, Seacroft, Skegness, Lines.

CHURCH SOCIALIST LEAGUE (London Branch)

BOLSHEVISM AS I SAW IT

A PUBLIC MEETING

Will be held in the FOOD REFORM RESTAURANT, Furnival Street, High Holborn, W.C., on FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1920, at 7.30 p.m.

SPEAKER:

Mr. H. V. KEELING.

Chairman: Rev. N. E. Egerton Swann. Admission free (collection). Particulars of the Church Socialist League can be obtained from the Secretary, 11c Featherstone Buildings, High Holborn, W.C.

MAKE THE FUTURE SAFE FOR YOUTH

The League of Youth

AIMS AT CREATING A GREAT NATIONAL FELLOWSHIP of young men and young women and it invites all who desire and are willing to work for economic justice, constructive progress and international peace to enrol in its ranks.

Speakers, Writers and Workers Urgently Needed.

Full information on application to the Hon. Secretary, J. Aubrey Rees, 4 Temple Gardens, London, E.C.4.

THE FREE CATHOLICS

Have issued for October an enlarged LAMBETH CONFERENCE NUMBER OF

THE FREE CATHOLIC

The Rev. J. M. Lloyd Thomas on **Lambeth and the Creed.**

The Rev. Dr. Orchard on **Reordination.**

The Rev. Constance M. Coltman, B.D., on **Women and the Priesthood.**

Friar Douglas on **A Tramp's Impressions.**

Mr. Jeffery Walker on **Our Philosophy in Industry.**

The Rev. W. G. Peck on **Signs of the Times.**

PRICE 4d. POST FREE.

Cornish Bros., Publishers to the University, New Street, Birmingham.

MISS M. HUGHES desires to recommend to anyone desiring two nice maids, a dear, most valuable, capable woman, and her daughter (aged 17). As they have their own furniture it would be necessary to offer two small unfurnished rooms in the house.—Reply to Miss M. Hughes, 40 Blackwall Buildings, E.1.

VACUUM CLEANING.—Regular or occasional service. NO PREPARATION OF ROOMS NECESSARY. Specialities: Pianos, libraries, bedding, carpets, upholsteries, etc. Organiser: Mrs. Lane, 35 Westholm, Addison Way, N.W.4.

SIDELIGHTS.

America and Ireland.

We have been favoured with a copy of the following cablegram addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury which was made public in New York on September 30:—

"The editors of the New York 'Nation,' at whose suggestion a committee of over one hundred representative American citizens has been formed for the investigation of atrocities in Ireland express their grateful appreciation of your appeal to Christians for prayer on behalf of Ireland and its people. Our proposed investigation contemplates no political interference or suggestion, but aims only to ascertain the facts and fix responsibility. We are concerned for the plain people of Ireland who suffer and die. Unless moral force can prevail to end the disorders, physical force, whose inevitable end is war, must continue to make a peaceable solution impossible. American opinion is deeply impressed by the continued employment in Ireland of British soldiers and police apparently too brutal and lawless to be controlled. While noting with satisfaction recent expressions of concern by the Prime Minister and the announcement of an inquiry planned by the military authorities, such promises of settlement are vain in view of the recent attack upon the person and house of Mrs. MacCurtain subsequent to the dispatch by us of an invitation to her to come to America in October and testify, and by the continued outrages at Belfast, Balbriggan, and elsewhere. The 'Nation' bespeaks your Lordship's cordial endorsement of the proposed American investigation and your help in ending the unspeakable conditions in Ireland which, if continued, may finally wreck all hope of continued friendly relations between the United States and Great Britain."

London Life!

A London correspondent of "The Liverpool Echo" (Sept. 30, 1920) gives this picture of life in the Capital:—

"One day passes pretty much like another to idle folk in London just now. Morning brings the necessary visits to dress-maker, hairdresser, and manicurist; afternoon its hard court tennis, or still more likely, its dress show, and evening its dinner at a restaurant with dancing, a theatre, or both, to follow. The week's dress show sensation was provided by some strangely-decorative evening gowns, which had short narrow, sheath skirts with enormous crinolines of tulle reaching to the ground—an attempt to make the woman look imposing while retaining her comforting slimness.

"Dance clubs are opening their doors again, and I went on to one after-theatre celebration the other evening. A crowded room with dancers jammed together on the floor, diners at little tables round the room, a negro band making unmusical noises, and everybody adding to the din by shouting and by playing obbligatos on toy instruments! At intervals hoops suspended from the ceiling were dangled above the dancers' heads, while men snatched at the amusing toys tied on to the ribbon streamers of the hoops, climbing on to the dining-tables and chairs to reach them.

"The dancing, when a couple found space enough to dance, was remarkably good, steps of an amazing intricacy being performed with an engaging air of unconcern; the girls were uncommonly pretty even for London, and their dresses in the majority of cases backless and of knee length.

"A few years ago we might have looked on and thought we were witnessing a terrible orgy, whereas now we know it is merely a group of high-spirited and moneyed people having a respectable night's fun."

Meanwhile the clouds gather for the storm that may destroy Civilisation!

The League of Youth.

First in the principles of the League of Youth stands the statement that, "Love, and not Hate, is the fundamental truth on which hangs the well-being of the world, and that reliance on brute-force is incompatible with the highest social good."

The President of the League—it may be whispered in an aside—is the Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George!

"The Revolutionary Disclosures" of Christianity.

Christianity is not irrelevant to the great concerns of human life. It is not a "private matter between a man and his Maker (if he has one)." It is the guiding power of history; it is the clue to the problems of this as of every age; it is the good news of deliverance.

This is no longer a paradox. So admirable an intellect as Mr. H. G. Wells indicates a change in the atmosphere. He writes an "Outline of History" in which, increasing as he progresses, the unity of History is found in the reaction successive ages to the revolutionary disclosures made in Jesus Christ.

The fate of the world at any moment, its capacity to go forward to a fuller wealth of life, or its need to go back to anxiety, insecurity, and spiritual contraction, depends on its attitude to Christ and His teaching. Everywhere the unchristian attitude means ruin.—Canon William Temple, in the "Pilgrim."

Brixton Prison.

Mr. G. E. Russell (A.E.) succeeded in getting the "Times" to publish the following poem entitled "Brixton Prison, August 31, 1920."

"See, though the oil be low, more purely still and higher
The flame burns in the body's lamp! The watchers still
Gaze with unseeing eyes while the Promethean will,
The Uncreated Light, the Everlasting Fire,
Sustains itself against the torturers' desire
Even as the fabled Titan chained upon the hill,
Burn on, shine here, thou immortality, until
We too have lit our lamps at the funeral pyre;
Till we too can be noble, unshakable, undismayed;
Till we too can burn with the holy flame, and know
There is that within us can triumph over pain,
And go to death alone, slowly and unafraid.
The candles of God are already burning row on row,
Farewell, Lightbringer, fly to thy heaven again."

John Spargo on the Futility of Preaching.

John Spargo, the biographer of Karl Marx, who Dr. Lyr Abbot describes as "the most spiritually minded of modern Socialists," has contributed to "The Christian Century," Chicago, an article on "The Futility of Preaching." He says:

"As long as men and women believe in God and are conscious of dependence upon him, as long as the belief in the immortality of the soul persists, so long will there be organised religious worship." But he thinks that "the church of the future will be almost wholly for worship and devotion"; that "its business with the dynamics of progress, not with its programmes"; that "there is no good reason why people of education and intelligence should go week after week to listen to any man, expected to have anything wise or useful to say upon the wide range of subjects covered by the programme of the up-to-date minister."

Dr. Orchard's Lectures.

On Thursday last Dr. Orchard gave the first of a series of lectures, at the King's Weigh House Church, on "The Social Implications of Christian Doctrine." The lectures, which are to be given weekly up to the end of November, deal, among other aspects of the subject, with "The Holy Trinity and Human Society," "The Incarnation and the Redemption of Man," "Atonement and Social Reconciliation," "The Church and the Salvation of the World," "The Sacrament and the Sanctification of Economics." The lectures commence at 7.30 p.m.

The "Evening Times" owns up.

The "Evening Times" recently contained this confession:—"German gold and Bolshevik bullion, and the nationalisation of women, and all the other tales designed to make our flesh creep are played out!"

The Crusader

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The Outlook.

IN years gone by the unemployed were content to demonstrate by marching through the streets accompanied by collectors who appealed to the charity of the onlookers. It is some measure of the distance that we have travelled since then that to-day the unemployed have a distinct and constructive policy to offer and have taken practical steps to secure its operation. At Coventry they have formulated the following proposals:—

“Seeing that everyone willing to render useful service to the community has the right to enjoy all the benefits won by labour from nature, we demand that all workers shall have maintenance, whether working or not.

“We demand, as a practical solution to unemployment, that the civic authorities invite the Russian trade delegation to meet them in order to discover what commodities Russia is prepared to purchase from Coventry.

“We demand that a factory be taken in the interests of the community to produce such commodities, the workers to elect their own management.

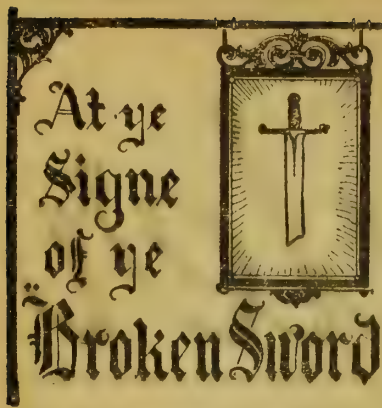
“Further, we demand that the civic authority uses its power to prevent private interests hindering the work of the Workers’ and Soldiers’ Council.”

When Hunger begins to think and speak after this fashion let the present order beware!

THE results of the Ilford Election afford one more sign of the manner in which the Government Press are able to manufacture public opinion. The miners had a strong case, but the shrieking of the journalistic world forbade it a hearing. But Labour’s defeat at Ilford is a small matter compared with Labour’s defeat in its conferences with the Government and mineowners. There have been serious mistakes in leadership. There has been weakness where there should have been firmness and intransigence where concessions would have been in place. But the root trouble is that Labour haggles about wages when it should, with clear vision and in a disinterested spirit, be demanding the overthrow of the whole wage and profit system.

IT is becoming increasingly clear that Ireland is the acid test by which all parties and peoples in this Empire will be tried. So far the hunger-strikers have survived the terrible ordeal to which they have submitted themselves. Should one of these flickering lives go out the blackness will be that of Hell itself. The Labour world which responded with alacrity to the recruiting oratory about Belgium, contents itself, in the case of Ireland, with “resolutions,” the sentiments of which are admirable, but the resolution conspicuous by its absence.

EXPERIENCE has made us sceptical of all that promises peace between Russia and Poland. The “peace” of Riga is the last and perhaps most hopeful of these promises. But even now we remain unconvinced that the end of hostilities has arrived. Until Allied Capitalists are dethroned in their own countries they will continue to make war openly or surreptitiously upon the Soviet Republic. We must remember that and guard ourselves against the temptations of credulity.



"Of One Mind"

There is one thing that can always be calculated to arouse the antagonism of the people who delight to think of themselves as modern. It is the suggestion that in matters of religion it is desirable

that all people should think alike. The idea that freedom of thought is a means to enable us to achieve a real unity is scouted as absurd. Theology is the only science in which a variety of opinions is regarded as in itself desirable. Independent investigations are carried on in zoology, physiology, and all the other ologies (with the exception named), on the express understanding that results may be achieved that will be recognised as valid by all minds acquainted with the subject. An astronomer who said, "Ah well, of course there will always be differences of opinion with regard to the nature of the Martian Canals," would be regarded as a lunatic. But when somebody observes that "each man must have his own religion," he is looked upon as "modern" and "emancipated." The difference between theology and other sciences in this respect is still more striking when we come to those studies which are directly related to our everyday material interests. The whole trouble of our times arises from the fact that we think differently on economic subjects. Every Socialist Party, every Coalition organisation is doing its utmost to get men to think alike on such matters as capital, wages, profits. What could we hope for the world's future if there was no prospect of practical unanimity concerning those burning themes?

One of the reasons why we do not discuss theological themes offers a curious commentary on the assumption that differences on this subject are of no importance. The real reason why we do not air our views in mixed company is that we feel so deeply on such questions that our temper overcomes our charity. Theology is tabooed, not because it doesn't matter, but because it is of such passionate interest.

All the talk about Re-union is so much waste verbiage unless there is some prospect of an ultimate agreement on matters of faith and their doctrinal expression. The idea that men holding diverse views with regard, say, to the Person of Jesus will ever come together in a vital intimate Christian fellowship is on the face of it absurd.

The plan has been frequently tried of trying to bring about Re-union by ignoring all questions of Faith. Christians are asked to unite as Social Reformers or in some other similar capacity. Such unions serve a purpose, but they evade the real problem apart from the solution of which no fundamental unity can be achieved.

The idea that the best method of securing unity of thought is that of exterminating your opponent is not entirely dead. We do not, to-day, bind them to the stake or burn their villages. We do what is quite as effective; we hive off into cosy little sects in which we can be quite sure there will be no disturbing influence. Sheltered within the walls of these coteries we can pretend that the other people do not exist. We exterminate them in imagination. As a consequence of the adoption of this method you find, in Anglican society, a quiet and well-bred assumption that everybody who matters is Anglican. Among Wesleyans there is the same assumption of ignorance of the non-Wesleyan world. Every sect indeed, displays a similar well-feigned surprise that anyone should be so mad as to question its position. And all of us together, in spite of the most persistent warnings, continue to ignore the vast body of our fellow-citizens who disagree with all of us. Though every Act of Parliament shouts contradiction at us we yet talk of "Christian England."

Before Re-union can become a live issue this childish pretence must be discarded. It is no good for your Catholic to pretend that he has never heard of "the people called Quakers." It is no good for your Quaker to start, as though you had mentioned some indecent and prohibited subject, when you speak of Catholicism. This fictitious ignorance is cowardly and must be broken down. We must acknowledge each other's existence if we cannot do any more.

In order that we may at last arrive at an understanding, perfect freedom of thought and discussion is, of course, a necessity. But do we understand what that means? Is it clear that it means the abolition of all mental reservations as to the length to which we will go in following the Spirit of Truth? This does not imply that we should have an open mind on those matters concerning which we have become truly convinced, but it does mean that those very things may have implications which we have not suspected. The Catholic may be led by his sacraments to understand and value the witness of the Quaker. And the Quaker, on his part, may be led, by the Spirit Himself, to recognise the value of sacramental forms. I can see no hope for us unless we can be brought to examine with fresh and unbiassed minds the things we already hold, not with the view of abandoning them, but with the view of finding out into what strange quarters they may take us.

I am very certain of the results of such an attitude on the part of two important sections of the community—the Christian and the Socialist. For as I see it, the spiritual implications of Socialism lead direct to the religion in the centre of which stands the Common Table, while, as to Christianity, if its application to economics does not mean Socialism, what does it mean?

THE TRAMP.

He who desires, but acts not, breeds pestilence.
—BLAKE.

The Psychology of a Benevolent Employer.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

A few days ago I had a conversation with one of the largest employers of labour in the country. Wild horses would not drag his name from me; and it is only fair to say that he was not talking with the thought of publicity in his mind. Rumour credits—or discredits—my employer friend with being a millionaire. I cannot vouch for that; but I know that his wealth is considerable, and that he gives largely to certain religious and other bodies, and also to famine relief work and similar agencies. His generosity to individuals in poor circumstances is notorious, and many a persecuted C.O. has cause to be grateful for his benevolence.

My rich employer friend quite sincerely regards himself as a "steward of wealth." He believes that God has blessed him to the extent of his present wealth, and that so far as possible a good proportion of that wealth must be used in various charitable ways in order to keep faith with Him from Whom it is believed to have come. I mention all this by way of introduction to our conversation, so that my readers will be able to appreciate the psychology of one of the people to whom the message of the "Crusader" has to be taken, and in whose hands, to a large extent, lies the decisions as to whether "revolution by concert" is possible or not.

"The industrial situation is very bad," he began, "and I very much fear that it will get worse instead of better."

"Yes," I replied, "I think it will have to get worse before it can be bettered."

"You mean ——" he queried.

"I mean that with the present people at the head of affairs in the country, I can see no hope of any improvement short of the complete scrapping of the present industrial system, which, I believe, will be brought about by a people made desperate by the failure of capitalism to achieve such an elementary thing as that of ensuring to every child of God the right to the essential things of life."

"But," he protested, "employers are in a terrible financial condition to-day. I have just been informed that there is a sixth less capital in the country to-day than there was before the war. It is impossible to carry on a business in these days, when one is faced with the fact that there is a possibility of not less than 10 per cent. being demanded for capital. No business can stand that, you know."

"All of which is but further proof of the impending collapse of capitalism," I replied. "But what remedy would you suggest for the present state of affairs?"

"I scarcely know what to suggest," he replied, "but two things are clear: there is too much profiteering on the one side, and too little work done in return for wages on the other. Until we stop the one, and the workers begin to give better value for

money, I can see no hope of betterment. Of course, the Government must cut down its expenditure on senseless wars and other useless things; but unless this is done and the workers produce more, I can see us rushing headlong into ruin."

"There is a good deal in what you say," I admitted. "But I cannot see the slightest possibility of the workers as a whole ever being induced to throw themselves heart and soul into 'more production' under a system of production for private profit. Why should they? What inducement is there for a worker to 'put his back into it' these days, when he looks about him at the army of his unemployed fellows?"

"But surely," he replied, "you will admit that the tendency of the time is for the wealth of the country to be spread over a larger body of people?"

"I admit that there is an ever-growing number of people who believe that the present system will have to be replaced by one that will spread the wealth of the country over the whole of the people," I replied, "but I cannot see any sign of this being done at present. Wages are higher, it is true, but the cost of living is still higher; and with a very few exceptions real wages are at about the same level as they were before the war—in many cases they are actually lower."

"Well, suppose we were to adopt your remedy?" (I am known to him as an "extreme" Socialist.) "What is going to happen? Will they give as we are giving? I hope they will, but I doubt it."

I was somewhat staggered at this extraordinary question. "Do you mean," I asked, "will the workers give to charities as you are giving, and ——"?

"Yes: when they get to this happy state you talk about, will they give to hospitals ——"?

"I hope not!" I broke in, emphatically. "And what is more, I hope that we shall never tolerate such a scandal as that of hundreds of people waiting in vain for medical attention because private charity has failed to respond to the begging letters sent out by the hospitals."

He was silent for a moment, and I took the opportunity to tackle him on the subject of interest. He sought refuge behind the "old man who has worked hard all his life and saved for his old age." I suggested that this was only possible for a very few people, and that it was obviously the duty of the community as a whole to care for its aged and infirm.

"And so you would make paupers of them all!" he exclaimed, as he left me.

I record this scrappy conversation merely in order to indicate something of the kind of thing we are up against. When "benevolent" employers think and talk along these lines, one ceases to wonder at the kind of thing we get from those who make no claim to benevolence.

The Crusader

Friday, October 15th, 1920.

Editorial Communications
To the Editor,
Business Communications
To the Secretary,
 23, BRIDE LANE, FLEET ST.,
 LONDON, E.C.4.
Rate of Subscription:
 13/- per year.
 3/3 per quarter.

A Plain Question.

A correspondent who has been actively interested in the "Crusader" and has done much to increase its circulation in his own neighbourhood, writes:—

"I am astounded by the statement in the current issue that each copy costs 5½d.!!! Why, if that is the case, how on earth are you carrying on? I can't understand it. . . . It makes me feel very bad about getting them at the price I do, and if I was making anything out of it I should stop it."

If so enthusiastic a helper as the writer of the above had not realised at how much below cost the paper is sold, what must be the condition of mind of the more casual reader?

May we be pardoned, therefore, for putting it once more bluntly that in buying your "Crusader" for twopence you are receiving every week a gift of 3½d.?

What are you going to do about it?

Consider the Facts!

If the statement we have made seems incredible, we ask you to consider these facts, which we print in bold type so that you shall be sure to see them.

The present price of paper is four times that of 1914.

There is an increase since January last of nearly 40 per cent.

As to printing, there is an increase in price of nearly 200 per cent. since 1914.

The rise since January last amounts to 25 per cent.

There is a bad winter before us, and many an institution and periodical will give up the ghost before the spring comes. **But the worse the condition of the world becomes, the greater the need of the work we want to do.**

The Personal Question.

We are not alarmed for the future of the "Crusader." We are not the victims of panic. We have sufficient faith to believe that difficulties will be overcome and that we shall be enabled to continue bearing our witness. But that does not solve your problem. "Woe is me," said Paul, "if I preach not the Gospel." He did not say that the world would not hear the Gospel if he did not preach it, but he realised that he had a personal responsibility which he would ignore at his peril.

The Truth will be proclaimed. Of that we are assured. The only question for each one of us is whether we can afford to neglect the opportunity of assisting its proclamation.

THEY ALSO RAN!

Those who give their time and energy selling Pioneer Literature, so we were told in a recent editorial note, are very effectively helping on and preparing the way for the peaceful revolution. I am inclined to think that those Socialists who give their time and thought and energy in an endeavour to capture and administer the Municipal machinery, are also helping towards the same end, by preparing the minds of the people and laying the foundations of a new Social Order. Possibly, Mr. Wellock, for instance, would not agree with this. One realises that no Labour Government can hope to usher in the millennium, but it seems to me that a peaceful revolution would be more possible with Labour in power than with our present Government.

In the above short paragraph then, we have three classes of people, who in their own way are helping to usher in the peaceful revolution, viz., the Pioneer Literature sellers, those who are helping to capture Municipal Machinery, and those helping to establish a Labour Government.

There is another class in which I am at present very much interested. A plucky, self-sacrificing, long-suffering, and cheerful band. I refer to the wives of the thousands of men who are giving their time and thought to the cause of progress.

"Someone must be at home with the children, and there's no need for us both to stay," they say cheerily. They shoulder the burden of the home, the children, the petty cares and incessant duties, and smother a sigh when the little ones say: "Why does our Daddy always have a meeting?" They are willing to sacrifice their present home-life for the future good of the community.

One of them remarked the other day, "I suppose there will be an end someday, and then I shall sometimes see my husband at home," and her wistful expression told of long, lonely hours of waiting after nerve-racking and exacting days trying to feed and clothe a hungry family on an impossible wage.

Many, many men accept this position as a matter of course, thus adding to the difficulty.

But the thousands of wives who, by mutual consent, sacrifice their ease and companionship are surely helping effectively, if indirectly, to pave the way for a peaceful revolution.

THE PLOUGHMAN.

IRISH POGROMS.

Has the Government yet realised the depth of degradation into which it is sinking in Ireland? We can recall nothing in British annals the least comparable to the gross and scandalous excesses now almost daily committed by the agents of the law and forces of the Executive in Ireland. The nearest approach to a parallel in any modern civilised State is perhaps to be found in the pogroms committed by members of the "Black Hundred" under the Czar's Government or such as are even now reported as going on in the unsettled districts of the Ukraine.—"Manchester Guardian."

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

Do you know that our Government has decided to try a new kind of labour? I have just been reading about it in the "Church Times." It is called "Encouraged Labour." The plan is a very clever one (so some people seem to think) and is specially devised to "encourage" the natives in East Africa to work for us. We all know what a terrible curse idleness is. Well, the natives are going to be delivered from the curse. Lord Milner, explaining the scheme in the House of Lords, said that "it was of vital importance to encourage the natives, in their own interests, to habits of industry." So certain proposals are to be put into operation without delay, and I note that they have been well received by many influential persons in England—though, as was to be expected, the lazy Africans are not enthusiastic over the blessings they are about to receive.

The plain truth is that Forced Labour (euphemistically called "Encouraged Labour") is being introduced into East Africa. The British Government has yielded up the unfortunate natives to men financially interested in what is called the "development" of the country. And, worst of all, the tyrannous principle has the support of the Bishops of Uganda and Mombasa, and other prominent church authorities in East Africa. That is to say (to put it bluntly), highly-placed representatives of the Church have approved of the destruction of the liberties of the black population among whom they are supposed to be missionaries. I notice that Lord Milner reinforced his argument for the scheme by pointing out that "the Bishops had gone so far as to advocate a measure of compulsory labour under carefully restricted conditions."

But there is a fly in the ointment. The Bishop of Zanzibar (who seems to be a Christian of a different kind from the others) has begun to protest against the whole thing, and I am glad to say he is being backed up splendidly by the "Church Times." In a pamphlet (just published by W. Knott, 30, Crooke-street, Holborn, E.C.1, price 2d.) the Bishop states his case. The pamphlet is entitled "The Serfs of Great Britain." It analyses the plans of the Government, and appeals against them to the high court of conscience. The author has lived with the native African for more than twenty years, and, as is said, probably knows and understands him better than any other European to-day. I have never read a nobler defence of human liberty.

The Bishop begins with an effective thrust. Africans were promised protection and freedom by our Allies. Like all the weaker peoples, they were to share the glories of the new world; they were to feel the effect of the consecration to God of our imperial life, a consecration solemnly proclaimed by our Prime Ministers of the Empire in a public manifesto. But how has that "pledge" been fulfilled? The Bishop says. "In August last, Lord Milner,

in the name of the Empire, announced to East Africa the joyful fate allotted to it. That fate is forced labour. Africans are to labour under compulsion for the Government; they are to work under official encouragement or pressure for the white members of the Empire." Turning in despair from such a Government, the Bishop makes his appeal in words charged with splendid passion.

He writes: "I do not pause to remark upon the utter callousness of the Government, its broken pledge, or its hypocritical invocation of God's Name; I appeal directly to Great Britain and her Dominions to save the Africans from this new form of slavery. This I do for three reasons. First, because it is political madness, at this time of day, to try and subject a weaker people to serfdom or to slavery. It cannot be done. To attempt it is to lay up for ourselves trouble of the worst kind. Africans are too wide awake, and have too many friends in America, to allow anyone to re-enslave them. Secondly, it is moral madness. The Europeans who use these serfs will pay for it in moral deterioration. And the nation that connives at it will not be far behind them. Thirdly, it is so definitely an anti-Christian policy that no one who adopts it can any longer justify the Gospel of Christ to the African peoples. 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me.' Will Christian men dare to say that, were the Christ in our midst, we should be morally right in compelling, or in pressing Him against His Will, to do our work for us?" Having thus finely set forth the ground upon which he makes his stand, the Bishop continues.

"I venture, therefore, to appeal to all British men and women to compel our Government to withdraw these labour laws. They are immoral; they constitute a breach of faith; they are dangerous to the Empire's peace; they are a betrayal of weaker peoples whose guardians we claim to be; and they are an offence against the Lord Christ." To the consciences of people who seriously profess the Christian Faith there can be no escape from those tremendous words which end and complete the appeal. We trust that the Bishop will permit us to assure him that he has the hearty support of the "Crusader," and we hope also that the "Church Times" will accept our congratulations on the spirited way in which it has taken up the case. Reading the shocking proposals of the Government, we are moved with indignation, and we entirely agree that such selfish, wanton and wicked oppression of the African native is no less than an offence against the Lord Christ. And we would say the same of all social oppression wheresoever it may be found. This is the heart and driving-force of our social message; it is the truth we try to express by the picture of the cross which always appears on our first page.

Studies in the Declaration of Dependence.*

I.—INTRODUCTION.

The two dates, 1776, 1920, indicate two epochs. In 1776 the American Colonies declared their independence. A few years later the French Revolution took place. As compared with the tendencies of our time, this movement was political rather than economic. It had great hopes of republicanism as a form of government. It was largely the work of the middle class, lawyers especially taking a prominent part. The belief in constitutionalism and the confidence placed in the extension of the franchise are to be traced to this period.

Immense confidence was placed in Reason. Science was regarded as the infallible guide in mankind's onward march.

One of the characteristics of the period was the defiance of every form of authority. Freedom for the nation, freedom for the individual were the watchwords. In religion, Free Thought asserted itself. In Trade and Commerce, Free Competition and Free Trade were the ideals. In national life, self-determination was claimed on behalf of weak and young peoples.

Bearing in mind these hall-marks, it is possible to distinguish which of the movements of our own time belong to the end of an expiring epoch and which manifest the characteristics of the coming age. Among the former must be placed the women's suffrage agitation, the republicanism of Mr. H. G. Wells, the Free Trade proposals of the Liberal Party, the Sinn Féin rebellion, and all forms of individualism in religion.

To-day the emphasis has changed. The issues are economic and industrial rather than political. Rationalism shows a disposition to give place to belief in intuition. Instead of independence, the slogan of the day is solidarity. Association is substituted for freedom as the ideal of social life. Authority is revived and the subordination of the individual to his class is demanded. The Catholic conception of the Church receives a fresh lease of life, though combined with the former ideal of liberty.

This substitution of dependence for independence indicates an advance. Man is more conscious of his weakness and his need of help. He has become more humble. But he is also more clearly aware of the powers of which he may avail himself. The Christian paradox that it is when we are weak that we are strong is becoming more intelligible. Our power is in proportion to our sense of impotence. This thought underlies the whole of the "Declaration of Dependence." It is worth while enlarging upon the theme.

It is a well-known fact that men struggle harder, show more intellectual keenness, and are quicker to seize opportunities in their early years than when

success has lulled them into a sense of security, and self-confidence has made them contemptuous of external aid. So long as they are reminded by opposition of their insignificance, they are put on their mettle and induced to exert themselves. When opposition dies away the incentive of humility is lost.

The same phenomenon is to be seen in the history of nations. A long tenure of power has a demoralising effect. Empires, after a vigorous youth, show signs of internal decay and give place to younger nations. Again, the succession of classes shows the same characteristic. Vitality is with those who have been subject to the dominance of others. Hemmed in by foes they are obliged to appeal to God and to the loyalty of those who share their conditions. The use of armed force being impracticable, they are confined to more spiritual methods of obtaining recognition. Having by these means increased their numbers and resources, a more arrogant tone takes the place of the former temper. Coercion is resorted to. The fine idealism of the early days is regarded as sentimentalism. The fact is forgotten that it was their sense of weakness which taught them the wisdom by which they laid the foundations of success.

As power increases there is constant need to renew this sense of weakness. The growing soul of an individual or a nation should, as it grows, become conscious of the deeper mystery by which it is surrounded. As Herbert Spencer put it: "As the circumference of our knowledge increases it will touch a wider area of ignorance." That pregnant saying might be varied. We might say that as our strength increases it will come in contact with a growing mass of opposition; it will realise more profoundly the difficulty of the task it has set itself; it will become aware of the greatness unto which it has not yet attained. Out of this revived sense of humility will come fresh strength and still higher wisdom.

That is why it is of such vital importance that the movements which, at the present time, are manifesting the vigour of youth, should retain the religious spirit. It is the preservative without which they must become as salt that has lost its savour. In religion is to be found the deepest interpretation of that sense of dependence which promises eternal youth and unending attainment. In its paradox is the secret of the renewal of life. Man rises from his knees to stand more firmly upon his own feet. A Declaration of Dependence is the only possible basis for a Declaration of Independence.

* Under this head we hope to publish from week to week articles dealing with the various points suggested by the Declaration. As far as space permits we shall be glad to deal with difficulties and objections raised by our readers.

Why a "Declaration of Dependence" ? Why a "Charter for all Peoples" ?

By THEODORA WILSON WILSON.

"You cannot be servants both to God and gold."—JESUS.

"He who does not love his fellow man whom he has seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen."—JOHN.

"Brothers, you must not make distinctions between one man and another while you are striving to maintain faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, Who is our glory."—JAMES.

In these critical days, when the aspirations of the peoples and their keen sense of social disadvantage, disinheritorship, and oppression is leading them to look to violence and bloodshed as their only hope, it seems about time that those who call themselves Christians should "burn their boats" and admit that such aspirations are just. It is time also to recognise that it is a sin against the Divine Family relationship which ought to exist between God, our brothers and ourselves, that some should be rich while others are poor, some educated while others are uneducated, some should enjoy a freedom of leisure from which others are shut out, and that a world-wide minority should willingly or even unwillingly enjoy a too liberal share of the good things of life, at the cost of a wasteful and fundamentally unchristian social order.

It is nonsense, and, indeed, insulting nonsense, for anyone to-day to gird at the peoples for using the "wrong methods" to come into their own, unless he or she is prepared to offer more than mere social patching. The hour has struck when time, money, enthusiasm, and concentrated thought must be offered to further such a revolution in values and industry as shall free the world from the domination of competition and private profit-making, and bring about in very fact that security based on the ideal of the Family of God which Jesus visioned.

How can we expect the world to accept the liberating message of Jesus unless we are prepared to take definite steps in obedience to Him, and admit in practice the claims of all to equal social status, equal opportunity, and equal material good? The Kingdom of God is, in fact, the Family of God, and neither the older, the stronger, nor the wiser possess any right to raise himself to power and riches at the cost of the rest, but rather—"He that is greatest, let him be the servant of all."

The Father's World.

It is well that we should recognise that in the Father's world there is actually "bread enough and to spare for all," and that the Father gives to the family richly all things to enjoy.

There is no niggardliness about God, and it is man's shortsighted and greedy folly which brings about "economy," "rations," and "anxious care."

What man has made of the world of to-day and yesterday must bring amazed sorrow into the Courts of Heaven.

Man's Supreme Right.

It is the supreme right of every man born into the world to serve God and His neighbour accord-

ing to the full measure of his personality. From this it follows that such a personality must be sacred, and that no man has the right to kill, to injure, to exploit, or to enslave his fellow.

Yet we insult the Lord and Father of the universe by grasping at wealth and condemning vast masses of our brothers and sisters to a lifelong struggle against want, personal disability and mental imprisonment; for an order of society based upon private getting and keeping and lending for profit delivers over to the possessing few an unjust power to employ or to refuse to employ the rest. Such a society must, in the last resort, be supported by armed force and by civil and international war.

Re-valuation—according to Jesus.

But Jesus takes us further than an ideal of some fair re-distribution of the fruits of labour. He warns us that, after all, life does not consist in the abundance of material possession, and He demands that men shall live without anxiety, in freedom, simplicity, and contentment. Indeed, He offers the strange instruction that as men show themselves indifferent to material things, so shall these things be showered upon them full measure, pressed down and running over.

Nothing, in fact, is to matter to us in comparison with the task of seeking the Kingdom of God, for the setting up of this Kingdom shall in very deed satisfy the highest and most insistent demands of the soul of man.

How Shall we Find God?

By love to man shall man find God, and man can never love man in truth so long as he clings to privilege gained by his position, his wealth, or the powers of his personality.

What man is and has, that he must freely share and freely devote to the common service.

Only by such voluntary revolution in thought and action shall the vast international harvests of co-operative industry be increased a thousandfold, and wasted energy shall be made productive. Only through a new order of life, based on service and fellowship, can the king's Highway for the Kingdom be prepared, for—

"We speak of things which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, and which have never entered into the heart of man: all that God has in readiness for them that love Him."

We claim your help!

THE SOCIAL

Dr. ORCHARD

The King's Weigh House pulpit is always giving forth a heartening social message, and the social implications of Christianity was a theme to which Dr. Orchard quickly reverted after his recent absence. Taking as his text that word of John, "We know that we have passed from death unto life because we love the brethren," he spoke of the social test of evangelical experience. The previous generation, he said, had been very much concerned about personal religious experience. Unless one had passed through some great experience of which it was almost necessary to name the date and the place, and which was accompanied by some fair amount of emotion, one was regarded as having no assurance of salvation. Until quite recent times not only was the proof of such experience required in Methodist bodies, but even to become a member of a Congregational Church one was required to furnish some such history.

Religious Revivalism.

Dr. Orchard was afraid that all this had become a matter of very little concern to most people now-a-days. Everybody was now cocksure of salvation. All were perfectly certain that whatever they might do it was quite impossible that they should ever be lost; and experience of personal religious conversion was as likely to be found to-day in Roman Catholic monasteries as in those denominations which had come into existence specially to cultivate and produce it. The value of great upheavals of religious emotion had been considerably reduced by the scientific research which had been turned on to this phenomenon, for it had been shown that a great emotional upheaval which could colour the whole personality and sometimes almost destroy it could be induced by other than definitely religious or certainly definitely Christian means, and that unless something else took place along with it, this experience was totally devoid of ethical content. A wave of that sort of experience which in the past had been called religious revival carried with it such subsequent dangers, not only of mental instability among the people it affected, but even of an outbreak of immorality, that to-day a religious revival of that kind was rather feared than welcomed by many people on account of its bad effect on religion generally and the set-back in religious fervour which almost immediately followed it.

Evangelical Revival and Social Despair.

The test of whether a man was really changed or converted, Dr. Orchard went on, took account of ethical character and social sympathy. Was a man any better in regard to his fellows? If he had had a new view of God, had this given him a new view of

men? Now, from certain points of view, evangelicalism in the past could give a very fair account of itself. It could show that men passing through this experience had had their wicked habits in one moment completely broken, and it also had to put to its credit the starting of great enterprises of a philanthropic and educational kind, which still existed to bless the world. Nevertheless, it had been proved that it was easier to break a man from drink, lust, and gambling than to change him from selfishness, meanness, fear, and narrow-mindedness. Yet one did right to demand that the difference should show itself in actual character and disposition, over and above mere habit. And it was not beside the point to ask what, as a matter of fact, evangelical revivals had done from the point of view of this social test. There were some books on his shelf which contained most microscopical analyses, and yet analyses which had never been challenged, of the great industrial change which took place in England a hundred years ago and more. They were the works of J. L. and Barbara Hammond, who had investigated the conditions of the village labourer, and the skilled artisan. The dates they had selected always worried him. The period of their investigation was from 1760 to 1832. It was during that period that the great change took place when freedom of opportunity was almost entirely destroyed for workingmen, who had subsequently to seek to do their labour only at the behest of other people. But, although it was industrial evolution, such as the introduction of machinery, which determined the selection of those dates, the dates were those of the Evangelical Revival! From 1760 to 1832 was a period during which the chains were riveted on men.

The Social Order of the Kingdom of God.

Well, now, what about this test of John: "... because we love the brethren"? He had never yet heard anyone give that as a basis of their assurance of salvation. And by "brethren" the apostle did not mean only just members of the Church. What he meant was, "We love men, and therefore we know that we have seen God." Somehow we had got to redress a pretty obvious balance. The Gospel of salvation, as originally proclaimed, had very clear social significance. Jesus related salvation to a kingdom—the kingdom of God. He rarely talked about salvation, but He talked very much about the Kingdom, and to-day scholars wrote enormous books to try to find out what it meant. The words had almost lost their meaning in the multitude of other words with which they had been covered, but the Kingdom of God surely meant the righteous rule of God exhibited by the human heart and established as a social order on the earth. The kingdom of God was a social order founded on justice.

OF RELIGION.

OF SOCIETY.

"Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness." Our Lord declared that the whole problem of every man having enough to eat and enough to wear would be solved once justice as an order of God was the first thing to be sought. He also said that such an order was close at hand. He constantly declared how near that kingdom was. What He meant was that it was always near. You could reach out your hand and take it. It was waiting to break in upon human affairs. It meant repentance, giving up one's old way of living. The Lord said some very strange things about it, for instance, that harlots and publicans would go into this new order very often before religious people. He also said that in that kingdom there was no room for a distinction which made one man rich compared with another, and that the kingdom would be found in the end to belong to all sorts of people who never expected to see it.

The Real Anarchy.

Those anarchists who carried bombs, said Dr. Orchard, were generally very harmless people. As a rule they blew themselves up. But the real anarchists were much more of a menace to society. It was these who said, "Cannot I do what I like with my own? It is mine, every bit of it." That was anarchy. It was the repudiation of all moral rule in matters economic. You could not do what you liked with your own. It was not your own, to start with. This love of the brethren was not just a nice sentiment. It carried with it some strange implications. If we loved the brethren we must see that they were fed and clothed. Religion was the transformation of a man from a selfish into a social creature. It had been said that there was no salvation outside the church, and that was true. A man could not be saved alone. He must be saved in fellowship. Being saved did not mean getting into heaven when you died. It meant being made a new sort of person out of which the city of God could be built. For that salvation it was absolutely necessary that a man should belong to a society, in the end, that was to be saved. What Christianity said to a man was, "You must come out of this rotten, decadent society you were born in. If you don't, you will be lost. It is full of disease and unrest and is evidently under the wrath of God. Come out of it and be brought into another society." And this was still true, although the new society—the Church—was not functioning at all well at present. The Church was not just a means of supporting ministers and foreign missions. It was meant to be first of all a communion—dangerous word that! Irresistibly reminding one of the word "communal." But you could not miss the understanding of this much of it, that you were going to sit down with your fellow-men and eat bread and drink wine with them.

Bolshevism and Democracy.

The new social order grew out of conversion of that type. That was often overlooked by social reformers. Many Socialists thought that if you could only change the system, substituting co-operation for capitalism, Bolshevism for aristocracy, all would be right. But Bolshevism, by the way, was a very anti-democratic thing. Bolshevism was aristocracy turned the other way round. In this case the aristocracy were some hard-working people instead of some people who refrained from labour. Bolshevism was a great turning of the tables, and now it was that you heard everybody saying how desirable a thing democracy was! But when the religious critics of Trade Unionism said that this was a setting of one man against another, and that what was aimed at was of no use unless human nature was changed, he wished that the poor Socialist had got the nerve to answer, "Well, I thought that was your business." The business of the Church was to change people fundamentally. The alteration was a complete one, affecting politics and outlook and economic machinery and everything.

"Ye Must Be Born Again."

"Now that we need not fear all being turned into Catholics and having to resort to candles owing to the failure of the electric light," Dr. Orchard concluded, "and now that there is a good hope of the coal dispute being settled, shall we say that everything is peaceful and all right? It is not all right. It is not going to be all right. It is going to be worse. Don't let us talk about maintaining the unity of the nation. It is broken to pieces, like Humpty Dumpty. Nor of preserving solidarity when all classes are at sixes and sevens. Now is the time for anyone who has a message to deliver it. What a chance for a religious revival of the right sort! For it is individual selfishness that creates an acquisitive society diseased in all its parts. Talk of hate! Every time you hate you help to create an atmosphere which grows and thickens and at last flashes out in universal war. You could not carry on war unless that spirit was there all through the world, poisoning everybody's mind. What a time for a preacher! Would that Wesley could come back, but with a wider social message. This is the time for a truly evangelical revival. Society must be born again, and that is a process attended by travail. Being born is a terrible business for everybody, and being born again is ten times worse. You have to unlearn all that you have learned. It is time for you and me to ask with an emphasis and yearning we have never felt before: 'What must I do to be saved?'"

Bookland. Principles of Revolution.

A book by Mr. C. Delisle Burns on the "Principles of Revolution" (George Allen & Unwin, 5s. net.), promises big things. One opens it with pleasant anticipations of a feast of reason. These anticipations are not dulled by a glance at the contents page. There we learn that we are going to be told something about "Rousseau and the New Social Order," "Karl Marx and the Revolution" and "Mazzini and the New Nationalism." There are chapters, too, on William Morris, and Tolstoi. And, finally, Mr. Burns has something to say on "Religion and Revolution." These are big themes. Anyone who has anything vital to say on them will be listened to to-day. But we have failed to discover any important contribution to the discussion of those themes in these pages. It is true that there is a certain suggestiveness in bringing together, as those of men, who, from different points of view, contributed to the modern revolutionary movements, the names we have mentioned. It enables one to see how many prophets it needs to make a New World. The parts which they severally played is summarised as follows:—

"Rousseau stands for the principle of social organisation based, not upon private wealth, but upon work: and with that is connected the principle of the simplicity of wants. The machinery of such a society will involve smaller units of government and federation between the units. Karl Marx adds the principle of co-operative production based upon common ownership; to which Mazzini adds the principle of duty or function as governing the relation of all the diverse groups of men. Morris, less exact in his reasoning but perhaps more vigorous in his vision, carried the economic into the artistic or creative sphere. He propounds the principle that production and consumption should be, not economic 'forces,' but forms of artistic impulse, involving creation and appreciation. Finally, Tolstoi adds the principle of the governing forces in an ideal society or in the life of an ideal man, which will be a form of religion, identified by him with Christianity but distinguished from Ecclesiasticism."

We should not like to commit ourselves to these descriptions, but it is refreshing to find men who often regarded themselves, and were regarded by their followers, as antagonists here assigned their parts in one wide-sweeping movement.

The chapter on "Religion and Revolution," by its title raised the highest hopes, and by its contents proved the most disappointing. Thus, for instance, could anything be more flippantly superficial than this statement:—

"It is apparent that religion and revolution are opposed, and appearances in this case at least are not deceptive. It is possible for the religionist to say that not one of the prophets of revolution was an adherent of an established church. Marx and Morris may be counted by the orthodox as damnable and perhaps damned atheists; and even Rousseau, Mazzini, and Tolstoi, all of whom professed to be deeply religious and indeed Christian, are not and were not in their own days, accepted as religious by the chief advocates of religion. Obviously the orthodox can prove that the revolutionary is ill at ease in the atmosphere of religion even if he does not altogether depart out of it."

The fallacy lies in confusing religion with the "established Church." But even accepting Mr.

Burns' identification of the two, it would be easy to show that the Hebrew prophets and many others were both religious and revolutionary.

That Christianity can be so interpreted as to represent it as the champion of the existing order need not be disputed. And I cannot close this article without citing a quotation which our author gives from Wilberforce's "Practical View of Christianity." It is valuable in several ways, but chiefly as an excellent example of the caricatures of the religion centring around the Outlaw of Galilee which have made the term Christianity a word of reproach. Christianity, he says:—

"renders the inequalities of the social state less galling to the lower orders, whom she instructed to be diligent, humble, patient; reminding them that their more lowly path has been allotted to them by the hand of God; that it is their part faithfully to discharge its duties and contentedly to bear its inconveniences; that the present state of things is very short; that the objects about which worldly men conflict so eagerly are not worth the contest; that the peace of mind which religion offers indiscriminately to all ranks affords more true satisfaction than all the expensive pleasures which are beyond the poor man's reach; that in this view the poor have the advantage; that, if their superiors enjoy more abundant comforts, they are also exposed to many temptations from which the inferior classes are happily exempted."

If one were looking for the reason for the failure of evangelicalism, that typical quotation from one of the Evangelical School would supply an all-sufficient answer.

"The Women of Cedar Grove," by Constance Wynne, 320pp., 7s. net. C. W. Daniel, Ltd.

"The Women of Cedar Grove" can scarcely be called a novel. It is a string of sketches which finds its unity in the fact that the same people are concerned in the different happenings, and also in the fact of a common purpose. That purpose is to reveal the oppression of the working classes, to show with what mighty and manifold means the workers are held down, prevented from raising their heads above the fume-laden atmosphere which envelops them—an atmosphere poisoned not less by false ideas, social bitterness and class hatred than by the gases of mine and furnace—into the empyrean of light, liberty and fellowship. The events described happened in 1916, under war conditions, and reveal the struggle which girls and women had to undergo through the loss of fathers, husbands, sons, in munition factories, in the attempts to start Trades Unions, etc. Perhaps the book suffers from being too wholly concerned with the drab side of life. One longs for some healthy, riotous relief from the monotony of the conditions described. And usually one gets this in real life, otherwise society could not bear the strain. The book is permeated by sincerity and a keen sympathy with the oppressed.

The Blockade against Marriage.

It is generally admitted that the problem of social morality in its relation to marriage, is reaching a crisis.

What was thought to be a transient weakening of sexual control arising from war conditions, is becoming permanently incorporated in the national character and the ethical value of marriage is suffering in consequence. People are thinking more sexually. Fashions in dress, in dancing, in literature increasingly appeal to the physical sense, and the public have grown to look forward to a daily dose of divorce. And what used to be regarded a secret in illicit compromise is now a boast. Young people gratify their sexual instinct and think their conduct not far removed from public sanction. That the outlook is serious unless steps are taken to encourage a higher morality, few will deny, but those who preach general principles without helping them to become operative, will not be assisting matters very much.—No doubt it is most comforting for elderly writers who have passed safely and smoothly into matrimony, and who are blessed with every social convenience for the strict observance of their bond, to pour out moral aphorisms for the guidance of the younger generation, but let it be observed that the present period offers little encouragement for young people to respect the lawful function of sex.

There are two million women in excess of men. The majority of them cannot marry, and the knowledge of this combined with the physiological effects of the past few years has produced a sexual abandon that in normal times would not have occurred, and the situation is aggravated by the fact that thousands of young men are prevented from marry-

ing owing to economic pressure. Not having the necessary capital to buy a home, nor the economic security to sustain one under the ever-increasing cost of living, they are growing cynical of marriage at the time when their nature should find it most attractive and befitting to their aspirations. Thus it is no mere figure of speech to talk of a blockade against marriage. Potential mothers and fathers, those who alone can repair the real rapine of the war, are being denied their natural right in life by an artificial barrier. And this is a direct incentive to vice. The subversion of the marriage principle to conditions purely external tends to rob the system of its traditional sacredness and make young people wonder on what does the validity of the vow ultimately rest. That people will not marry on a precarious economic position is a measure of their justice to the unborn generation. The philosophy that would bring a child into the world to meet any kind of fortuitous upbringing is a thing of the past. People are beginning to realise that the larger duty of love consists in abstention when parenthood would only result in damning the life of innocent offspring. Were young men in receipt of a reasonable security by which to render the early life of children immune from needless neglect we should have a larger birth-rate than we have at present.

As it is the economic position seems to be more ruinous to the proper productivity of the race than the losses incurred through the war. To minimise these restrictions on sex is the first business of the Government, for so long as they exist so long will young people snap their fingers at moral preachers and consider sexual licence outside the region of their responsibility. V. W. G.

Nonconformists and Economics.

In his monthly lecture at Lyndhurst Road, Hampstead, on a recent Sunday night, Dr. Horton said that from the economic standpoint the strike and the threat of strikes was the only weapon the workers could use. But what is required for a final solution of our difficulties is, he declared, a change of mind in relation to economics and a change of human relationships. Men must be brothers first. God must come into industry in a tremendous, revolutionary sense. The employer must be a person who naturally cares for his employees. No man of any other spirit must be tolerated.

Why did Dr. Horton stop there? When God does come into industry, the division into employers and employees, "masters" and men, will go. Has the Doctor ever heard of "scientific management," and does he not know that the enlightened self-interest of the employer is sufficient to ensure that he will "care for his employees," just as the same motive made slaveowners care for the physical health of their slaves? Has he nothing more to tell us than that?

Principal A. E. Garvie presents us with another case of muddled and timid thinking. According to the "Daily Herald," at the Assembly of the Congregational Union, Dr. Garvie, in his address as chairman, said that the Church could not approve the Socialist theory which demanded the breaking-up of the existing social order. What is there so sacred in "the existing social order," which has brought the world to the crumbling edge of utter ruin, that it should be spared? Why should not a system that, by its very nature, puts profits before the welfare of the workers not be broken up? In other words—which stands first, the fearless application of Christianity to industry, or "the existing social order"?

If Drs. Horton and Garvie and others who think with them would face this question, they might do something to save the Church from the damning indictment of those who regard it as a class institution.

The Slave Market.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

It is always better to call things by their right names, notwithstanding that they be singularly unpleasant. For names are symbolic and the only means whereby most things are made known to the great majority of mankind. According to Mr. Keynes, one of the chief duties of those who drew up the Versailles' Treaty consisted of forging terminology which implied the existence of certain things under the Treaty, which that Treaty, as a matter of fact, rendered impossible.

About a fortnight ago I read in the daily Press an "Appeal to the Conscience of Great Britain," by Dr. Weston, Bishop of Zanzibar, on behalf of "the serfs of Britain." I thought this term suggestive, and read on. His appeal was on behalf of the natives of East Africa. "Africans," he wrote, "were promised protection and freedom by the Allies . . . In August last, Lord Milner, in the name of the Empire, announced to East Africa the joyful fate allotted to it. That fate is forced labour. Africans are to labour under compulsion for the Government; they are to work under official encouragement or pressure for the white members of the Empire."

That is a severe indictment, but what, let me ask, does it contain that could not be said with equal truth of the workers of Britain? Are not these latter compelled to work, and by "Government pressure" if need be, for a few "white members of the Empire," the same class, in fact, as that for which the blacks of East Africa are compelled to work? The compulsion may be exercised in a different way, but it is there nevertheless. The trouble in East Africa arises from the fact that with a very small amount of land the natives can supply all their needs. And that used to be the trouble in England, too, but the small farmers were driven from their holdings, all the common lands seized by a few "white members of the Empire," the labourers drawn or driven into the towns, later to be exploited by the industrial capitalists whose mercilessness rivalled that of the old slave owners of South America and the present slave controllers of East Africa. In other words, serfdom always has existed in this country; it is the name only that has been abolished. Listen!

A few days ago I paid an early morning visit to London's dockland. I did not allow myself to be "taken round," but just went alone and anywhere. From 7-30 to 8 o'clock growing streams of workers poured through the streets in the vicinity of the East India docks. At 7-45 I entered into conversation with a man who was waiting for a bus. I asked him where to go to see the men "set on" for work in the docks. "Don't go anywhere," he said, "just stay where you are, you'll see the men fall into line down the street there any time now, and at 8 o'clock the selection will begin."

And so it was. Almost immediately I observed a long line of workmen take shape. The men stood

up to the causeway three or four deep, each man straightening himself up from time to time in preparation for the "selection." In front of them, on the pavement were a number of foremen, who cast occasional glances at the material before them, with the utmost nonchalance. Every minute that line of helpless and expectant humanity increased in depth—till 8 o'clock, when a medley of whistles and horns filled the air with frightful discords. At the sound of the first whistle there was a shuffling of feet, for the foremen immediately stepped forward to select their men, who fiercely thrust out their hands for work! work! work! What a sight! Flushed cheeks and staring eyes—eyes fierce in their eagerness—hands stretch out farther, farther, while the foremen, eyes alert, select a man here, give a check there, another at the back—the hands stretch out still farther, eyes project, faces become more tense—faces in which one could read the plaints of wives, the suffering of children—a further check here, another there, still another—then—all over! No, not all over. A crowd of despairing men, sons of England, the land of the brave and the free, are left standing on the pavement, helpless, deserted of their country, denied the elemental rights of humanity, even in the name of liberty, but in reality for the sake of the privileges of the few.

The outstretched hands are slowly withdrawn while the foremen retire and enter the dock gates in a body. The men left behind, who number at least four times those chosen, gaze into space or look dumbly at one another, too stupefied to speak. They are distressingly silent. Where shall they go? What do? Stare into space all the day?

As I stood watching that haunting, harassing scene, I was reminded of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and a host of other stories of slavery which I had read as a boy, when I was proud of being born in England. That pride no longer finds a place in my being. Hot with excitement and exasperation, I realised as I had never done before to what a depth England has sunk. Why don't we call things by their right names, my soul cried out, acknowledge our crimes? If ever there was slavery in this world, what I had just witnessed was slavery, and of the most horrible kind, for it is practised under false pretences, in the name of liberty, and without the responsibility which was attached to slave ownership in the past.

Slowly the men moved away, silent and forlorn, condemned to idleness and hunger, to enter their homes empty-handed, impotent exhibitions of the inhumanity and incapacity of capitalism, of a social system which permits idleness and want, need and the power to satisfy such need, to exist side by side. And I thought of the comfortable people who preach in respectable pulpits that drink is the cause of poverty. But I thought of many things that morning.

I observed that not all the men moved away. A

few remained behind as if rooted to the spot. One young man, with a firm, intelligent face, seemed to be wandering in a world of thought. His moist eyes were compassing vast distances. By and bye he thrust his hands into his pockets, raised himself on his toes, threw back his head, while his eyes grew visibly rounder. I imagined I read his thoughts. And many, if I mistake not, are thinking similar thoughts these days, and by and bye England will face them in visible form.

And why are these men idle? Because England has handed herself over body and soul to greed, to Mammon. Because of British tyranny and greed, the people of India are boycotting British products. Because of jealousy and greed, Britain has sanctioned a peace whereby the people of Central Europe have become so impoverished that they cannot purchase our goods, goods that they badly need. Because of fear and greed—fear that she may teach the world how to get along without profiteers—Russia is not permitted to develop normally, not allowed to take our manufactures for which she is dying, in exchange for food and raw material which we also need. That is why there are so few ships coming into our ports; it is also why there is going to be a tremendous amount of unemployment in this country during the coming months.

What I saw in one little bit of London's dockland I am told can be seen at almost every port in Britain these days, and I would that every man and woman, every boy and girl in Britain, should witness such a scene. There is more real and foreboding tragedy to be seen every morning in a few yards of London's dockland than in all her West-end theatres put together. And certainly no play has ever moved me as I was moved in that corner of the British slave market ten days ago.

To Preachers & Speakers

A correspondent writes:—

"Though I spend two or three shillings a week on papers, the CRUSADER is the only one I really look forward to. . . . I am now gladly and fearlessly putting your point of view in my messages in the pulpit and in Adult Classes, when I am privileged to speak, and invariably I am thanked by one or more who readily tell me it's just the message that they require. To individual preachers and speakers I recommend your paper."

CORRESPONDENCE.

On Improving our "Declaration."

Dear Sir,—Allow me to thank you for the Declaration of Dependence, as a call to a vision of the deep Will of God.

May I venture to suggest three further modifications in it to bring it into fuller touch with real life and thought to-day.

(1) In section 1 do we not need to omit the reference to a man Jesus "raised to the throne of the universe"? This is becoming meaningless to most men now. If we speak of "God" even, let us speak of what men can believe in, feel, and find, and obey. He is the Will behind all evolution moving in and unifying nature and men, to evolve reason, love, and freedom for and in men. There is no onlooking God to whom we can appeal. Why did not such a God prevent the war, if He exists? An external Father who cannot keep His family in better order than the long and ghastly slaughter of the war must be feeble or careless indeed! No, Sir, God is hampered, self-limited to be the conscious tendency to spiritual life in the universe, the Unity of the universe, its ideal aim or will. We can never comprehend God, but we can feel Him as we obey the spiritual powers of reason aflame with love creating freedom for all. We know Him as we become channels for this glorious life, which ever evolves new powers in men.

(2) In section 3 is not the whole blame put on the capitalists, whereas the workers also are to blame? They elected members of Parliament, they fought the war, they issued (twice) a manifesto (by the Labour Party) calling for the war to go on "to victory." Now they suffer from the war, which involved scarcity, and inflation of the currency, expensive mandates, and so unemployment also. You say that "the Capitalists created the propertyless workers." But perhaps their parents had a share in their creation! Careless parentage peoples the slums. The people, i.e., all of us, should recognise first of all that it is no more reasonable to order six children as it is to order six motor cars, on £3 a week. It is an unsocial act. "The workers should have more money." Perhaps so; but should get it, before they incur responsibilities. Fair play to the unborn! Duties come before rights!

(3) In section 6 we seem to need more grip and power. The freeholders and shareholders will not give up their title-deeds to land and share certificates and bonds. They say they saved money, and it was better to risk it in employing men well than in hoarding it, and they deserve some return, and dividends of 6 per cent. are really only 3 per cent. in present values. Moreover, by such means they have earned their pensions. Yet exploitation has been going on for centuries! In spite of all the good Capitalists, the system means that men are treated as machines to enrich others. This is not right. How do you propose, then, to get the land and factories? The Communist Party (see "Workers' Dreadnought") openly now advocate force, to "seize the factories," as was done in Milan recently.

But our way need not have the use of force. A general strike long prepared for, with a programme, including pensions to freeholders and shareholders, is needed.

Could you not include this in your Declaration? Is not that the Will of God, the way of Love, in its true wrath or indignation against exploitation? We need a true social anger.

Local, sectional strikes are fussy, and easily defeated, and lead to higher prices. We need to feel and show "the wrath of the Lamb."—Yours faithfully,

GILBERT T. SADLER.

[If Mr. Sadler will glance at the Christian representation of God he will see why He did not "prevent the war." The Christian God is generally represented with His limbs pinned to a Roman Cross. Such a God is, of course, quite powerless to coerce men into ways of righteousness. He can only suffer with and for them. In spite of this or because of this He is, nevertheless, the greatest Force in the world to-day but the operation of His power is dependent on the free response of human beings. With regard to the second point in Mr. Sadler's letter "the whole blame is" not "put on the Capitalists," but on the Capitalist system, a very different thing. The Capitalist system is supported by the servility of the workers and the muddled thinking of the bourgeois as well as by the rapacity of the Capitalist. The way in which we propose to get the land and factories is by dependence on the enthroned Carpenter, on one another, and on the working of the laws governing social and economic development. If this appears insufficient we can only reply that it proved fairly effective in the early Christians' opposition to the Roman Empire.—Ed.]

The Crusade.

CRUSADER CENTRES OF ACTION.

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Mr. W. E. Leedham, Canal Side, Netherton, Nr. Dudley.
Mr. S. R. Tilley, 4 Hampton St., Netherton, Nr. Dudley.

DUMFRIES—

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Mr. R. Barclay Murdoch, 48 Cumberland Street S., Glasgow.

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Mr. Edmund Jones, St. Omer, Whitehorse St., Hereford.

HORBURY—

Mr. A. Halstead, Austerland Villas, Middlestown, near Wakefield.

LEICESTER—

Rev. Seaward Beddow, 108 London Road, Leicester.

LONDON—

Mr. G. Bickers, 133 Geere Road, Stratford, E. 15.
Mr. G. P. Coverdale, 38 Glengall Road, S.E. 15.
Miss E. Fall, 69 Morley Road, Stratford, E. 15.
Miss E. Martin, 18 Avon Road, Walthamstow, E. 17.
Mr. C. H. Offley, 43 Eastbourne Road, Tooting, S.W. 17.
Rev. R. W. Sorensen, 31 Palmerston Road, Walthamstow, E. 17.

NELSON—

Mr. R. Bland, 203 Barkerhouse Rd., Nelson, Lanes.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—

Rev. J. C. Spokes, Cambridge House, Rowlands Hill, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

NEWPORT—

Mr. Trevor C. Griffiths, 40 Oakfield Road, Newport, Mon.

PENRITH—

Mr. F. Lester, Forest Mount, Penrith, Cumberland.

PERRANWELL—

Rev. F. Lee, Chycoose, Perranwell Station, Cornwall.

READING—

Mr. J. T. Hull, 89 Grange Avenue, Reading.

SCUNTHORPE—

Mr. C. Alcock, Rose Cottage, Ashby Rd., Old Brumby, Scunthorpe, Lincs.

These Crusader Centres of Action, as has been explained, are being organised with the object of enabling us at short notice to get into touch with various parts of the country, and, as occasion may demand, supply extra "Crusader" copies for special purposes. Volunteers are badly needed in the districts not yet represented and we should be glad to hear from readers who will act as our agents in their own localities.

The attention of our readers is called to the following list of meetings to be addressed, according to the "Daily News," by Mr. Asquith and other leaders of the Liberal Party. "The Crusader" should be on sale at all these meetings, and we hope that our readers will see to it that this is done. Copies can be obtained at the office on sale or return.

Oct. 18—Mr. Runciman at Edinburgh.

Lord Beauchamp at Darwin.

Oct. 19—Lord Beauchamp at Bacup.

Lord Buckmaster at Cambridge.

Capt. Wedgwood Benn, M.P., at Middlesbrough.

Oct. 20—Sir D. Maclean, M.P., at National Liberal Club.

Oct. 23—Major H. Barnes, M.P., at Skipton.

Oct. 25—Mr. McKinnon Wood at Bournemouth.

Oct. 28—Mr. G. R. Thorne, M.P., at Hanley.

Oct. 29—Mr. Asquith at Leicester.

Sir D. Maclean, M.P., and Mr. G. R. Thorne, M.P., at Wolverhampton.

Mr. Masterman at Southend.

MISS WILSON'S ENGAGEMENTS.

Northern Tour.

Oct. 15 (Fri.).—Douglas Water, Nr. Lanark.....	I.L.P.
" 16 (Sat.).—Glasgow	Friends and F.O.R.
" 17 (Sun.).—Glasgow.....	Morning : Glasgow Study Circle Evening : Metropole Theatre.
" 18 (Mon.).—New Cumnock, Ayrshire.....	I.L.P.
" 19 (Tues.).—Dumfries	Crusader Meeting
" 20 (Wed.).—Gateshead	
" 21 (Thurs.).—South Shields	Friends
" 22 (Fri.).—Sacrison, Co. Durham	I.L.P.

MR. WILFRED WELLOCK'S ENGAGEMENTS.

Northern Tour.

Oct. 14 (Thurs.).—Blaydon-on-Tyne	I.L.P.
" 16 (Sat.).—Middlesbrough	I.L.P.
" 17 (Sun.).—Middlesbrough	I.L.P.
" 18 (Mon.).—Penrith	I.L.P.
" 19 (Tues.).—Broughton, Cumberland	I.L.P.
" 20 (Wed.).—Rowrah	I.L.P.
" 21 (Thurs.).—Workington	I.L.P.
" 22 (Fri.).—Egremont	I.L.P.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

FROM MONDAY, OCT. 18, ONWARDS, regular meetings are being held at the Minerva Café, 144 High Holborn, from 5.30 to 7.30. The meetings are arranged largely to give to all those interested in our work an opportunity of coming into touch with one another. Even when friends cannot stay for the whole time, we hope they will come for at least a part. At some of our meetings we shall try the experiment of asking quite unknown speakers, since this seems the only way of breaking fresh ground. The speaker on Monday, 18th, is the Secretary of the F.O.R., the Rev. Oliver Dryer, M.A.

WEEK'S MISSION AT MARBLE ARCH.—We very much hope that those who may not previously have attended open-air meetings will take advantage of the fact that meetings are being held daily at Marble Arch, and thus get some impression of the work being done in this way. The full list of speakers is not yet available, but the following are already arranged: FRIDAY, 15th:—6.15, Marble Arch: Rev. Frank Fincham; Dorothea Strevens; 7.30, Leytonstone, outside G.E.R. Station: C. Paul Gliddon, E. Oakes; 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. SUNDAY, 17th:—Noon, Leytonstone, The Green Man: E. M. Pullen, Dorothea Strevens; 3, Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon; 3.30, Hampstead Heath, Jack Straw's Castle: Marjory Bonar, E. Oakes. MONDAY, 18th:—6.15, Marble Arch: Rev. Frank Fincham; 7.30, Tooting, outside the Mitre: E. Oakes, C. H. Offley; 7.30, Leytonstone, outside G.E.R. Station: C. Paul Gliddon, Violet Mortimer. TUESDAY, 19th:—6.15, Marble Arch: Rev. R. W. Sorensen. WEDNESDAY, 20th:—6.15, Marble Arch: Rev. Frank Fincham. THURSDAY, 21st:—6.15, Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon; FRIDAY, 22nd:—6.15, Marble Arch: Dorothea Strevens; 7.30, Leytonstone, outside G.E.R. Station: C. Paul Gliddon; 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

EDINBURGH I.L.P.—Theodora Wilson addressed a good-sized meeting in the Toll House Cinema. Much interest was shown at question time proving that the lecture had aroused thought, and perhaps the point that appealed most was the absolute necessity of striking at the roots of competition and social climbing by common education and opportunity for every child.

CHURCH SOCIALIST LEAGUE (London Branch)

BOLSHEVISM AS I SAW IT

A PUBLIC MEETING

Will be held in the **FOOD REFORM RESTAURANT**,
Furnival Street, High Holborn, W.C.; on **FRIDAY**,
OCTOBER 15, 1920, at 7.30 p.m.

SPEAKER :

Mr. H. V. KEELING.

Chairman : Rev. N. E. Egerton Swann. Admission free (collection). Particulars of the Church Socialist League can be obtained from the Secretary, 11c Featherstone Buildings, High Holborn, W.C.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

QUIET ROOMS at nominal rental offered to any who appreciates, and would be willing to give useful help in garden, etc.—(Miss) R. F. Broughton, Rest Cottage, Seacroft, Skegness, Lincs.

TWEEDS.—Any length cut. Suitings, Costumes, Overcoatings, Ladies Coats. Patterns sent on application.—R. A. Anderson, 21 St. Andrew Street, Galashiels.

FROM THE TYNE.

Wilfred Wellock who has been speaking in the mining villages of the Tyne district reports finding enthusiastic listeners. "The miners," he says, "are a fine folk, I like them immensely. They stand four square, look one straight in the face and seize hold of facts as one imagines they seize hold of their picks. Revolutionary ideas are weird interlopers in these quiet villages, and even "Labour" is unpopular. But here as elsewhere the war has wrought great changes and now some of the most forward people are ex-soldiers who before the war were "law and order" upholding Conservatives. A winter's campaign is going to make a great deal of difference to the outlook of this people. The religious instinct is marked among the miners, and the idea of Christianity being a social revolution, the hope and promise of a New World, is to them a new source of inspiration and power. So far our meetings have not been very large, but exceedingly healthy and enthusiastic. 'Crusaders' find a ready sale."

AN APPEAL TO ALL CHRISTIANS.

The following appeal for prayer on behalf of Ireland is made by over a hundred influential signatories, including the Anglican Bishops of Chichester, Oxford, Peterborough, Winchester, Wakefield, Cork, Derry, Killaloe, Kensington and Limerick, the Principal, Aberdeen University, the Moderator United Free Church of Scotland, Bishop Gore, The Headmaster, Rugby, Canon Masterman, Principal Selbie, Mrs. Barnett, Mrs. Creighton, Brig.-Gen. J. D. Crosbie, Charles Eason (J.P., Dublin), Dr. William Garnett, Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, Albert Mansbridge (Workers' Educational Association), Miss Maude Royden, Miss M. H. Wood, Litt.D. (Cambridge Training College for Women), Miss Margaret S. Young.

"The state of affairs in Ireland to-day is of such a nature that every right-minded man or woman who realises it must desire to join in any honest effort to bring peace and to attain to a mutual understanding between the two peoples. The trouble deepens as the weeks roll on. Nothing has been done by man's wisdom so far to improve the situation effectually. Surely the time has come for a great united effort of prayer to Almighty God for help on the part of all the Christian Churches and fellowships in Great Britain. With the utmost humility, therefore, we venture to appeal to all our fellow-citizens in the Christian community to join in such an effort of prayer for the restoration of good will and mutual confidence by the realisation of Christ in the hearts of us all."

Everyone is Asked to Tea.

EVERY MONDAY from 5.30 to 6.30,

AT THE MINERVA CAFE, 144, HIGH HOLBORN
(two minutes from the British Museum Station, opposite Holborn Town Hall, and on the corner of Bury St., entrance at back of bank buildings).

From 6.30 to 7 there will be addresses by unknown, as well as well known speakers, and from 7 to 7.30 Open Conference.

SPEAKER FOR MONDAY, 18, THE REV. OLIVER DRYER.

The Meetings are arranged by the London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and no fixed charge is made either for tea or admission, expenses being defrayed by those who feel able to contribute towards the collection.

THE CLASS WAR.—A series of Lunch Hour Addresses on this subject will be given at Devonshire House, 136 Bishopsgate, E.C., from 1.20 to 1.50 p.m. on Mondays, Oct. 4th to Nov. 8th inclusive. Speaker, October 18th: Malcolm Sparkes.

TRANSPORT (MOTOR).—Contracts wanted. Heavy or light loads. Daily, weekly, monthly. Distance or Job.—M.A.P. Transport Co. (Direct Labour), 46a Stock Orchard Crescent, Caledonian Road, N.7. 'Phone 1988.

ESPERANTO.—"The Christian Internationale at Bilthoven, and other International organizations, have recently decided to make official use of Esperanto. Learn **ESPERANTO** between now and Christmas by giving an evening a week to its study. Classes now starting all over London. Details from Secretary, British Esperanto Association (Incd.), 17 Hart Street, W.C.1.

BROTHERHOOD CHURCH, Southgate Road, N., October 17, at 3.30. Stanley B. James: "Declaration of Dependence." October 24: H. D. Harben.

RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

The Twins of Castle Charming by Elsie J. Oxenham. Swarthmore Press; 7s. 6d. net.

A Noble Madness by Fanny Peirson. Swarthmore Press; 7s. 6d. net.

Principles of Revolution by C. Delisle Burns. George Allen and Unwin; 5s. net.

The Record (monthly organ of the Save the Children Fund); 3d.

A Vision of Education by N. W. Hammond, M.A. Birmingham Central Labour Party, 2d.

Friends and War. A new statement of the Quaker position. 136 Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2; 3d.

The Peace Fellowship of Wesleyan Methodists has issued a series of leaflets well-printed and on good paper. The price is 1d. each, 10d. a dozen or 7s. 6d. per 100.

The Sayings of Jesus (a rearrangement of the Gospel records) with preface by Rev. Professor J. A. Robertson, M.A., Aberdeen. Swarthmore Press; 5s. net.

GENERAL HAIG'S ADVICE.

"Stick to the Bible," said General Haig recently to the Boy Scouts, "and do your best to follow the advice you find in it." For following similar advice and in consequence refusing to serve under General Haig men were thrown into prison not so very long ago.

SIDELIGHTS.

"Give Christianity a Chance!"

Under the above heading Canon Deane writes in "The Sunday Pictorial" as follows:—

For a long while now we have tried organising our national life—social, political, commercial, industrial—on a secular basis.

And a pretty mess we have made of it!

It would be a waste of time to go into details. All of us know the result only too well. To-day things are wrong—hideously, disastrously wrong.

Doubtless there is much intensely real religion amongst us. But it is generally an incidental and private kind of religion.

It is not made—there is no pretence of making it—the open and avowed basis of every part of our national life.

If it were! . . . Well, just now and again, as on some of the days of intercession during the war and on Armistice Day, we had a glimpse of what that might mean.

We "are out," as the familiar phrase puts it, for various purposes. To safeguard our national interests. To uphold the rights of property. To vindicate the claims of Labour. To promote trade. To foster social welfare—you can extend the list easily enough.

Excellent aims, in their degree and place. But suppose they were all made subsidiary to one central purpose? Suppose that all of us "were out"—not incidentally and occasionally, but continuously and openly—to do the will of God?

Suppose that at the time of the next industrial crisis, when representatives of the rival views were met for conference, they began by kneeling down for two minutes in prayer? Suppose they placed themselves consciously in the presence of God, and asked that, beyond all else, they should speak in His spirit and aim at accomplishing His will? Would that make no difference to the result?

"Absurd and impossible," you may say. Impossible—yes, at present. But it need not be. And absurd—well, has the other method proved so brilliant a success? Is not Christianity worth trying?

Obviously, the immediate need is for what nowadays we term a vigorous propaganda campaign by all the Churches on behalf of the essential Christian faith. It is not by political sermons, or arguments about evolution and Genesis, that people will be brought into touch with the living Christ.

We need not be disheartened by talk about "religious difficulties." There is only one real religious difficulty—and that is the difficulty of being really religious.

For the rest, Christianity was frankly put forward by its Founder as an experimental religion. "Try it," He said, "if you wish to convince yourself of its truth. He that is willing to do the will of God, he shall know whether the doctrine is of God."

Yes, things are in a deplorable state to-day. But Christianity is worth trying!

Conditions in Germany.

In a letter written to the English Press from Geneva (August 10, 1920), Messrs. Noel Buxton, J. Ramsay Macdonald and Joseph King said: "The British public is familiar with statistics; it reads of 30,000 tuberculous children in Berlin alone, a million children dead in Germany from hunger and consumption since the armistice. But to become aware of the enormity of the evil one must see the school children with hollow chests and lifeless eyes, the corpse-like babies dying in the wards because their mothers' milk was poisoned by bad and exiguous food. Here is a whole generation on the verge of breakdown. Tuberculosis and rickets find an easy prey, and the soil is ready for epidemics which may spread to all Europe."

In this connection it is important to remember that the assistance promised by our Government has now been withdrawn.

In the House of Commons on August 16, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, replying to a question by Sir J. D. Rees (Nottingham, E., C.U.)—said that no further funds are being provided by the Government for the British Red Cross Society and other relief funds.

"I explained in an answer given on November 10 last," he went on, "that the expenditure to be incurred by the Treasury

under the Pound-for-Pound Scheme, in accordance with which grants to these societies have been made, was limited to £400,000. This has subsequently been increased, and a total charge of £750,000 has been made on the credit of £12,500,000 provided for loans and grants for reconstruction and relief in war areas in the estimates for loans to Dominions and Allies of the year 1919-1920 and 1920-1921, and paid to relief societies, whose accounts and procedure have been subjected to careful Government scrutiny. They have, therefore, effectively assisted in the starting of relief work in Europe, but they do not feel able to ask Parliament to vote further sums for this purpose, and therefore, no funds in addition to the £750,000 already paid will be granted."

Decrease of Sunday School Scholars.

Mr. E. W. Sara, the organising secretary of the Church of England's Sunday School Institute, says in a letter to the "Challenge":—"Since the beginning of the war we have lost about 400,000 children. The decrease in the number of children leaving our schools is, as might be expected, attended by a proportionate decrease in the number of teachers, the proportion being one teacher to every ten children."

Increased Production.

While politicians and newspaper writers are calling upon the workers to "produce more" the Capitalists, in certain cases, are deliberately restricting output. "Forward" quotes the following from the "Glasgow Herald":—

"Various circumstances of an unfavourable character have combined to place the rubber producing industry in an awkward position. Output nominally is at a high level, and a big and growing market is necessary to absorb it. Such market is not immediately available. America has proved a disappointment. Consumption in this country will always be large, but is necessarily subject to fluctuation. Just now manufacturers find themselves over-supplied.

"Curtailement of production would seem to be the only remedy for the unsatisfactory state of affairs. For some time the Rubber Growers' Association has been working to that end, and it is believed with reasonable prospects of success; but its efforts must be more actively supported than was the case on the last occasion that a similar expedient was attempted if really effective results are to be secured."

An Imperial Race.

"Pseudo-Socialists and others with a penchant for contrasting the ragged, ignorant, and hungry hordes of Soviet Russia with the enlightened and prosperous masses of this country," says the "Communist," "should on no account read an article by the Rev. J. Marchant that appeared in last week's 'Lloyds.' They might not survive the shock."

Here are a few of his facts:—

"During the last 40 years there have been 3,686,640 infant deaths and 5,529,960 still-births—a total loss of 9,216,600 lives, the vast majority of which might have been saved.

"After 10 years of medical inspection, 1,000,000 children in our elementary schools are so physically or mentally defective as to be incapable of deriving reasonable benefit from the education which the State provides. (See report by Sir Geo. Newman, Chief Medical Officer, Ministry of Health.)

"Of the children who left school in the healthiest area during 1914 (the last normal year before the War) one in ten had grave physical disability, two in ten were defective in vision and more than six in ten suffered from serious dental caries.

"Out of 2,500,000 men who appeared before the Army Medical Boards between November, 1917, and November, 1918, only one in three was certified as "perfectly strong and healthy."

"Most appalling of all are the death returns which show that no less than 47 out of every 100 occur under 50 years of age. During an average week 1,000 persons die from tuberculosis, 560 of whom are between the ages of 20 and 45. In London alone 90,000 people are at present suffering from this hideous disease."

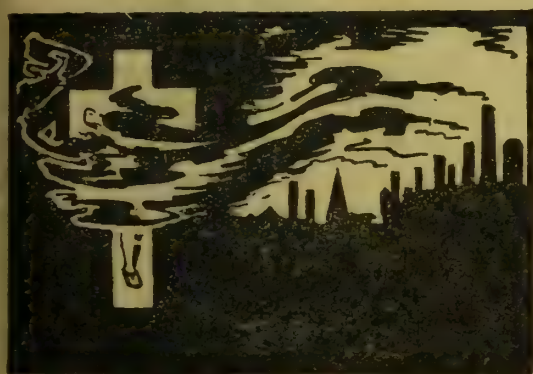
The Crusader

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The Outlook.

THE so-called rioting in Downing Street is a serious symptom. We say this without in the least minimising the justice of the case presented by the unemployed. The fact remains that the discontent now manifesting itself is largely uninformed and undisciplined. The discontent itself is a hopeful symptom. But it may prove a danger to the revolutionary movement unless it can be led by those who understand the root causes that have brought about the present situation.

THE method suggested by the Prime Minister for dealing with the question of unemployment bear traces of his customary superficiality and ingenuity. The proposals made on behalf of the Government do nothing to banish the suspicion that the employing class are deliberately exploiting the existence of a large number of men out of work to break down Trade Union regulations. Those regulations, from the point of view of absolute justice, may lack elasticity and preserve many of the traits which

made the old guilds close corporations, but such jealousy of dilutees is almost inevitable under a system which makes no adequate provision for the man thrown out of work in his own particular trade.

THE proposal to compel the Building Trade to admit these men is an attempt to make a section of the workers the burden-bearers for the sin of the whole Capitalist System. There is no suggestion that the masters should make an equivalent sacrifice—though it is obvious that the present high prices are severely limiting the market and reducing the chances of employment. But to remedy this would be to strike a blow at profiteering and that whole system of things which results in over-production and consequent drugging of the market.

THERE is a feeling that Mr. Lloyd George's Carnarvon pronouncement on Ireland marks the turning point of his career. But a community which swallowed the knock-out-blow speech during the war will have no difficulty in digesting this latest exhibition of British Prussianism.

THE latest reports from India show that the call to boycott the British administration is being responded to widely. A telegram from Simla, dated October 15th, announces that the students of the Aligarh College, after a visit from Mr. Gandhi and the Ali brothers, have decided to refuse to attend lectures delivered under the auspices of the British Government, and have taken an oath to support non-co-operation. They have also called upon their Principal to renounce his title of C.I.E., and to decline nomination to the United Provinces Legislative Council. They have requested the Trustees of the College to abandon the Government grant, and Mr. Shaukat Ali, one of the Nationalist leaders, has promised to provide one crore of rupees for the College in its place. The Simla correspondent of the "Times" states that in consequence of the boycott there will be no contests for the new Legislative Councils in many parts of India.



The Enthroned Carpenter.

The summer day stood at the meridian. On all the hills the glare of sunlight beat down mercilessly. The cattle had retreated to the shadows of big oaks or stood knee-

deep in muddy pools. The heat was breathless. The kindly earth had become a scorching rock. But with all this heat there was no flame. Then, as I remember, one of our number drew from his pocket a magnifying glass and held it over a patch of dry grass. The glowing pin-point of light thus produced wavered and flashed for a moment. Then the grass began to smoulder. In a few seconds a tiny flame burst out. Small as it was, however, it needed but a breath of wind to carry it to neighbouring grasses and to set the hillside on fire.

It is but a simple experiment. Anyone can carry it out, but there are wise men who miss its significance.

Look, for instance, at recent history! Were there space to enlarge upon the theme it would not be difficult to show that in the earlier part of 1914 the world was full of the spirit of war. Uneasiness was everywhere. In Ireland, in the industrial sphere, in the realm of international diplomacy, there was trouble of various kinds. The atmosphere was electric. It required but a spark to set the world ablaze. That spark came with the assassination at Serejavo. In itself it was a comparatively small event. At another time it would have passed almost unnoticed, but in the condition of Europe then prevailing it was more than enough.

Will it be some similar event which will bring to a head the revolution for which all are looking?

It seems certain that we have not yet reached the critical stage in our propaganda when some clear-cut issue can be brought home to the mind of the wayfarer. Do what we will we seem unable to escape from the realm of vague generalities. We cannot pin down our public with a question that drives right home.

Now this and now that is said to constitute an acid test, yet it must be acknowledged that in no case does the acid bite into the material supplied to it.

Christianity has not become sufficiently focussed to set the world on fire. We know what we want to say but are unable to say it. Although we are aware of the kind of event which would challenge the conscience of the whole community, we seem unable to create the conditions which might give rise to that event.

I believe that before it will be possible to engage the world's attention by some dramatic presentation of the truth our own faith must be more

definitely focussed. Our religious thought is diffused. Our prayers are ill-directed or directed at all. We breathe out aspirations to world at large rather than enter into personal, direct and heart-searching communion with One to Whom history has given both place and date. Our faith must be pinned down. Our worship must be focussed.

Of course, this concentration of spiritual energy has its dangers. It may result in fanaticism. A narrow zeal may take the place of real enthusiasm.

The Object that gathers to itself our scattered thoughts and indecisive wills must be seen in the light of imagination. It must be interpreted in terms of the whole problem of life as that is understood to-day. It is not Jesus Christ as an individual prophet contemporary with certain Roman statesmen who will set our hearts aflame. It is Jesus Christ in the light of all history, set in the midst of the warring forces of our own time enthroned above all the principalities and powers of the hour, interpreted with reference to His cosmic significance—it is this universal character which must be given to the event of 33 A.D. if faith is to be kindled to white heat. It is here that the Church has broken down. While loyal to the fact of the Incarnation, it has failed to make men feel that Fact is related to the whole of life, and is the interpretation of the whole universe.

Let me plead that in both respects we go as far as it is possible to go. We cannot be too definite, too concrete, too dogmatic. The Figure of Jesus must not be dissipated in a vague mist of sentimental pantheism or pseudo-scientific theosophy. On the other hand, we cannot claim too much for the Figure, or place It in too large a setting. It is impossible to place other men on the Throne of the Universe. To do so would be to make them a laughing stock of the heavens. They would be lost in the glory of their state, hidden under the robes of their cosmic authority. Not so with Him. The drama of Calvary calls for a theatre large as the Universe itself—tier above tier of crowded centuries gazing upon it. Those who seem satisfied with a conception of Jesus which expresses itself in terms as "teacher" and "prophet," have not seen the dramatic audacity of the Christian Faith and will never startle the world's imagination.

The Socialist quoting the sayings of Jesus and claiming for his movement the authority of the "carpenter" misses the point and utterly fails to appreciate the shattering power of the fact that the Carpenter is the Lord of lords and the King of kings.

It is the imaginative poverty of these conceptions that strikes one accustomed to the magnificence of Christian diction. Neither abstract virtues, nor Jewish peasants as such are likely to arouse the storms that overturn civilisations. But combine the universality of the one with the humble origin and conditions of the other, and you have a Faith which may indeed be expected to turn the world upside down.

THE TRAMP.

Spiritual Factors of Revolution.

When I want to feel the real power of the Socialist movement and to be gripped by its spiritual force, I turn to the literature of the Left-Wing. Here, more than in any other section of the movement, there is evidence of that mysterious creative energy by which man changes the world and makes it a more fitting habitation for his spirit.

Where else, for instance, will you find a more confident faith? Wilfred Wellock, writing on "Germany from the Inside," in the current issue of the "Socialist Review," thus describes the attitude of the Marxian Socialist towards the coming revolution:—

The great body of German Socialists see with astonishing clearness the collapse of capitalist rule, and watch the process of decay with prophetic calm, believing that the end of their oppression is near, that a new and brighter day is about to dawn. They are patient because they understand the game that is being played; neither hunger nor nakedness is able to goad them into precipitate action. Spite neither disturbs nor disappoints them; it but confirms their faith, increases their determination and their courage. To them Capitalism is collapsing by reason of its materialistic, anti-social nature, its inability longer to hold the world together. Socialism, they will tell you, is but the history of a growing revolt against an anti-social principle, and an attempt to replace that principle by a more spiritual one. And they claim that the spiritual debacle of the last six years is the justification of their assertions.

It is a curious thing that while Christians have frequently called that faith which was nothing more than intellectual assent, Socialists have gone to the other extreme; they have described as the scientific habit of mind what was essentially a spiritual quality; their doctrinal statements have been the expression of a real faith.

These are the Calvinists of Socialism. Among the heedless, credulous multitudes they stand out as rocks. The swaying of the tides of public opinion, the temporary victories of reaction, the formidable appearance of the powers wielded by Capitalism, do not move them. They hold to something deeper than appearances. They have faith.

The spiritual power in the revolutionary movement is evident in the self-discipline by which a certain section of the workers are preparing themselves to assume the responsibilities of Dictatorship.

There is before me as I write a pamphlet entitled "Direct Action." It is by William Gallacher and J. R. Campbell, and is published by the Scottish Workers' Committees. It contains detailed plans for the organisation of industry in the event of a revolutionary crisis. As one reads the directions given, it is impossible to avoid the impressions they give of creative power and spiritual independence. Of course, all such directions are in flat contradiction to what Socialists have for so long been telling us as to the impossibility of escaping the moral effects of the Capitalist system. One of the stock arguments against Christianity is that it is impos-

sible to put it into effect under present conditions. Those conditions are held to be prohibitive of any different code than that which Capitalism allows. The power of personality to overcome an evil economic system is practically denied. The impression is given that we can only react in a helpless mechanical way to our environment. But in this pamphlet and in scores of other similar publications demands are made which involve loyalty and self-sacrifice of the highest order. A capacity to assume responsibility is anticipated in those who all their lives have been wage slaves. Imagination and clear thinking is expected of men who might have made their motto Tennyson's famous line: "Their's not to reason why."

The men to whom this applies are opposing to the brute strength of Mammon the spiritual powers of their wills and the keen intelligence of trained thinkers. They may call themselves materialists, but their nomenclature is at fault.

It may be argued that there is little evidence of spirituality in some of the methods proposed for taking over the economic and industrial machine, and that this savours more of the barbarity of militarism than of anything higher. But that is to overlook one important fact. The armed resistance of men who have been cowed by the strength of the oppressor is itself evidence of a new spirit. Our profound conviction that ultimately only pacifist methods will succeed must not blind us to the spiritual difference between the cringing slave and the man who, standing on his feet, challenges the armed might of the tyrant. It is something that he should no longer accept his inferior status, but should venture to consider himself worthy to enter the lists with those whom hitherto he has regarded as his superiors.

Looking at this matter from another point of view, we reach the same conclusion. Not only in the resistance offered by the awakened worker, but in the ideals for which he is contending, do we discover signs of spirituality. As the "Workers' Dreadnought" said, in a passage quoted recently in our pages—

No one supposes that "the material well-being" is an end in itself. The suggestion is ridiculous. If there is any purpose whatever in Bolshevism it is that this material equality and material well-being is merely the first fundamental for cultural growth and spiritual growth—the first essential for the development of all those things whereby Man is superior to the lower creation.

In passages like that, and they might be multiplied, the aim of the revolution is seen to be the emancipation of man as a spiritual being from a system which has degraded him to the level of a beast of burden. The very fact that the emphasis is laid on status and not on higher wages is final and irrefutable evidence that essentially the revolution is a spiritual movement.

The Crusader

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We are bent on making the "Crusader" self-supporting. There are two methods by which that can be done.

It may be possible to procure sufficient donations to ensure the regular appearance of the paper for at least a year. But all cannot give donations, or, if they give at all, the amounts must necessarily be small.

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The difference between the cost of production and the amount charged for the "Crusader"—which, last week, we stated to be 3½d. on each copy—is decreased by every increase to our circulation. The more copies we sell the less we pay for each single copy.

It is possible to reach a point in which receipts from sales balance expenditure on production.

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Can you make the circulation of the "Crusader" your particular concern?

Will you become a Centre of Action?

Keep the paper before the public in your neighbourhood.

Send a copy of the Declaration of Dependence to your local paper. Get it talked about.

Wherever possible, get one of our posters exhibited at public meetings. See that you are supplied from the office with extra copies on the occasion of large meetings, conferences, congresses, in your town.

There is a big future before the "Crusader" and its work if we can find people with big enough minds to see its possibilities and to work for their realisation.

The Utilitarian Mind.

"Reading again, child! Have you no sewing or mending? Something to show for your time. It's a wicked waste to spend so many hours with your head in a book. What about your crochet?"

I wonder how many children have been goaded into a hatred of needlework by the reiteration of remarks such as these.

In these-days of improved education, there are still many people who unconsciously tyrannise over their children in this way. And rebellious, artistic little souls with hungry, underfed minds break their hearts over endless French knots, lace edgings, and various etceteras.

In a nursing home recently a tired mother was enjoying the rarest of rare treats—the prospect of a few hours utter idleness after hours of pain and years of drudgery. She was prepared to bask in the sheer luxury of doing nothing, when her dreams were disturbed by the unsympathetic voice of the matron saying: "Ladies, this morning! What ladies we are," and a moment later a number of towels and tablecloths which required hemming were impartially distributed.

I suppose this type—the person with the utilitarian mind—is a product of our present system. A system which decrees that those who most successfully smother or drug the finer feelings and aspirations, and concentrate upon "things which will show," shall be deemed successful.

Some day perhaps we shall have a saner system—of which Crusaders dream—when there will be scope for rest, and enjoyment, and self-expression for all.

THE PLOUGHMAN.

DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE.

The Declaration of Dependence can now be obtained as a separate leaflet from the "Crusader" Offices, 23, Bride Lane, E.C.4; price 4/6 per 100, post free.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE FUND.

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The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

Last week I wrote about the Forced Labour in East Africa. Correspondents have written expressing gratitude. I hope the matter will be pressed very earnestly by all whose consciences are troubled by such terrible proposals as the Government is making. Let us hear the crack of the slave-drivers' whips and the cry of a helpless people, let us hear it in our souls. If we try to save ourselves by closing our ears, we are traitors to Christ. All the Missionary Societies should have to face this question, all Free Church Councils should be urged to consider it, clergy and ministers should be approached, and every branch of the Church concerned with the kingdom of God on earth should have the facts brought to its notice. Let me say again that the facts may be found in the Bishop of Zanzibar's pamphlet, "The Serfs of Great Britain," published by W. Knott, 30 Brooke Street, Holborn, E.C.1, price 2d. Here is work for Crusaders, great and small.

And then there is Ireland. Many people must have hoped that the Premier's recent speech at Carnarvon (which was tantamount to an official support of 'reprisals') would have so shocked the Christian sentiment of the religious world that even the Free Church papers would have come out to a man, and repudiated the thing. But I find that a considerable part of the Nonconformist Press is still lying prostrate in the presence of the great Baptist, whose latest speech (I quote from the "Church Times") "has all the appearance of the wild talk of an excited nobody." For example, the "British Weekly" devotes no less than six admiring columns to Mr. Lloyd George and his disastrous visit to Wales. In the six columns of matter there is only one blush of shame, compressed into sixteen cautious words. The general tone of the whole may be gathered from such a passage as the following from the hand of an eye witness. "As soon as Mr. Lloyd George appeared on the platform I divided my attention between the pleasing task of cheering him to the utmost, and the more anxious work of scrutinising his face for any of those signs of age and weariness which we are told he has now and again shown during the last year. But the more closely I scanned his cheeks, eyes and movements, the more satisfied I became that there is at present nothing seriously wrong with him. Vigour and confidence seemed to issue out of him. . . . The hero of a hundred fights is evidently in good form." The worshipping penman goes on "I never felt him in more complete command of thought, imagination, language and voice than on this occasion. I do not think he fumbled for a word once."

Then comes this flick of unconscious humour to make the picture gay. "The word 'democratisation' nearly floored him; when he got to the first *at* he slackened speed, and the *is* was somewhat prolonged, but the word was properly finished, and the speaker smiled approval, as it were, of the good behaviour of his vocal apparatus." To some people

of the baser sort it will doubtless seem quite appropriate that Mr. George should trip a little at *that* word.

But Free Church journalism is not altogether without the courage to speak plain English on the question. The "Methodist Times," for instance, contains the following scathing comment on the Carnarvon speech. "When the Prime Minister gives apparent sanction to 'the hellish policy of reprisals' we believe that he reveals the moral decrepitude of the Government. Lawlessness cannot be met by lawlessness, nor murder by murder. 'Satan cannot cast out Satan.' No vituperation was too strong for us to hurl at Germany when she attempted to justify her brutalities during the war. The policy of reprisals was alien then to British instincts. It is alien to-day. Mr. Lloyd George by his immoral declaration has struck a mortal blow at his own Government, for 'the attempt to answer outrage by terrorism is not government but anarchy.'"

A Roman Catholic paper is moved to write quite plainly, too. I quote from the "Universe." "With the Prime Minister's treatment of Irish politics we have no concern; with his treatment of morals we have. In his denunciations of the assassination of policemen, he was but declaring the same moral principles which the Irish Hierarchy have repeatedly and solemnly declared, and to which all Catholics adhere. In his treatment of the equally grave matter of the 'reprisals,' it is difficult to feel that he rose to the occasion. Father Bernard Vaughan is generally considered to be, in his capacity of citizen, a sufficiently representative 'John Bull,' and we believe in his recent allusion to this shocking subject, he more adequately represented the national feeling. 'How could England pretend to rule other forces when she could not govern her own?' The action of reprisals made every Christian hang down his head, shocked, pained and humiliated. There might be conflicting opinions about the morality of hunger-striking, but there could be one verdict only about the hideous reprisals. It was the gospel of pagan despair, and was enough to draw from a patriot the cry, *Nunc dimittis.*"

The "Christian World" prints this week an interesting note on the success of Dr. Orchard at the King's Weigh House Church. The attendance at services is now so large that many are turned away from the doors. Attention is also drawn to the important series of Thursday night lectures which Dr. Orchard has just begun on "The Social Implications of Christian Doctrine." I am very glad to see that a book will follow the completion of the lectures. Such a book will receive a hearty welcome from many who are now beginning to appreciate the absolute necessity of bringing together into harmony the two great formative forces of history, namely, religion and economics. Their union appears to be the one possible solution of our present seemingly insuperable difficulties with the social order,

Studies in the Declaration of Dependence.

II.—THE SUPREME AUTHORITY.

"We appeal beyond kings, parliaments, and constitutions to the God of the Peoples."—"The Declaration of Dependence."

At various times the exploited peoples have appealed to those whom they regarded as set over them for their defence.

When, in the fourteenth century, the peasants rose in rebellion, under Wat Tyler, against the oppressive Statute of Labourers, they invoked the royal authority. Richard II. met them at Mile End and, in order to appease them, made large promises and brought the revolt to an end. No sooner, however, had the peasants dispersed to their homes than the promises were revoked, and 1,600 of the rebels executed.

The result of an appeal to the king on this occasion was a lesson which the Labour movement in this country never forgot. A similar story could be told of the Russian peasants and their pathetic faith in the Czar. The revolutionaries of 1905, going in procession to plead with the "little father," were met with grape-shot. There again the lesson was learned, and when the next wave of revolution came there was no thought of an appeal to the Czar.

Emperors and kings having failed, the people's faith turned next to those parliaments which the democracy itself had elected. The story of their disillusionment is one of the tragedies of the 19th century. The Chartists of 1848 brought their monster petition to the threshold of the House of Commons. It was a very harmless document. Its demands would be regarded to-day as almost reactionary. But the Middle Class, to whom, practically, the appeal was made, were panic stricken at this rising of the workers, and the Duke of Wellington's troops effectively disposed of the procession and crushed the hopes of the Chartists for many a long year.

From that time Labour has shown an increasingly marked tendency to work out its own salvation independently of any help from the middle-class. Latterly it has tended to rely more on its own industrial organisations than on political institutions.

Another Court of Appeal is sometimes invoked in social crises. There have been times when it was not in vain for the oppressed to turn to the Church as their champion. Even now there are occasions when ecclesiastical power is exercised on behalf of democratic rights. In Ireland at the present time the priesthood is almost solidly on the side of national aspirations, while, again and again, on the mission field native wrongs have been exposed by the plain speaking of missionaries who set the claims of the oppressed before the power of governments. And this is as it should be, for the Church professes to exercise an authority superior to that of earthly monarchies. But, alas! on the economic issues which concern so vitally the welfare of our industrial

population the Church has been appealed to all but in vain. There is no section of it that has not capitulated to Mammon. It responds readily enough to the whip of the capitalist press. Prime Ministers can secure its silence or its adulation. But the courage which sent Elijah into Ahab's presence to plead the cause of the weak has been singularly lacking when the vineyards of modern Naboths have been under discussion. The people have developed in consequence, a deeply rooted belief that to appeal to the Church is a useless and unnecessary proceeding. "The Church," they say, "is a class institution, and to invoke its authority is like asking the masters to cut their own throats. Our salvation lies in our own hands."

Democracy has worked its way painfully and by means of many a bitter disappointment to the position of the Psalmist who wrote "Put not your trust in Princes." It has lost its early credulity. Clearly, it sees the class bias of all those authorities to which it had been accustomed to appeal. This, however, is but half the process of liberation. The time has come to invoke that Higher Power with which men and movements are mysteriously in contact. We must appeal to the King of kings against the State. We must claim the authority of the Head of the Church against the Church itself. Mazzini wrote a manifesto, entitled "From the Council to God." Some such motto must serve us to-day. Let us invoke the highest Authority in the Universe! Let us challenge the whole of modern Capitalist Society in the name of God! That involves giving to our movement a definitely religious character. It means that the emphasis is shifted from rights to duties, from policy to principle. No man, no class is an end in himself or itself. They are part of a scheme of things too large for our human understanding to grasp. We believe that our programme is a part of that scheme. We hold, with the tenacity of religious faith, that it has the endorsement of that Ultimate Wisdom which guides the course of victory. Secure of that we can face in full assurance the prestige of all human tribunals. Confident of God we can be confident of ourselves and our class. Our past servility and fear and credulity disappear. Our manhood asserts itself because it first submitted itself to a Higher Judgment.

But what guarantee have we that we may claim the authority of God? On what, finally, does our faith rest? The term "God" is a vague one which we may fill in according to our subjective inclinations. Can we give it a definite character so that it shall be seen that God is constrained by His essential nature to lend the authority of His name to those whose programme it is "to preach the Gospel to the poor . . . to heal the broken-hearted and to preach deliverance to the captives"?

The answer to that we must defer to next week.

The Miner.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

Probably no class of men has ever been so fantastically misrepresented as have the miners during recent weeks by the Capitalist Press. The very shamelessness of that campaign has produced a spirit in the men thus slandered which may yet prove stronger than the whole of our nation's prostituted capitalist wealth. Never have I witnessed such determination to win soul freedom as I have in the mining villages of Durham during the last ten days. The fury of the Capitalist Press has made the miners think, caused them to realise more keenly than ever before what slaves they are, and to revolt against a life which makes it well-nigh impossible to express or to feed mind and spirit.

And, first, let me say that cleaner homes I have never seen than those I have entered during the last week or two in these mining villages. Yet everything militates against cleanliness, as soot and coal dust fly over everything.

We have all heard a great deal of late about miners' "free" houses and "free" coal. But the fact is that a liberal percentage is deducted from wages for both these boons. The proportion of "colliery" houses in many districts is very small, and from what I have seen of them I can heartily say the smaller the better. These houses beautifully reveal the mineowners' conception of the miner. A very large number of them consist of two rooms, one up and one down, often without back doors, and even back windows, so that it is not possible to have a through current of air. In these houses the last generation reared families of ten and twelve children. I have visited several mining villages where frequently as many as three families occupy a cottage of three or four rooms. In the village where I spoke last evening many flagrant instances of over-crowding were related to me, as, e.g., that where a family of four occupied one upstairs room, a newly-married couple the other, and a widow with four children the downstairs room. And in my new village, to-day, conditions are quite as bad.

Moreover, and this is the most deplorable fact of all, very few miners' houses are provided with baths or hot water. At the last place where I stayed the husband left the house at 3-15 a.m. and returned at 10-45. On his arrival home his wife covered all the "fire about" with sacks and cloths to enable her husband to take his bath on the hearth. There are two rooms downstairs—for these are fortunate people—and so the family clear out of the kitchen into the fireless room while the miner slashes himself about in a little zinc tub. Prior to this operation, my friend had been lying on the hearth showing me how he works, in what posture, within what space, etc. He wore a pair of very short pants, and stockings, just as he does in the mine, and every other part of his body was covered with coal dust caked with sweat.

At last I am beginning to understand what the life of a miner is, this "striking at a wall with all your strength all the days of your life," and why

there is such widespread revolt amongst miners against their conditions, their rôle of society's beasts of burden. The recent Press campaign has touched their dignity, kindled a spirit which those responsible for it will probably live to regret. That campaign the miners treat with contempt; they would not lift a finger to answer it. They are too dour not to see through it, too honest to enter the lists against such lying and duplicity. No miner is deceived by the "miners'" letters which have appeared in the Capitalist Press. "Those letters have never been written by miners," they will tell you. Their reply to those letters is to take the form of action.

So far as my experience goes, the revolt against the datum line is deep-seated and uncompromising. The very mention of the name calls up visions of a hell which miners would rather die than face again; they mean to have finished for ever with the "man against man" policy which was in vogue before the introduction of the minimum wage. "God save us from the return of those days," said to me a miner's wife, the other day; "I remember the time when my man came home and could not lift his food from the table for trembling."

The extent of the exhaustion which work in the mine entails is indicated by many little things. Miners, I find, require large fires and a tremendous amount of bed clothing. Everywhere miners' wives tell me the same story, that they themselves do not like big fires, but that their husbands can't do without them, so exhausted are they, and so necessary is it to conserve their energy for the next day's work. For the same reason, miners must eat heavily and sleep long. In fact, even with a six-hour day, reckoning for going and coming, preparation for work and cleaning oneself after work, and getting the necessary rest, there is little time or energy left for any kind of intellectual life. That is the real complaint of the best kind of miner to-day, and it is the complaint that this country is going to have to listen to.

In every one of these Durham mining villages I find a group of true, spiritual revolutionaries, men who have little time to read, but who are doing some solid thinking; and a good percentage of them are ex-soldiers. My present host, as was my host of two days ago, is an ex-soldier who before the war was a critic of Socialism and Labour. They both contend that the war has been worth while if only because it has served to open the eyes of so many working men "blinded by prejudice." They are keen beyond expression, and the great thing about them is their vision of the New World. They are beginning a real fight for liberty, for a life which takes into account mind and spirit as well as the body. I now realise why miners are heavy drinkers. Their revolt against drinking is one with their revolt against large families and all the conditions which assume that they are beasts of burden. The vision that is gripping the miners to-day is going to carry them much further than the rejection of the datum line.

IS IT A DEC

Occasionally sailors come across some vessel, abandoned by its crew, idly drifting at the mercy of winds and currents.

These derelict ships impress the imagination in a peculiar way. There is something human about a ship. As it strikes across the great waters of the world and, with unerring accuracy, reaches its destined port, it seems a conscious and intelligent thing, possessed of a soul, with a will and a mind of its own. When, therefore, it is seen desolately and idly drifting hither and thither without conscious purpose to direct it, the helpless prey of every wave, the wind whistling through its neglected rigging, it is as though we had met some demented creature in whom Reason had been dethroned.

A similar impression might be made upon us if we could visit one of those dead worlds swinging aimlessly through space. Once, for all we know, it was the home of conscious life. To-day, silence and death, like that of the poles of our own planet, have settled upon it, and it has become a gigantic tomb, yet without epitaph or other sign to indicate what once it may have been.

There are moments when I see our world become such a derelict of the heavens. For we are heading straight for world-suicide. One dismisses these thoughts as those of a hyper-sensitive mind made nervous and moody by the strain of our times. But am I the only one haunted by this nightmare? I wish I could think so, but I read the same Fear in other eyes. I discover the unspoken thought between the lines of other writers.

What are the facts?

Physical Bankruptcy.

The Economic Council which has been holding its Second Conference in London has published facts, the full meaning of which the most imaginative of us can scarcely grasp.

The picture that was revealed by the speeches was a gloomy one. It is not sufficiently realised that in the words of the opening speaker, Mr. J. A. Hobson, "The economic position is even darker now than it was in 1918. The recuperative forces which might have been expected to follow the war have failed to do their work." That this statement can be made by a responsible economist two years after the conclusion of hostilities, and borne out by every speech that followed, is a terrible indictment of the work of the Supreme Council.

Nor is the mere physical suffering of the present generation the measure of the tragedy. A whole generation has become physically bankrupt. Tuberculosis, typhoid, and other deadly enemies of the race have secured a foothold in this world such as they have never had before. Sanitary cordons will

be powerless to stay their progress. Disease germs do not respect national boundaries. The new generation has inherited a terrible legacy. Physical degeneracy and consequent mental debility are the gifts we are handing on to our children.

At present philanthropy is wrestling with the superhuman task of feeding and nursing the victims of this madness of the Conquerors. But even should it succeed in meeting the immediate evil, it has done and can do nothing to stay the causes. So long as the industries of the countries where these conditions prevail remain handicapped as they are at present by the Treaty of Versailles, it will be impossible to restore the life of Central Europe.

An Age of Wars.

These conditions are the aftermath of war. But incredible as it may appear, men are already planning the next great holocaust. Ingenious minds are busy concocting devilries that shall eclipse the horrors of the last war as an earthquake eclipses a thunderstorm.

Dr. Charles Horace Mayo, of Rochester, Minnesota, U.S.A., assures us that bacteria will be the weapon of the future. By filling the air with millions of microbes laden with loathsome and agonising diseases, it will be possible to saturate whole territory with unspeakable suffering at a minimum of cost and within a minimum of time. Cheaper than guns and bayonets, more certain results will be these new instruments of destruction. "In the future," says Dr. Mayo, "war will be won by invisible organisms. It will be a war of dropping capsules of bacteria over cities, which will have a most destructive effect."

Rear-Admiral Frank S. Fletcher, commissioner of the American fleet in Atlantic waters during the late war, professes that aerial navies are coming into fashion. "Airships will be pre-eminent; there is another great war, as the submarine was pre-eminent in the last," he says. "The great air battleship is a certainty of the not distant future."

Our aerial authorities have been assuring us that for an attack from the air to be really effective it must be continuous, and in the next war it seems certain that the populations of great cities will be subject to persistent attack carried on day after day.

The seeds of future wars are scattered everywhere. Quite apart from the innumerable quarrels engendered by the infamous Peace of Versailles, it is necessary to remember the new position and attitude of Japan.

A writer in the current issue of "The Workers' Dreadnought" says, with regard to this:—

At the present, however, it must be admitted that Japan is in an excellent strategic position and that she is gaining rather than losing.

CT WORLD ?

Stoddard reminds us: "For Japan the war had been an un-mixed benefit. It had automatically made her mistress of the far East and had amazingly enriched her economic life. Every succeeding month of hostilities had seen the white world grow weaker and had conversely increased Japan's power. Japan now owns the whole island chain meshing the Eastern sea-front of Asia from the tip of Kamschatka to the Philippines, while her acquisition of Germany's oceanic islands north of the equator gives her important strategic outposts in the mid-Pacific."

In the summer of 1919 the "Tokio Hochi," Count Okuma's organ, declared: "Let the Bolshevism of Russia be put down and a more peaceful party established in power. In them Japan will find a strong ally. By marching then westward to the Balkans, to Germany, to France and Italy, the greater part of the world may be drawn under our sway."

Eugene Shade Bisbee predicting that "Shantung will be returned to the Chinese exactly as Korea was returned to the Koreans," tells us:

"It is simply a repetition of the old axiom of the survival of the fittest. Necessity knows no law, and Japan has to have more territory or her ever-increasing millions will pour her natural geographical borders into the seas that surround her. If Japan cannot hold Korea and Shantung, then she will have to have some other territory. That will be either the Philippines, the Caroline Islands or a hunk of Manchuria, for her population is rapidly increasing, and she is not a nation cut out by nature for retrogression. She has been awake a little more than half-a-century, a tiny speck in the calendar of history, and she has gone straight to the front rank with the leading nations of the world—nations that required a thousand years to reach the plane Japan occupies to-day with only sixty years behind her."

Japan has all the imperialistic ambition and capitalistic unscrupulousness of Western nations, without even that small check imposed on the occident by its Christian traditions. Between America and this new Power of the East there has long been misunderstanding and friction. In the case of a war between the United States and Japan, our lot, the writer just quoted believes, would be cast with the latter.

"Maximilian Harden points out that 'if the caliph should summon the Mohammedans in India to rise against Britain, it would mean the end of her rule over 400,000,000 Hindus.' England's position is a serious one and regardless of her preference, she must realise how necessary Japanese co-operation will be to her."

Here are possibilities beyond human power to realise. It looks as though we were merely at the beginning of an age of Great Wars. The logic of Militarism, indeed, points to no other conclusion. The reason that led us into the last war and kept us in it until the knock-out blow had been given is still available for other wars.

It is evident that the conscience and intelligence of the masses are not yet sufficiently awake to avert this calamity. And the well-meaning efforts of the intellectuals and Liberals, bolstering up the defunct League of Nations, are wholly futile. Socialists can obtain a commanding position in world affairs only by a series of revolutions which would practically mean war on a world-wide scale.

The Optimists.

What one sees is a world given over to the wildest passions with no restraining Power to check its mad progress. Religion has lost its authority. A generation has grown up that has learned to laugh at the sanctions and disciplines of morality and Christian Faith. We are on the open seas, and there is no captain on board. It is no good blinding ourselves to these facts and predicting, with easy optimism, that this or that is going to produce a religious revival. The war was to have had that effect. Instead—as might have been expected—it had the exactly opposite result. The Mission of Repentance and Hope was to accomplish great things, but it has flickered out, leaving behind no perceptible trace of its having been.

Speaking of Mr. Asquith's political record, the Editor of the Sunday "Observer" said last week:—

"With reasoning phrases he drifts to catastrophe. By confirmed tendency he disbelieves in the ugly contingency until it happens; and he denies the risks for which the whole nation has ultimately to pay. . . . He prophesies comfortable things as though oracular rotundity by itself could dispose of every awkward possibility and presumption."

It is this facile optimism, of which Mr. Asquith is the political exponent, which is our greatest danger. It isn't the hard-faced men, but the soft-hearted men—the men who cannot bring themselves to contemplate catastrophic happenings, who are most to be feared.

The Problem of Faith.

A consideration of the facts make faith itself reel. Is this a derelict world? Is the race committing suicide?

In an hour such as this the jaunty assurances of the social idealists seems but a pathetic attempt to delude ourselves.

"These things shall be—a nobler race
Than ere the world has seen shall rise
With flame of freedom in their face,
And light of knowledge in their eyes."

That kind of thing can no longer be sung with confidence. Humanitarianism has no help to offer us. Unless there is some surer foundation for faith than a vague sentiment, we are lost. For to all appearance the Throne of the world is vacant. The last few years have destroyed our confidence in human nature as a thing in and by itself.

If we cannot identify God with Jesus, religionists, moralists, idealists, may as well give over the task of attempting to get mankind back to sanity and righteousness. We are up against a situation in which nothing but the boldest, most definite and dogmatic assertions of faith will save us as a race from complete extinction.

Some Old-Time Crusaders.

Kingsley, in "Westward Ho!" makes Sir Richard Grenville say to Salvation Yeo, "This is the way with your Anabaptists — But what do they care for the commonweal, as long as they can save, as they fancy, each man his own dirty soul for himself? —"

As a matter of fact, the Anabaptists, while caring intensely for the salvation of souls, their own and others, did care also more for the commonweal than men like Grenville could understand, for their thought was not of crowns and thrones, but men. Differing largely from each other in their religious and other beliefs, as men must who think for themselves, they were in general upholders of two main points: one, that in every man the inner light is present in some measure, that only by that light could the Scriptures be understood, and not by Church authority as said Rome, nor yet by mere human understanding as Luther seemed to hold (for in those days all accepted the Scriptures as in some form the final authority); that only faith could make a Christian, and that there was no faith without obedience. From which it soon followed that only those who had faith and obeyed ought to be baptised, and as they did not see how this was possible to infants, their practices soon led to their receiving the nickname by which they became known to the world. But the second point on which they all agreed, and which was the keynote that brought them for a long time all into harmony, was that the Kingdom of Heaven of which the Gospels spoke could be, and must be, realised on earth. The first point brought them at once into disfavour with all upholders of state religion, whether theologically connected with Rome, Wittenburg, Geneva, Zurich, or Queen Elizabeth. The second turned them frequently into Communists, led them into denouncing interest, rent and tithes, and generally made them the champions of the oppressed common people, whereby they became obnoxious to all persons of property whom they failed to convert, both laymen and ecclesiastical communities. Consequently, in almost every land, they were persecuted with a savagery from which even the Black-and-Tans might get some hints.

For a long time they were united in real fellowship, even when they differed considerably in opinion. The one real division was between those who refused to take oaths or to use arms, and those who believed it was right to obey "lawful authority" even in those matters. The latter, after a time, became as vicious as the famous porcupine. The city of Munster, suffering under the tyranny of its

Prince Bishop and his aristocracy, first became Lutheran, and then Anabaptist and Communist. They defended themselves for a long time, and there is no doubt that those who were thus trying to cast out Satan by Satan came under the influence of some other delusions during their long time of trial. On the other hand, most of the information about their doings comes from enemies, and is no more to be trusted than the Northcliffe Press on the Bolsheviks. In fact, Anabaptist became a popular term of abuse, like Bolshevik to-day.

All the forces of "Law and Order," Protestant and Catholic alike, rallied at last to the help of the Prince Bishop, but even so the city would have held out longer had it not been for treachery. Militant Anabaptism was wiped out in blood and fire. One feels they were good enough not to be allowed a success that would have utterly ruined them.

A MINER

...Writes:—"The fact that each copy of the CRUSADER costs 5½d. as published in the current issue has touched me "on the quick" so I hasten to forward my mite. As a coal miner I am not very wealthy in the worldly sense, but I must make an effort to pay cost price for one of the voices which gives me most inspiration."

The non-militant section suffered reproach in company with their brethren. Nevertheless, they were not totally wiped out. There is still at least one of the churches extant in France, although whether they are conscientious objectors nowadays is not known to the writer. In Holland, a numerous body of them became known as Mennonites, and after a time emigrated to escape conscription, finding refuge, of all places, in Prussia. But the monarchs of that land recognised their

economic value, and for a time they had religious liberty, until there arose another king which knew not Joseph. Catherine II. invited them to Russia. There until quite modern times they were exempt from conscription, and became prosperous farmers, being noted for their cleanliness, uprightness, and strict morality, but losing much of their spiritual fervour. But in the middle of the last century they experienced a spiritual revival, and at once they began to remember that the degraded Russian labourers who worked for them were men for whom Christ died. This was one of the main sources from which arose the great evangelical movement in Russia. Many Crusaders will remember the persecutions of the Stundists, or Evangelical Christians as they call themselves. These have now united with the equally numerous, zealous and persecuted Baptists, who owe their origin to the same religious revival. This news has lately come from Russia. Another authentic item is that the Gospel is freely proclaimed from Petrograd to Saghalian, for however much the Bolsheviks may in their own schools teach the children that there is no God, they have no quarrel with a religion that in Russia has sought

neither wealth nor place nor temporal power, and that through its spiritual ancestry can scarcely help fitting into a Socialist State. These people, at a white heat of evangelism, become brethren of the common table without thinking about it. All the believers—the few who were born into wealthy and aristocratic families, and the many who have always belonged to the people—call each other brothers and sisters, because no other word would express the truth and the whole truth and nothing but the truth. And in starving Petrograd, at the Dom Evangelia, a free and simple hospitality is still maintained. The prisoners are coming home in numbers from Germany, where many of them have been converted, and these make their way at once to the Dom and receive a true welcome.

The personal religion of these Russians breaks down national as well as class barriers. The choir of the Baptist Church at Vladivostok spent last Christmas Day (new style) at Saghalian, in order to cheer up a tiny church of less than a dozen Chinese, whose missionary had just died. By carefully selecting the hymns beforehand they were all able to join in, each in their own language. Afterwards the Chinese entertained their Russian brethren with tea and biscuits, and they returned the visit on old Christmas Day. The pastor of the Russians is a Lett who was pulled up at Vladivostok by American fears of Bolshevism when on his way to the States, and found that he was just where he was meant to be. It was not his first experience of Siberia, for the Revolution came only just in time to save him from a winter in one of the worst penal settlements. Religious persecution was never more than dormant under the old régime. Under the Bolsheviks it seems to be reserved for those who lay up treasure upon earth.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

WEEKLY MEETINGS ON MONDAYS.—The second of our open gatherings for all interested in our work will take place at the Minerva Café, 144 High Holborn (near the British Museum Station, entrance at back of building) on October 25, at 5.30. Tea will be served until 6.30, when MURIEL LESTER will give an address, followed by a short conference. If the coal strike should not be settled, all other arrangements will be set aside and the consideration of our own line of action be the only question before us. Would any friends whose genius runs in the direction of cake-making, etc., be good enough to help us at these meetings, as we want to give tea to all who can come and to make no fixed charge.

OPEN-AIR MISSION.—Quite a false rumour that we were going to drop the Marble Arch meetings now that the evenings are colder has evoked such indignation that we hereby state it has no foundation in fact. The week's meetings are as follows:—**FRIDAY, 22nd**:—6.15, Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon, Dorothea Strevens; 7.30, Leytonstone, outside G.E.R. Station: Muriel Lester, A. M. Pullen; 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen. **SATURDAY, 23rd**:—6.30, Marble Arch: Muriel Lester, Dorothea Strevens. **SUNDAY, 24th**:—11.45, Leytonstone, The Green Man: Muriel Lester, A. M. Pullen; 11.45, Leytonstone, near Midland Station: C. Paul Gliddon, Dorothea Strevens. **MONDAY, 25th**:—7.30, Leytonstone, outside G.E.R. Station: C. Paul Gliddon, Dorothea Strevens. **TUESDAY, 26th**:—6.15, Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon, Muriel Lester. **WEDNESDAY, 27th**:—7.30, Leytonstone: Rev. Frank Fincham. **THURSDAY, 28th**:—6.15, Marble Arch: C. Paul Gliddon. **FRIDAY, 29th**:—6.15, Marble Arch: Rev. Frank Fincham; 7.30, Leytonstone, outside G.E.R. Station: C. Paul Gliddon; 8, Walthamstow, Hoe St.: Alfred Cordell, Rev. R. W. Sorensen.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

Dr. Garvie Interviewed.

It certainly required courage to address such an august body as The Congregational Union of England and Wales, in some of the terms that Dr. Garvie used. But what may be strong food for the churches will not allay a Crusader's appetite.

Dr. Garvie says: "As human activities, industry and commerce, are subject to moral laws, which can claim an authority which the economic cannot, let us not affirm this with bated breath and whispering humbleness, but with the assurance with which the Hebrew prophet said 'Thus saith the Lord.'"

So far, so good, and much of the address is given in this spirit, but it is disappointing to be told that—

"It is a GRADUAL (small capitals ours) development that the Christian Church should desire and EXPECT. It MAY use its testimony and influence to bring about without violence such changes as are sure to come, and as, if it have faith, it need not fear to see."

It was in the hope of receiving some light on the continuance or otherwise of the present economic system that I called on Principal Garvie at the New College, Hampstead, and was shown into his comfortable but businesslike study.

He expressed surprise at the amount of comment his address had called forth. He had only spoken the truth, as every Christian minister should. He had been a life-long advocate of social reform, had a personal knowledge of slum life in Edinburgh, and, through a Students' Settlement, had come into close contact with the poor of Glasgow. In his earlier days he used to be called a Socialist.

I wondered whether there was a note of regret as he referred to his earlier days, for later he said that if he was sure that Socialism was Christian he would advocate it. The Christian Church must not commit itself either to individualism or Socialism.

Although he believes that if a man will not work neither shall he eat, the change should be brought about by common assent, and not by force. We must have reform, not revolution. It was not dynamite that was wanted, but leaven. Progress will and must be slow. The problem is to attain, without anarchy and break-up, something more nearly Christian. (The "Crusader" Commissioner had to restrain himself!) Wages should be the first charge on industry; not the minimum wage, but the LIVING WAGE.

Capital, Labour, and the Community each have an interest and may claim an influence in determining conditions of industry.

Questioned as to whether he did not think the present social system was anti-Christian, and whether it was right for one man to have the power over another that the paying of wages gave him, the Doctor's face softened; for awhile he seemed to forget the "griefs and fears" of to-day; his mind travelled to that "celestial hill" where a common brotherhood was no longer divided into Labour, Capital, and Community. He said that the true social ideal was to find our life by losing it. Service and partnership are the two ideals which should be made dominant in industry by the testimony and influence of the Christian Church.

Bookland. Civilization's Suicide.

Mr. H. N. Brailsford in "After the Peace" (Leonard Parsons, 4/6 net), does not spare the optimists. His criticism of the condition of Europe lacks nothing of severity, and the fact that he is one of the best informed writers on Foreign Affairs gives to his verdict the character of a pronouncement of doom.

Mr. Brailsford sees three possible courses open to us, but comes to the conclusion that each road is blocked by all but insurmountable difficulties. "The forces of revolution and reaction," he says, "seem to neutralise each other. The middle path will lead nowhere, unless the victorious Capitalist States promptly abandon their dream of exploiting the vanquished, and positively foster the industry which they have ruined for their own ends."

Capitalism and Production.

No remedy will suffice that leaves untouched the present economic basis of European life.

By its greed of profits, by its Militarism and Imperialism, Capitalism has evolved on suicidal lines, so that it cannot produce the goods which mankind demands, or feed the populations of Europe.

More explicitly and in greater detail the writer makes the same statement on another page. The passage should have the special attention of those, like Dr. Garvie, who imagine that by correcting the worst abuses of the profiteering mania we may recover an ordered and prosperous life for all. Mr. Brailsford says:—

"We started by asking whether Capitalism could continue to produce the necessary goods on a scale adequate to ensure modest comfort to dense populations. We have seen that under the pressure of the competitive motive, the victorious Allies lamed, if they did not quite ruin, the productive capacity of Central Europe. Is there really any anomaly in such a phenomenon? There is none. The aim of Capitalist industry is not maximum production but maximum profit. Sometimes the two may coincide. Often they clash. Brazil, for example, has an organised system, regulated by law, by which part of the coffee crop is destroyed every year if it exceeds a fixed level, in order to prevent a fall in prices. The logic of tariffs is based on the same reasoning. Capitalism does not aim primarily at the abundance of cheap goods. It aims at high profits and great accumulations. A shortage may serve it better than plenty, and its history is full of cases in which trusts and rings have organised a shortage and thriven on it. When the Allies ruined, or at least paralysed, German industry, they were acting in the spirit of such a ring. For a time, and for limited groups of Capitalist producers these tactics may mean immeasurable gains. To the whole body of consumers in the world, and even to the consumers in Allied countries, this policy was treason. It was an irrational, uneconomic policy from the standpoint of the general good."

The League of Nations.

Probing thus deeply into the evil and finding it rooted in the economic methods common to our Capitalist Society, the author of "After the Peace" has no hope in those whose remedies are no better than patchwork.

Liberals who believe that the League of Nations can begin to work, or that the Treaties can now be revised by general consent, turn a blind eye to the real force which governs the

world. This is Capitalist Imperialism. Its excesses might be pruned away by an Asquith or a Caillaux, if ever they return to office, but they would be the last men to give away the power which enables us to extort economic gain from naval and military mastery. A little more prudent, a little more humane they might perhaps be, but they would surrender none of the advantages which enable the ruling class of dominant nation to exploit other peoples overseas, by the use of force, for its own particular gains.

The book is constructive as well as critical. Discussing the possibility of a League of Nations which would carry real authority and be able to adjust national differences in a truly impartial manner, Mr. Brailsford declares that the crux of this problem is really the question whether an international Civil Service can be created. "Could the men of many nations who formed it," he asks, "contribute to reconcile their many divergent conceptions of conduct, personal rights and the natives' status, so as to form a service capable of cohesion, discipline and unity?"

The Religious Motive.

The passage in which the answer to this question is given is, perhaps, the most striking in the whole book. It needs to be deeply pondered. Coming from one who makes no public profession of faith, it is a remarkable tribute to the power of religious institutions to perform what political organisations have so lamentably failed to accomplish. It is worth giving entire.

The key to this problem is education. There is just one international body in the world which has solved it, and it is the Catholic Church. The Society of Jesus has never in all its many enterprises—educational, missionary, administrative and diplomatic—failed to blend its novices into a solid phalanx. Its failures and errors have never been due to nationalist friction or racial incompatibility. Its success in blending men of all nationalities has been due to a common system of education. In its schools and colleges it created a Jesuit mind, which, with all its failings and its qualities, superseded what was particularist and provincial in the original national character of its novices. The tale is dim and half forgotten to-day of the Jesuit Communist State of Paraguay. Few of us could recall any account of it save in the jesting pages of "Candide." The balance of evidence is, however, that for a century and a half the Fathers promoted the welfare of a big American-Indian population with a disinterestedness and a success unique in the history of the dealings of white with coloured men. This gentle and intelligent but by no means enterprising population never responded to the European stimulus of profit for individual work. The Jesuits organised it for social labour, and all the wealth of its great plantations was owned in common. With the image of a Saint, with banners and a choir at its head, each village went out in the morning singing to its fields, and singing returned in the evening. Festivals and pageants, always with a religious meaning, kept the people gay. They erected churches of a noble architecture, and cultivated classical chamber music. The records show that these fathers who taught the natives to build up a thriving agricultural life, and gave to all their labours the rhythm of a happy song, were men of all races—Germans, Dutch, Irish and Poles, as well as Spaniards and Italians.

With that forcible reminder of what can be accomplished in uniting men of various races by the religious motive, we must close our review of this powerful challenge to the conscience and thought of our times.

Is Economics To-day a Science?

If economics is a science, it has suffered more than any other in so far as the true scientific spirit has never been given full play in it, as in other sciences. Indeed, recently a correspondent to the "Times" drew attention to the fact that although he had had the opportunity of meeting accredited economists, he was invariably answered in the negative when he asked, "Have we a sound elementary text book on political economy?" and "Is it possible to cite six axioms upon which political economists are agreed?"

Those who accept the Marxian theories will have no doubt upon this subject, but it has to be remembered that Marx has derived his following, not from economists as such, but rather from adherents of the working-class, who have received from Marx their only satisfactory explanation of the existing economic phenomena. That fact indicates a class interest in the propagation of these particular economic theories, which also accounts largely for the antagonism of the economists themselves.

One must say largely, for were it not for the fact that economics may be viewed from two aspects, it would have been impossible for even the economists to ignore the destructive criticism of Marx in the manner in which they have done.

Those aspects may be explained as follows:—The development of our industrial system being based upon individual ownership and control of industry, had resulted in an economic organism being created which demanded some explanation in order that its progress might be unfettered. The orthodox economists, therefore, began by accepting the existing social order with its inequalities of wealth and its peculiar methods of production and distribution, and proceeded to describe the laws governing the same. For instance, they are all agreed that Land, Labour, and Capital are necessary to production, which is only another way of saying that wealth is distributed in the form of Rent, Wages, or Interest.

What these economists have succeeded in doing is only to DESCRIBE the phenomena of our society; which, since the capitalists who control industry have only one main object in view—the making of profits—is all that is required, providing it is sought to DEVELOP the production of the country on CAPITALIST LINES.

Until a substitute for "capital" is provided, the economist will naturally say: "Capital is provided out of the unequal incomes of the rich; therefore it is necessary for the continuance of production that there shall be unequal incomes"—and so we get another vicious circle. At the same time the use of public credit in the midst of a system based upon commercial credit must lead to inflation and economic disturbance, and even though it should be the only means of transition from capitalism to socialism, the economists would naturally denounce it, because it does not fit in with the laws of capitalist development.

On the other hand, Marx, when he analysed Capitalist economics, took quite a different standpoint, which accounts for the seeming incompatibility of the two methods.

He immediately questioned by implication the morality of such a disproportionate distribution of wealth as existed in his day and yet exists to a still greater extent to-day, and then commenced the task of EXPLAINING how it came about that wealth accumulated in so few hands, and so sought to explain the economic phenomena of our society.

It would be unwise to say that his theories were absolutely right in their application to society, but he did succeed in explaining the inequalities of society in their relation to political economy, as no other economist did, and surely economics is alone as a scientific subject in which theories are not welcomed unless they are absolutely and demonstrably true. This, in the face of his theories explaining such phenomena as the recurrent commercial crises and unemployment as no other economist does or can.

It would seem that the bourgeois economists have been limited to the humbler task of directing the world's education with the specific object of carrying on the world in the same old way, and to Marx was left the very arduous pioneer work of writing for the guidance of future generations.

In the innumerable articles on economic subjects which are penned to-day may be seen the paradoxes of Capitalist society as Marx portrayed it. Everywhere the points of divergence are on the possibility of increasing the welfare of both employers and employed at the same time, as in the case of increased production, for example, and if not, the question arises whether the working-class must not first seek to obtain their improvements by expropriating the Capitalist class. Certainly it is evident that however much increased production would benefit the working-class in the way of reducing prices, it would be no real gain for them unless the fear of unemployment were once and for all removed by adequate legislation and by the guarantee of either the right to produce or else to receive full wages whilst unemployed.

This no doubt would be opposed by the economists as not being practical and scientific, but then the question arises again, "Is Economics a Science?"

HOMES FOR THE HOMELESS.

Have you ever experienced, or can you imagine, what it is like to be in a strange town and unable to secure a night's lodging? If so, you will appreciate the difficulty in which German visitors to London find themselves, when they are turned away from London hotels, as they almost invariably are.

You can help to solve the difficulty if you have a spare bedroom. Already some "Crusader" readers have responded to the appeal, but at least 20 more names are wanted to make the scheme worth while. Can you—and will you—be one of the twenty? If so, please send to Miss E. Crohn, 14, Carholme Road, Forest Hill, S.E.23, particulars of when a room would be available and the charge per day for bed and breakfast.

The Crusade.

MISS WILSON'S ENGAGEMENTS.

Saturday, Oct. 23.—Wheatley Hill, Co. Durham: I.L.P.
 Sunday, Oct. 24.—Shotley Bridge, Co. Durham: Crusader Meeting.
 Monday, Oct. 25.—Arnfield Plain, Co. Durham: Crusader Meeting.
 Tuesday, Oct. 26.—Norton-on-Tees: Crusader Meeting.
 Wednesday, Oct. 27.—Leeds: Election Meeting For Women.
 Thursday, Oct. 28.—Leeds: F.O.R. Meeting.

MR. WILFRED WELLOCK'S ENGAGEMENTS.

Saturday, Oct. 23.—Penrith: I.L.P.
 Sunday, Oct. 24.—Carlisle: I.L.P.
 Wednesday, Oct. 27.—Nelson: Women's Co-operative Guild.
 Friday, Oct. 29.—Nelson: Independent Methodist Debating Society.

CAMPAIGNING IN SCOTLAND.

Theodora Wilson Wilson has spoken at meetings last week at Hawick, Greenock (I.L.P.), and in Glasgow (Friends and F.O.R.), Govanhill (I.L.P.), Study Circle, and Metropole Theatre (I.L.P.).

On every occasion she was struck with the thoughtful and eager attention given to the Revolutionary Christianity Message. The shareholders' statement movement was most helpful as an illustration, and led up naturally to the consideration of the wider and deeper "Declaration of Dependence."

The meetings have generally been well attended, and in Glasgow the Study Circle Hall was packed, and there was a large crowd in the Metropole Theatre. The children came in at the Study Circle meeting and an Explorer Guild will probably be formed.

So far the tour has been most encouraging and well worth while, but the difficulty of the extremely crowded lives of workers who count has to be faced.

Glasgow is eagerly awake on the Prohibition and Municipal Election business. Crusaders will have to make bigger efforts to widen the circle of those interested, beyond the overworked Jew.

The hearty warm welcome received everywhere has been a joy.

WILFRED WELLOCK'S TOUR.

The meetings among the miners of Durham have continued to be very successful. News of our meetings has spread and guaranteed us good audiences in districts where it was feared the reactionary spirit was too strong to make a meeting possible. The message we are proclaiming, which combines the economic and the spiritual unified in a complete ideal of life, makes a strong appeal to miners, and Christianity, so far as they are concerned, is beginning to come into its own. The clear recognition that Christianity is the promise and confirmation of all their hopes and aspirations is a source of inspiration and strength to the villagers of the north.

On Thursday, at Blaydon, a singularly reactionary town, our meeting was augmented by friends from the surrounding villages, especially Crookhill, where I had spoken on the Sunday previous. The result was that we got a full house. At all the meetings many "Crusaders" were sold. "Your meetings have been the talk of our pits, this week," said to me a Crookhill miner last Thursday.

Last Sunday we held successful meetings in Middlesbrough. In the afternoon the "Crusader" was represented at an open-air meeting, organised by the local Council of Action in favour of peace and the renewal of trade relations with Russia. We got a good company in spite of the cold wind, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

In the evening we held a magnificent meeting in the Town Hall Crypt. A gathering of unexpected magnitude assembled and the meeting was intensely attentive and most enthusiastic. Questions and discussion carried us right on to the hour for closing the hall. A large number of "Crusaders" were sold. We all felt that the meeting was an indication of the advancement of our cause.

CRUSADER CENTRES OF ACTION.

BIRMINGHAM—

Mrs. J. H. Dearne, 332 Moat Road., Warley, Langley Birmingham.

BRITON FERRY—

Mr. D. Gibbon, Jesmond House, Waters St., Briton Ferry Glam.

DUDLEY—

Mr. J. Downing, 86 Park Rd., Netherton, Nr. Dudley.
 Mr. W. E. Leedham, Canal Side, Netherton, Nr. Dudley.
 Mr. S. R. Tilley, 4 Hampton St., Netherton, Nr. Dudley.

DUMFRIES—

Mr. G. Douglas, 95 Queensberry Street, Dumfries.

GLASGOW—

Mr. R. Barclay Murdoch, 48 Cumberland Street S., Glasgow

GREENOCK—

Mrs. Blake, 18 Eldon Road, Greenock.

HEREFORD—

Mr. Edmund Jones, St. Omer, Whitehorse St., Hereford.

HORBURY—

Mr. A. Halstead, Austerland Villas, Middlestown, near Wakefield.

KETTERING—

Mr. J. C. Dempsey, Rothwell, Kettering.

LEICESTER—

Rev. Seaward Beddow, 108 London Road, Leicester.

LONDON—

Mr. G. Bickers, 133 Geere Road, Stratford, E. 15.
 Mr. G. P. Coverdale, 38 Glengall Road, S.E. 15.
 Miss E. Fall, 69 Morley Road, Stratford, E. 15.
 Miss E. Martin, 18 Avon Road, Walthamstow, E. 17.
 Mr. C. H. Offley, 43 Eastbourne Road, Tooting, S.W. 17.
 Rev. R. W. Sorensen, 31 Palmerston Road, Walthamstow, E. 17.

NELSON—

Mr. R. Bland, 203 Barkerhouse Rd., Nelson, Lancs.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—

Rev. J. C. Spokes, Cambridge House, Rowlands Hill, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

NEWPORT—

Mr. Trevor C. Griffiths, 40 Oakfield Road, Newport, Mon.

PENRITH—

Mr. F. Lester, Forest Mount, Penrith, Cumberland.

PERRANWELL—

Rev. F. Lee, Chycoose, Perranwell Station, Cornwall.

READING—

Mr. J. T. Hull, 89 Grange Avenue, Reading.

SCUNTHORPE—

Mr. C. Allcock, Rose Cottage, Ashby Rd., Old Brumby, Scunthorpe, Lincs.

These Crusader Centres of Action, as has been explained, are being organised with the object of enabling us at short notice to get into touch with various parts of the country, and, as occasion may demand, supply extra "Crusader" copies for special purposes. Volunteers are badly needed in the districts not yet represented and we should be glad to hear from readers who will act as our agents in their own localities.

The attention of our readers is called to the following list of meetings to be addressed, according to the "Daily News," by Mr. Asquith and other leaders of the Liberal Party. "The Crusader" should be on sale at all these meetings, and we hope that our readers will see to it that this is done. Copies can be obtained at the office on sale or return.

Oct. 23—Major H. Barnes, M.P., at Skipton.

Oct. 25—Mr. McKinnon Wood at Bournemouth.

Oct. 28—Mr. G. R. Thorne, M.P., at Hanley.

Oct. 29—Mr. Asquith at Leicester.

Sir D. Maclean, M.P., and Mr. G. R. Thorne, M.P., at Wolverhampton.

Mr. Masterman at Southend.

THE CHURCH SOCIALIST MAGAZINE.

CHURCH CONGRESS SPECIAL NUMBER.

CONTENTS :

THE LAMBETH REPORT—The Editor.
IF THE SALT HAVE LOST ITS SAVOUR?—The Lord Bishop of Zanzibar.

THE RE-DISCOVERY OF THE KINGDOM—The Rev. P. E. T. Widdrington.

THE COAL STRIKE—Fred Hughes.

REVIEWS :

The Report of the Labour Delegates to Russia—M.B.R.
The Report of the Archbishops' Committee on the Church and Rural Life—A Woman Diocesan Messenger.
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"The CRUSADER" AND ITS POLICY

STANLEY B. JAMES.

Questions and Discussion.

Admission Free.

*Must Brotherhood always end in Talk,
and only Hatred in Acts?*

It sometimes seems so, for

THERE ARE 500 "ENEMY" CHILDREN FROM THE FAMINE AREAS OF EUROPE

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Will you take a child into your own home, either free or at the actual cost of maintenance?

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Words in Pain (second edition). Swarthmore Press, 6/6 net.
Old Europe's Suicide.—By Brigadier-General Thomson. National Labour Press, 3/6 net.

CONFERENCE ON INDIA.

SATURDAY, October 30, at 2.30 p.m., Mortimer Halls, 93 Mortimer Street, W.1 (near Oxford Circus).
AFTERNOON : C. Jinarajadasa, M.A., "The Value of the Indian Temperament to Civilisation"; A. Yusuf Ali, M.A., "Educational Ideals in India"; Miss Minakshi Devi, "Some Aspects of Indian Life." EVENING, 7.30 : Indian One-Act Comedy—

"THE MAHARANI OF ARAKAN,"

Indian music, songs and dances. Special exhibition of Indian Arts and Crafts. Afternoon 1/-, Evening 2/6 (reserved seats) and 1/-. Tickets and programme from Hon. Sec. Britain and India, 7 Southampton Street, High Holborn, W.C.1.

Why a Declaration of Dependence ?

By THEODORA WILSON WILSON.

Reprinted from last week's CRUSADER. To be had in leaflet form 3/- per 100, post free, from the CRUSADER, 23 Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

THE CLASS WAR.—A series of Lunch Hour Addresses on this subject will be given at Devonshire House, 136 Bishopsgate, E.C., from 1.20 to 1.50 p.m. on Mondays, Oct. 4th to Nov. 8th inclusive. Speaker, October 25th : J. A. Hobson.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

ESPERANTO.—"The Christian Internationale at Bithoven, and other International organizations, have recently decided to make official use of Esperanto. Learn ESPERANTO between now and Christmas by giving an evening a week to its study. Classes now starting all over London. Details from Secretary, British Esperanto Association (Incd.), 17 Hart Street, W.C.1.

TWEEDS.—Any length cut. Suitings, Costumes, Overcoatings, Ladies Coats. Patterns sent on application.—R. A. Anderson, 21 St. Andrew Street, Galashiels.

TRANSPORT (MOTOR).—Contracts wanted. Heavy or light loads. Daily, weekly, monthly. Distance or Job.—M.A.P. Transport Co. (Direct Labour), 46a Stock Orchard Crescent, Caledonian Road, N.7. Phone : North 1988.

THE CRUSADER GROUP

WILL BE

AT HOME

Friday, November 5th, 5-30 to 7-30, at The MINERVA CAFE, 144 HIGH HOLBORN, W.C. (Entrance at rear in Silver Street), and invites you.

R.S.V.P. to "The Crusader," 23 Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

SIDELIGHTS.

Georgia's Bloodless Revolution.

Mr. Fenner Brockway has been interviewing Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, recently returned from Georgia. "The feature of the 'revolution' in Georgia," he says, "which particularly appealed to Mr. MacDonald was the absence not merely of violence and bloodshed, but of methods involving the suppression of speech, of the Press, of meetings, of organisations. There has been no dictatorship of any kind. The people, by an overwhelming majority, voted Socialist, and the national support behind the Government was so evident that everyone recognised its authority and concurred in its acts."

I asked Mr. MacDonald how the people came to be so Socialist in outlook. "In the first place, by reason of their opposition to the old Tsarist regime," he replied, "and, secondly, by reason of their enthusiasm for national freedom. It was the Social Democratic Party which led them in both these movements."

"But is the revolution as fundamental as the Russian revolution, for instance?" I asked. "Quite, so far as I can judge," replied Mr. MacDonald, and he proceeded to outline what has been done. "Eighty per cent. of the population are engaged in agricultural pursuits. The Government has carried through a change similar to that carried through by the Bolsheviks; that is to say, the idle landowning class has been got rid of by limiting the extent of land in the possession of one family and insisting upon its productive use. But in Georgia there is not the antagonism between the town and rural workers which there is in Russia; there is a sense of communal unity between them which is to be found nowhere else in Europe."

Mrs. Snowden is equally enthusiastic. There is an interview with her in the "Manchester Guardian" in the course of which she says:—

"From what I could see the dispossessed aristocracy are acquiescing in the new conditions. I met princes and nobles by the score who are now earning their living as chauffeurs or clerks, or in other employments, and, so far from complaining about the Government, they justified it. This, too, was the attitude adopted by a dispossessed prince whom I met. Of course, there are others who resent the change, but apparently they have gone to live elsewhere."

The Church Socialist League's New Attitude.

"In the memorandum issued by the London Branch of the Church Socialist League we notice that the aims of that militant society have undergone a change, while its principles remain unaltered," says the "Commonwealth." "Now its members are told that it is no longer so necessary as it used to be to emphasise the contrast between the lot of the workers and that of the middle-class, for property is already more evenly distributed."

"Nor is it the business of Church Socialists to preach revolt, but rather to lead to higher ideals those who are in revolt."

"Particularly do we need to enforce . . . that we can only get things right through a pretty general conviction that a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth, and that Labour, taken in the lump, needs a change of heart in this respect fully as much as Capital."

"For such a vigorous, not to say bellicose, society, it is a significant admission that 'We cannot take the crude working-class point of view of the "Daily Herald" or Hyde Park on May Day.'"

On the Trail of the "Crusader."

"The Trail," the official organ of the London Scout Council, has been discussing the question, raised by "White Fox," as to whether the Scouts are to be regarded as a military organisation. A correspondent who resents the imputations of militarism writes to "The Trail": What is behind it all? Why all this sudden "wind up," this sudden deference to the opinion of the man in the street, the wise men of the "Daily Herald" and the "Crusader"? Why do the heathen rage so furiously together, and why do the people imagine a vain thing?

The New Times.

When, oh Peace! will you live in the blood of Man? in the flesh and blood of men and women? Humanity is still in her throes, and the pains of her tortured social conscience have not ceased thrilling the nations. The unity of all with human features is approaching achievement. What was not accomplished by the Roman Empire, nor by the Catholic Church, nor by Napoleon: the Unity of Mankind, is coming about in our own days. It is rising from the blood of the sacrifices of a long world-war, and from the blood of the Revolution streaming from land to land. The International of the Human Mind is triumphantly on the march. The true human life is awakening. The feeling of unity has taken root at last. It is our earnest duty to spread the roots, to create a real community of life. Onward and forward!—Otto Volkart, "The Call of Humanity," September 15, 1920.

Anatole France's Island.

Questioned in a recent interview on the international question with reference in particular to the coloured races, he said: "I feel on that point, much as a learned friend of mine did. We were sitting before a café in one of those beloved portions of the Great Boulevards of Paris. Before us passed men and women of all nationalities and races. My friend contemplated them for a while and then said: 'I wish we could in this instant block up the ends of this street, imprison all the people in it and carry them off, just as they are, and plant them on an island in the South Sea. At the end of 50 years we should discover on that island the most perfect and cultured race on the face of the earth. And what a noble art it would possess!'"

The Irish Question.

Since August, 1914, the Irish question is no longer a purely British but an international question. The contention of the Governments of the Entente that they were fighting for the freedom of the little nations gave to the war a politico-moral interest. It was for that principle of freedom that the peoples were drawn into the war, and therefore they have a right to insist upon the principle being carried into effect.—Professor Augustin Hamon, Paris, taken from the "Menschheit."

No More Conscription!

The chance of getting the British nation to insure against a future war by some system of national training is now less than ever, because the working classes, whose political power has been almost doubled by universal suffrage, have made up their minds that there will be no more wars.—"Saturday Review."

Brotherhood of the Dissatisfied.

There's a brotherhood of the dissatisfied and the uneasy, and the anxious-hearted, and I believe it's they who will discover the Grail in the end, if it's ever going to be discovered at all.—Hugh Walpole in "The Captives."

Antiquity of Hunger-Striking.

"In the records of the Tower of London there is an account of a Scotchman imprisoned for felony, who for the space of six weeks took not the least sustenance, being exactly watched during the whole time, and for this he received the King's Pardon."—"Goldsmith's Animated Nature."

Safety in Disarmament.

"There have been no murders of Police in Dublin since the Dublin Metropolitan Police were disarmed at their own request."—Lord Monteagle in the "Contemporary Review."

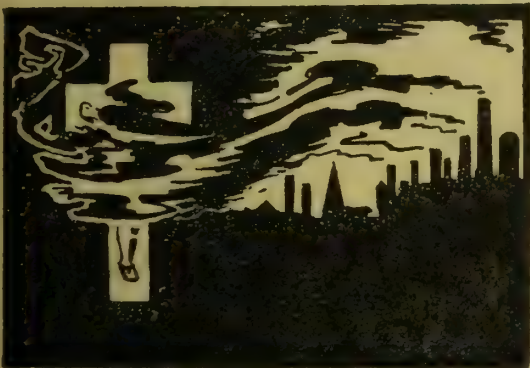
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The Outlook.

CAPITALISTS may call Mr. MacSwiney's death suicide, but the vast mass of opinion in Ireland and America will regard it as murder. Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues will be pictured as gripping Ireland with hands red with patriotic blood. A more deadly blow has never been struck at Imperial dominance. Yet it is but the logical outcome of Coalition logic. If, in the last resort, the Empire is held together by force, then it is evident that to surrender to the method of hunger-striking is to abandon the weapon of coercion. Every prisoner willing to endure the ordeal would be sure of freedom before death ensued, and an end would be made of prison as a deterrent. The Government has but acted up to the principle implicit in the whole system of Imperialism, just as the Germans accepted with severe consistency the logic of militarism. The result of such consistency on the part of the Kaiser and his advisers all the world knows. The outcome of Mr. Lloyd George's rigorous logic is equally certain. The bells that announced the Lord Mayor's death have tolled the doom of British power in Ireland.

IT may even be that this event will prove as momentous as was the assassination which released the passions of war in 1914. Ireland has been described as the lynch-pin of the Empire. With the withdrawal of that pin the whole Imperial structure may begin to fall to pieces. The world would be no loser. Capitalist Imperialism has had its day and served its purpose. The exploitation of weaker peoples by Great Powers can no longer serve as a foundation of world organisation. The equality of all national units is but the international application of the principle on which is based the claim for self-determination in industry. And that principle is surely if slowly coming into its own.

WE take little satisfaction in the postponement of the Railwaymen's Strike. If we could be assured that the interval would be utilised by the public in doing some hard thinking for itself the case might be otherwise. But with the immediate danger averted the ordinary citizen breathes freely again and plunges once more into the pursuit of profits or the excitement of sport. One of the conclusions to which one is faced is that a generation so incapable of serious thought reflects but little credit on the educational system under which it has been brought up. To teach all and sundry how to read, and then leave them to the tender mercies of the scribes of the "Daily Express" and "John Bull," does not strike one as being vastly wiser than the denial of educational facilities, accompanied as that denial was by the systematic teaching of the Church in matters infinitely more important than those expounded by the Press of to-day.

THE same lack of clear and imaginative thinking is apparent in Mr. J. H. Thomas' plea for more production. Such a plea addressed to the workers at a time when our capitalist Government is putting out of employment millions of men on the Continent and destroying the industries of whole nations, indicates either wilful blindness or a C3 mentality. If it is more production the world needs, let Mr. Thomas and his kind bring pressure to bear on the Government to restart the productive powers of the Continent!



The Higher Courage.

During the last few days I have been turning the leaves of an anonymous book, now in its second edition, called "Words in Pain." It consists of the letters written by

one who, when she wrote them, was under sentence of death. "The sentence," to quote the Preface, "had been pronounced by her doctor, an intimate friend, to whom, in her trouble, she had unburdened her soul. He was an orthodox Christian, and he hoped that she would find support and comfort in his creed. But her mind was cast in a different mould. The doctrines of orthodox Christianity did not appeal to her. But she found support and comfort in a religion of her own—a religion which she called Rationalism, though it may be doubted if that title was worthy of it—a religion of submission to Nature's laws, of joy in the beauty and glory of the world, of trust in human nature, of loving service to her fellow-men. The glow which this religion irradiated was strong enough to subdue the gloom of approaching death; and even when the shadow of death had enveloped her, her soul was cheered and sustained by its own inward light."

The book has been extensively quoted as giving evidence of the power of a rationalist creed to produce effects commonly supposed to be the exclusive result of Christianity. Indeed, it has been hinted that courage in facing death is greater where the consolations of the Christian Faith are lacking than where it has the support of a belief in God and immortality. The argument that the prospect of annihilation offers an opportunity for the spirit of resignation and courage which is not given where immortality is assumed sounds plausible. Certainly, as one reads these pages, it is impossible to escape the contagion of the bright and eager spirit that dictated them. Their cheerfulness, under the circumstances, gives the book a real inspirational value.

But is it true that Christian Faith displays a less robust and heroic temper?

The Preface from which I have quoted says that the writer of these letters found support in "a religion of submission to Nature's laws." She faced the fact of Death, that is to say, and accepted without flinching the annihilation which, to all appearance, it means. But submission is an awkward word to use when trying to produce evidence of heroism. We do not regard as displaying the highest form of courage those who submitted in by-

gone times to the apparently irremediable evils of plague and famine. However serene they may have been under their inflictions, we cannot but reserve the higher honour for those who refused to accept as inevitable these recurring catastrophes and whose faith led them to investigate and experiment till the causes were discovered, and both plague and famines proved unnecessary. Similarly, the resignation which used to be praised as a virtue of the poor is now seen to be one of the causes of their poverty. Our admiration is reserved to-day to those who challenge what used to be regarded as the unalterable "laws" of political economy. Even the soldier, accepting war as a necessary evil, and playing his part in it with cheerfulness and hardihood, does not inspire us with the same quality of admiration as those intrepid explorers of the Unseen, who venture to affirm in the name of God that wars will cease when men refuse to believe in their necessity.

So that it would seem that they who hold that it is not the will of the Most High that any of His children should perish, and who consequently claim for human personality the power to overcome Death belong to a higher order of heroism than those who surrender to appearances, however cheerfully the surrender may be made. The statement that "the last enemy which shall be destroyed is Death," to my mind, marks the high tide of courage. There feeble Man challenges the sable Monarch who has been able to cow into submission untold generations.

The audacious character of faith is overlooked. It is regarded as a sedative and a pillow on which the heads of the dying may rest, a narcotic to dull the acuteness of pain.

There would be some force in this view if Christian Faith revealed only those things which appealed to the natural man—if it were a Viking Valhalla or a Mohammedan Paradise. The life of the Blessed in the Hereafter cannot become a certainty to us unless we accept the conditions by fulfilling which the faithful have entered into their heritage. To view as an anodyne a faith which regards the Crown of Life as the result of a long and arduous battle of perversity. It takes a brave man to believe that the judge of all the earth is the Son of Man, and that He judges us by His own infinite standard. To believe in the Father of Jesus Christ is to set up over oneself a God whose will crosses our will at every point.

I throw back the challenge of the rationalist, charging him with spiritual cowardice. He has refused to make sufficiently large demands on life. He has not dared to ask for that which his heart craves. He crouches under a self-created bogey which he has named "Necessary Evil." To us of the Faith there are no necessary evils. The only kind of resignation we can recognise is resignation to that Holy Will that wills for all "more abundant life."

THE TRAMP.

More about the Revolution.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

My "Revolution-first-thing-after-breakfast-in-the-morning" friend is jubilant. He has just danced in to tell me how wrong I was in assuming that there would be no strike; that the miners were not beaten; and that the Revolution was no farther off than he had suggested on his last visit. And as I am in the throes of fighting a municipal campaign, in addition to editing a Labour newspaper, I took the line of least resistance, gave him a whole bundle of cigarettes that had been presented to me by somebody who couldn't smoke them himself—and regarded myself as very lucky indeed to get rid of him within a quarter of an hour.

"You said there would be no strike—and the miners are out!" he cried gleefully. "You said the miners were beaten—and they are going to get their demands granted! You said the Revolution was still a long way off—and the miners are to be supported by the railwaymen and the transport workers! What about it now, old man?"

That is exactly the question I am asking myself; and it is the question the whole Labour movement should be asking itself very seriously.

What about it now? Writing, as I always have to, a week before the "Crusader" reaches our readers, I can see little cause for the jubilation of my revolutionist friend. True, the miners have struck. I was wrong in my prognostication of an early settlement without a strike. They have struck for no other reason than that they were deliberately incited to strike by the Prime Minister. They have struck against the judgment of their leaders, who saw through the Government's tactics. And, curiously enough, in that very act of incitement, Mr. Lloyd George over-reached himself; and where-as before the strike there was a big volume of opinion against the miners within the Trade Union movement itself, now there is a steadily growing feeling against the Government.

But where will the whole business end?

This morning (Saturday), several of my friends of the N.U.R. informed me of the receipt of the strike telegrams. To-night I hear that the leaders of the railwaymen have been asked by the miners to call off the strike notices indefinitely. My revolutionary friend will be annoyed, but I am afraid he will have to possess his soul in patience for some time to come. The miners will get their 2s.; the strike will almost certainly be "settled" before these lines are read—and what then?

Every other section of the workers will begin the same silly game.

One of the clearest statements of the case against the strike for mere wage increases is that made by Norman Angell in last week's "Labour Leader." I should like to see a copy of that article in the hands of every Trade Unionist in the country. In that article Mr. Angell points out that many of the keenest minds in the Labour movement have been trying to convince their fellows of for some time past: that "the method of a series of general or

generalised strikes for a series of objects special to each industry in turn, is bound to fail, and that the true method, if it is to be by strike at all, is general or generalised strikes for general or common ends."

The day the miners struck I went for my papers as usual, and the woman who looks after the little newsagent's business at the corner of our street was furious with the miners. She is having a big struggle to make ends meet. "The selfish things!" she exclaimed. "All they care about is themselves; they don't care a button about the likes of me who will have to pay more for coal when they get their rise."

Of course, she was wrong. But she was concerned about the one thing that mattered to her—the price of coal. And the dropping of the original demand for a decrease of 14s. 2d. per ton on household coal did not help matters from her point of view. Leaving out all the silly talk about "selfishness," the plain facts of the case against all recent strikes are that they have merely given one particular section of the workers a slight monetary advantage over other sections of the workers at the expense of the whole body of workers, and that every other section of workers has to adopt exactly the same futile method in their frantic struggle for a bare existence.

That way is about as sensible a method of securing the emancipation of the workers as would be that of feeding a dog on its own tail. Every such strike merely aggravates the evil. And the workers lose every time. As Norman Angell says:

"When, after this strike has simply compelled the railwaymen to come out for their two shillings, and the tie-up is complete, the children will of course, begin to die for lack of milk, and the old people freeze for lack of fuel."

What is to be done? Norman Angell points to the way some of us of the "Crusader" have been advocating—

"A general strike which can not only stop the vital services of the country under the present regime, but start them under a new one, will succeed. To do the first without the second will be completely futile.

In a word, when a majority of the workers of the country have become conscientious objectors to the present social disorder, and make up their minds not to be parties to its functioning for another day; and, more important still, when they get together and decide on the kind of social order they want, and make up their minds to get it—when this mental revolution has taken place in the minds of the people, the real Revolution will be here.

Until that time arrives the miners will continue to be beaten, and every other body of workers will continue to be beaten in turn, and Labour will continue to wander blindly along a road which leads to a cul-de-sac.

The Crusader

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Editorial Communications
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Business Communications
To the Secretary,
 23, BRIDE LANE, FLEET ST.,
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Your Vote on November 1st.

"Not the side which can do most," said the late Lord Mayor of Cork, "will win, but the side which can endure most; only through suffering can freedom be won." It is in that spirit that the latest and most prominent victim of English brutality died.

Against the force created by self-sacrifice of this type Militarism is powerless. A spiritual energy has been released with which the Castle Authorities will be utterly unable to cope. The Event has lifted the whole conflict on to another plane. Not only does it make ridiculous the puny power of soldiers and police; it exposes, once for all, the folly of those acts of reprisal to which Mr. MacSwiney's countrymen have been driven. Beside his heroic end the killing of Government agents appears in its true light. The Lord Mayor has done more by his death to discredit the methods employed by some of his compatriots than all the ravings of the Coalition Press and the scoldings of Coalition politicians.

When English patriotism attempted to commemorate Nurse Cavell it erected a monument to her which was a glaring contradiction to the words in which, in her last hours, she expressed the spirit of peace and forgiveness. When Irishmen erect on the free soil of an independent Ireland, a monument to the brave man who has just died we may be sure that the words we have quoted will not be forgotten.

But it is not by such monuments that he will best be commemorated.

It is for us who believe in the principle to which he gave expression to build the true memorial. In the shadow of his death let us reconsecrate ourselves to the task of establishing, in the heart and conscience of this nation, the Kingdom, whose foundations are love, self-sacrifice and endurance! Only so can we fittingly commemorate his deed.

YOUR OPPORTUNITY.

The Women's Freedom League have extended hospitality to us to take a stall at their Green, White and Gold Fair to be held on Friday and Saturday, November 26 and 27 (time and place to be announced later). We feel that by accepting this offer we shall be giving an opportunity to all our friends with deft fingers and clever heads, who are unable to subscribe to our funds. We found last year that the stall proved a most useful exchange between those who have little money but who have time and ability to make things and those who need these things and are willing to pay for them. In this case we reap a benefit from both parties. The stall also provides uncommon and attractive Christmas presents. Gifts of provisions, such as home-made jams, pickles, and cakes, or farm and garden produce are always popular, also useful household articles and plain clothing. Please keep the dates free to come and buy and kindly send non-perishable goods before Monday, November 22.

Someone has recently written a book entitled the "Underworld." It depicts, I believe, the lives of the toiling miners. The miners are well on the way towards working out their own salvation. But there is another "Underworld" where the people are crushed and hopeless, and some of them are suspicious. In fact, there are many such underworlds. They exist in most of our suburbs, tucked away out of sight. I have discovered several recently, narrow roads with tiny houses in which two or three families drag out their existence. Some of the women were trim and tidy, perhaps, once upon a time. Now as they stand at their gates, the fact that their hair is in many curlers, seems to indicate that once upon a time they were not utterly regardless of their personal appearance. It is generally just at dusk when, still in their working garb, they gather together on the kerb for a gossip. Do they never have a wash and tidy up? What is the use? These are the women who go out in the morning cleaning and scrubbing, and washing clothes for the more fortunate folk who can afford help. Some of them have a round, and specialise in one department—step-cleaning. Some of them sell flowers, and some call round to collect rags, or bottles, or newspapers. And having gathered a few coppers from their respective occupations they go home and do their own housework and washing and cooking. It is marvellous how some of them hang on to a few shreds of self-respect. And who can blame those who, becoming crushed and hopeless, just go on and on and cease to care?

They are so unaccustomed to being treated as if they matter that a friendly good afternoon produces a look of wondering child-like incredulity. This is followed by the remark, "Oh, it's voting I suppose. That's the only time anyone comes down this road. What can the likes of us do?" They are very nervous about voting. "Will they ask us any questions?" "Do we have any forms to fill in?" Some of them promise to vote. It may seem a small thing, the act of voting. But if all the crushed and hopeless people in the world could be roused to oppose those who stand for private profit, instead of the common good, the cumulative effect would be tremendous. A vote would provoke thought, and thought would lead to revolt, and a nation in revolt would be well on the way to working out its own salvation.

Many Crusaders, I believe, consider Municipal Elections unimportant. But we've got to carry on, until our dreams evolve into realities, and to me, the Public Health, Housing, and Education, are matters of vital importance. It may not, therefore, be out of place to remind Crusaders that on Monday, November 1st, it is in their power to lay another foundation stone to prepare for the New Social Order, by voting for those who stand for Comradeship and Co-operation, and for the opportunity for development and self-expression of all.

THE PLOUGHMAN.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

Much fun has often been made of the "Gloomy Dean." And, at times, popular laughter has turned to tears over his evident delight in twisting Labour's tail, girding at Democracy, gibing at Progress, and being generally disrespectful to the idols of the day. But did my readers see the fine thing this remarkable man said to the Church Congress? In case any of them missed it, I quote.

"Dr. Inge, Dean of St. Paul's, speaking on 'Our Duty to our Late Enemies,' said 'We who have no share in shaping the foreign policy of our country can make it clear that we wish for nothing but good to our late enemies, and we disapprove of doing anything to hinder their recovery. Some of us said things about our enemies during the war which we now feel to have been violent and unjust. I know I did myself. You will forgive me for making what some would call a pro-German speech, but, as Edith Cavell said, 'Patriotism is not enough.' In Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, German nor Englishman; we are all one man in Christ Jesus.'"

Such a transparently sincere and open declaration by a speaker on the programme of a great Congress of the Church should have far-reaching effects. A few similar utterances from the leaders of organised Christianity in all its branches, and the Church's defeated position might be retrieved. Who will join the Dean? His noble stand for the spirit which overcomes evil, not with evil, but with good, is a challenge to all the many clergy and ministers who have lately put aside this teaching. It is becoming more and more clear what a terrible price the Churches of every denomination have paid for their long and cowardly subservience to the principles of a paganised and Mammon-worshipping age. And when I say "cowardly," I do not forget the good intentions with which the thing was done, nor do I forget the subtle and overwhelming nature of the persuasions to which the Churches at last yielded up the very heart of their faith. But many ministers now realise what has happened, and are increasingly uncomfortable about it. Who of them will join the Dean and make what atonement they can at the eleventh hour?

If some of our religious leaders would go humbly and publicly into the confessional and say, "We did wrong, and are sorry," they would gain men's respect again. And then the world would be ready to listen to them. At present the world has not the slightest interest in what they are saying, because the world has no faith in them; and it will continue to lack faith until it sees some self-sacrificing act of sincerity on their part.

But it is no path of roses that issues from the confessional. I hear that the Dean met with angry interruptions. One can but suppose that it fails to strike those who opposed the speaker that they were really not objecting to him at all, but to the doctrine of Christ which he was faithfully declaring

to them. It would seem that these professedly Christian people would silence Christ Himself—unless, of course, He was very careful what He said about the Germans!

Mentioning the Germans reminds me that certain Oxford professors and others in the University have just broken the political ice very splendidly by addressing a letter of friendship to professors and members of learned societies in Germany and Austria. "The letter," says the "Christian World," "is based on the old idea that scholars and seekers after truth live in a higher and serenest atmosphere, above international rivalries and jealousies, and that, therefore, they should be the first to seek to re-establish friendly relations." The letter has nearly sixty signatures and will make some amends for the deplorable manifesto issued by learned men in England near the beginning of the war, and answered by another document of the same kind from the German learned. But unfortunately it has to be pointed out that the Vice-Chancellor and a far larger number of the professors and teachers have not signed—including the Vice-Principal and all or almost all who represent medicine, science, law, and history. And yet there are those who tell us that all we need is more education!

Last week I remarked on the overflowing congregations at the King's Weigh House Church, where Dr. Orchard is minister. This week I am interested to see that the "Church Times" devotes a two-column leader to what Dr. Orchard is doing. It is not usual for an English Church paper to take any notice of anything going on in a Congregational Church, but here we have full recognition that an extraordinary work is proceeding, and on the whole the view is sympathetic. Speaking of large congregations, I see by the "Challenge" that Miss Royden is attracting huge crowds now to the services she is conducting in Kensington Town Hall every Sunday. People wait outside in long queues, and many have to be turned away.

Comment on the miners is singularly restrained, and there is a good deal of dissatisfaction with the Government, especially with the Prime Minister's chilling reply to Mr. Brace. The "Challenge" wisely remarks: "The claim for another two shillings for each shift is an expression of a momentary phase in the situation. Behind it glows an intense dissatisfaction with the present relation of Labour, Capital, and hereditary ownership. Nationalisation is only on men's lips because in their hearts they are overturning the economic system that has prevailed for centuries." The hour has struck. Revolution is here.

It seems that a bishop's address sometimes puzzles the postman. Here is my chapter and verse for the statement. The Bishop of Hereford has just said that he once received a belated letter marked—"Not known at the Palace, try the Hippodrome."

Studies in the Declaration of Dependence.

III.—FAITH AND THE SOCIAL ORDER.

To Him Who has raised to the Throne of the Universe the Carpenter of Nazareth, and promised to Him all the Kingdoms of the World, we commit our cause. We invoke His Spirit. We declare our dependence upon Him and Him alone.

It is customary to regard the articles of Christian faith as having no particular relation to the revolutionary programme. Where the advocates of radical social change have deigned to refer to the New Testament they have, for the most part, been content to quote such passages as seemed to be free from theological implications and to give only ethical counsel.

This, it may be pointed out, is entirely contrary to the method employed by the earliest representatives of Christianity. When, for instance, Paul would impress on the Philippians the necessity for lowliness of mind, he rests his plea on the ultimate facts of the Christian revelation. "Have this mind in you," he says, "which was also in Christ Jesus: Who being in the form of God counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant being made in the likeness of men." When, on the day of Pentecost, Peter made his attack on the ecclesiastical and civil authorities who had crucified his Lord, he did not do so by recalling the life and teaching of Jesus, but thrust into the foreground of his proclamation the fact that He whom they had crucified, God had raised up.

When, therefore, we are told that these doctrines are the additions of a Church that had drifted away from the social gospel, and that if we would recover the communism of the early Christians we must discard all theological matters, let us remember that those who first realised and most daringly practised Christian Communism did not follow this method. It is something more than a coincidence that they who laid the foundations of Christian Socialism also laid the foundations of Christian theology.

It may be granted that the Church which, at a later age, formulated the Faith was, on the whole, blind to the challenge which that Faith offered to the whole feudal system. But in certain respects it did realise the democratic implications of its creed. The monastic establishments of the times were far more communistic than any Bolshevik Society is ever likely to be. Men of different social station and of different races lived together on a basis of economic equality, "none calling anything his own"; and, strangely enough, while hundreds of non-ecclesiastical schemes of communism have broken down, the monastic experiment succeeded, and persists to the present time.

Another fact, in closer relation to the statement at the head of this article, is the remarkably democratic manner in which the offices of the mediæval Church were filled. At a time when feudalism set an impassable barrier between one class and another, when serfs were bound for life to their lord and his lands, and a rigid caste system dominated

the whole social life of Europe, the highest offices of the Church were open to those of the very lowest rank. It was no uncommon thing for a promising serf to receive freedom and to be trained in the service of the Church. "The most striking feature of the centuries to the sixteenth," says Cutts, in his "Parish Priests," "is the way in which the Church opened up a career to all ranks and classes of the people Only through the theory and practice of the mediæval Church did poor men's sons become lawyers, architects, sheriffs, scribes, physicians, and teachers."

Will it be said that there was no connection between this "theory and practice" of the Church and its reiterated Confession of Faith that God had "raised to the Throne of the Universe the Carpenter of Nazareth"?

But there was one serious flaw in the ideas of Churchmen with regard to these matters. They acknowledged a double standard of ethics. What was wrong for a priest, they assumed, might be justifiable in a layman. Thus, for instance, though a priest might not bear arms, it was not thought inconsistent with a Christian profession for a layman to do so. And, although the most complete economic equality prevailed in the monastery or convent, there was no suggestion that this form of society might be extended to the world at large.

But this double standard must be abandoned. In the regulations governing these we see a prophecy of the regulations that must one day govern the whole of Christian Society.

Surrounded by a world-order in which millions are denied freedom of self-development and shut out from the beauty and plenty of the earth, we appeal to the God Who Himself shared the lot of the humblest and reigns to-day, not as an autocrat having no affinity with the citizens of His Kingdom, but as truly representative of our Humanity. We appeal to that God who is not ashamed to be known as the Son of Man. Our social programme is based on the affirmations of faith that He Who became a peasant and an outlaw is God and Lord and shall judge all nations, governments, and societies. We believe that all Authority rests with Him. Kings, politicians, plutocrats, may for awhile assume the airs of insolent might. But that can only be as long as the people are ignorant that their title deeds are registered in the heart of the crucified and crowned Jesus.

The appeal to monarchs and parliaments has failed. The appeal to Science is an appeal to a Court whose findings change with each succeeding century. The appeal to the Church has meant a heart-breaking experience of disillusionment. We raise our eyes beyond all these. Gazing at the enthroned Carpenter and reading in His Face the confirmation of our most daring dreams, our most sacred hopes, we exclaim—

DEUS VULT.
GOD WILLS IT.

Wages and Religion.

By REV. HUMPHREY CHALMERS, M.A.

The question of wages is acute. Throughout all countries there are strikes and rumours of strikes. The immediate cause is the rising cost of living, but the root of the matter lies deeper. The wage system itself is on trial. On the one hand, organised labour is everywhere seeking to restrict or abolish piece rates, based upon output, while organised capital is trying to extend that system. The great coal dispute, which, as I write, is still unsettled, is a case in point. The miners have demanded an increase, irrespective of output, on the ground that the average wages earned by them are below the amount stated by the Board of Trade to be a subsistence wage at the present cost of living. The Government, which in such cases is strongly biassed in favour of the employers, suggests that the men are shirking, and are not doing a fair day's work at their wages. So they propose a "datum line," which means that, if the miners increase output, they will be paid more.

The demand of a living wage, irrespective of output, is based upon a sense of the essential value of the worker's life. As no man asked to be born, when he is brought into the world he has a "right to live," even if, through bad heredity or environment, he should be unable to work as efficiently as others. This view has the support of Jesus' parable of the Labourers, who each received, whether they had done a full day's work or not, a full day's living wage. On the other hand, there is the difficulty that there are many who do shirk work, and that they are to be found in all classes. There are desperately idle rich, idle middle class, and idle poor.

In view of this, the suggestion of payment by results seems at first sight reasonable; but only at first sight. It penalises the willing weakling and the worker whom circumstances have forced into an unsuitable employment. Moreover, in much work, results cannot be fairly measured, and where they can, payment based upon them would be unfair. The miner works in a safe mine on an easy seam with sufficient appliances, and can, without undue exertion, achieve a vast output. Another is in hourly toil in a cramped and difficult place, and insufficiently supplied with trams to take his coal away. However hard he works, his output is meagre. The same applies to most other industries. Piecework always tends to be scamped work and dangerous to the worker.

No one thinks of paying the professional classes by results. If doctors or ministers were so remunerated, they would be tempted to produce faked

cures and faked conversions in order to keep themselves and their dependents from starving. I am old enough to remember how the question of payment by results in connection with Scottish education was thrashed out, and the system abolished because it was ruining education. And yet we have seen that a living wage does not necessarily lead to efficient work. Cabinet ministers receive first-class wages, but the undertakings of two years ago—peace, reduced prices, the war paid for by Germany, the hanging of the Kaiser, half a million new houses, the nationalisation of the railways, and a few other things—are not fulfilled, and it is easy to see that payment of Cabinet ministers by output would only tend to a faked output.

What, then, is the solution? It lies deeper than economics, and that is what Mr. H. G. Wells means when he declares that the future welfare of mankind depends on the re-discovery of religion. If a minister of the Gospel ought to give his best work whether he is well paid or not, because his work is too sacred to be stopped or scamped; if a doctor ought to give his best services alike to rich and poor because of the sanctity of human life and health, all human service must be cleansed and glorified until no worker can dare to give less than his best. To do this, fear and suspicion must be got rid of—the fear of shirking and strikes, on the one hand, and of exploitation and lock-outs, on the other. At present people are suspicious of one another. Adequate wages are not given because of the fear that the workers will shirk. The workers shirk sometimes because they know that often by increasing output they produce a "glut," involving unemployment and a reduction in wages. To remedy this, we need both a new system and a change of heart and mind—the re-discovery of Jesus' sense of human values. Apart from that, all the present conflicts will end, whichever side wins, in disillusionment and despair.

The fact that the Church has always stood for the gathering of ourselves together has vast social significance; the forsaking of the assembly means more than individual loss; it means in the end tragedy for the community, for it means the gradual loss of the social consciousness which springs from the primitive and universal habit of corporate worship.

—W. E. ORCHARD, D.D.

WATCH IRELAND!

The death of the prisoner of Brixton Gaol brings almost a sense of relief. The tension was becoming unendurable. With the final defeat of his poor wasted body, something has snapped, and things that might have been possible had he survived are now and for ever impossible. The death of MacSwiney will reverberate throughout the world. We have been made aware that the report of his sufferings had attained to far greater proportions in the public mind outside this country than they were allowed to attain here. Now that he has passed away we may feel confident that the attention of the whole world will be more intently than ever focussed on the country for which he died.

And not without reason.

Ireland focusses in a remarkable manner the world struggle now in progress. There is a conjunction of forces arrayed against the Government which is to found nowhere else. If these forces can effect a real alliance, growing into each other and interchanging their various contributions, Ireland may become the birthplace of a movement of even deeper import than that which has made Russia a creative centre in the life of the world.

For, consider!

The Sinn Fein movement in its present phase is not explicitly Socialistic. Ireland has not had that experience of industrialism which creates Socialists. The traditions of the pre-capitalistic era still live on. As in Russia, the population belongs largely to the peasant class. But this does not mean that there is nothing in Sinn Fein akin to the great Communist movement that is sweeping over the world. James Connolly, the prophet of Ireland, and the strongest mind on the side of Irish nationalism, was fond of declaring that his country had never in heart abandoned the Communal traditions of its earlier history. As in Russia, the revolution availed itself of the village mir and the well-known Communal characteristics of the moujik, so there is, in the survival of early Irish Communal traditions, the link which will unite Sinn Fein with the aspirations of the international social movement.

The more deeply the national spirit lays hold of those now directing the forces of rebellion, the more clearly must they see their relationship to Socialism. Connolly's book on "Labour in Irish History" is nothing else but an attempt to show, in historical terms, the economic basis of the Irish movement.

But, though you have, on the one hand, this close approximation to the economic cause that is stirring so deeply the workers of Europe, you have in Ire-

land, on the other hand, an almost unparalleled alliance with the popular movement of the intellectuals. Men like George Russell have been drawn into closer and closer association with the revolutionists. The poets and dramatists are all on one side. Hence the deplorable absence of genius and imagination which characterises British Labour finds no parallel across St. George's Channel. The Celtic character seeks natural expression in such channels as are provided by these powerful allies and there is a kinship between the common people and the men of letters which is almost inconceivable here.

But still stranger and more significant is the identification with the cause of Freedom of the Church. That body occupies a place in the affections and loyalty of the people in Ireland to which there is nothing at all comparable in this country. Here, Labour and Religion, at least in their official relations, are miles apart. No sort of alliance seems possible between them. But the crowds that wait outside Irish gaols, where patriots are incarcerated spend the time in repeating prayers and listening to the injunctions of their priests. Masses are said for the souls of those who perish in the national struggle. Bishops issue pronouncements condemning the oppressor, and, in a hundred different ways the struggle assumes more and more the character of a deeply religious movement.

It will be seen that there are here the elements of a synthesis which may shake the world. Like some chemical combination which results in an altogether new product, there may result, in the soul of Ireland, a fusion that will create a movement harmonising, for the purpose of national liberation and world redemption, religion and labour and art, and bring into line priest, and poet, and revolutionist.

The desperadoes of the Coalition are performing a service of which they little dream. The pressure of their tyranny is driving these elements into closer and closer conjunction. The resulting product will be of an explosive character, and the explosion, if it may well be, will blow our corrupt civilisation into the air.

Therefore, Watch Ireland!

LETTER TO MRS. MACSWINEY.

Upon receipt of the news of the Lord Mayor of Cork's death, the "Crusader" Group sent to Mrs. MacSwiney a letter expressive of their deep sympathy with her in her personal loss.

Church *versus* Empire.

The quarrel between Church and Empire is an old one. It occupied the energies of the greatest ecclesiastics and statesmen of the Middle Ages. But since the sixteenth century the quarrel has subsided. The Church has become all too subservient to the State; where not actively supporting national quarrels and party programmes, it has declared itself neutral; the realm of political and social ethics has been placed "out of bounds."

During the war the Christian conscience came into conflict with the militarism of the State, thousands of young men, many of whom took the Christian point of view, preferring to suffer the penalties imposed by the Conscription Acts rather than violate their sense of right. But they acted as individuals. No single Church as such definitely opposed the State. On the contrary, in the majority of cases, the various ecclesiastical bodies only too willingly lent themselves to the purposes of the militarists.

From time to time, it is true, futile protests against some comparatively insignificant evil have been uttered by the Free Churches or individual denominations. The use of public parks for games on Sundays has roused resentment, but there was no protest against the great game of war being carried on during the hours dedicated by custom to the worship of the Prince of Peace. Leaders of Non-conformity found time to organise opposition to pugilistic encounters, but did not cease to support the policy of the knock-out-blow.

Now, however, the oldest Church in Christendom, so far at least as it is represented in one part of these realms, has definitely thrown down the gauntlet to the Empire, not on some minor issue, but on a question of supreme Imperial importance. According to the "Freeman's Journal" of Wednesday, October 20, the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, at a meeting in Maynooth College, presided over by his Eminence Cardinal Logue, adopted a vigorous pronouncement directed against the Government's policy of repression and provocation in dealing with the Sinn Fein movement.

The Church, in this case, is not the aggressor. The forces of the Crown have, on more than one occasion, taken upon themselves to dictate terms to representatives of the Church and to interfere with their ministrations.

As an instance of the length to which this has been carried, we quote from the "Daily Herald," whose correspondent in Cork recently reported as follows:—

An extraordinary scene occurred to-day in SS. Peter's and Paul's Church, where a requiem Mass for Michael Fitzgerald, the dead hunger striker, was celebrated before an immense congregation.

As Canon O'Leary was pronouncing the absolution over the coffin, an Army officer with a revolver in his hand, and followed by four soldiers carrying their rifles, marched—one might say rushed—into the church and presented the canon with a document limiting the number of persons attending the funeral to a hundred.

The Pronouncement in question is a lengthy document. It sums up the situation in these words:—

On a scale truly appalling have to be reckoned countless indiscriminate raids and arrests in the darkness of night, prolonged imprisonments without trial, savage sentences from tribunals that command and deserve no confidence, the burning of houses, town halls, factories, creameries and crops, the destruction of industries to pave the way for want and famine, by men maddened with plundered drink and bent on loot, the flogging and massacre of civilians, all perpetrated by the forces of the Crown, who have established a reign of frightfulness which, for murdering the innocent and destroying their property, has a parallel only in the horrors of Turkish atrocities, or in the outrages of the Red Army of Bolshevik Russia.

The argument concerning the coercion of Ulster is dealt with in a crushing manner:—

The plausible sentiment of not coercing Ulster is founded on false pretence, but on false pretence with a purpose. Any one of ordinary judgment can see how undesirable it is to coerce a minority if in reason the process can at all be avoided. But to give a guarantee to a minority in advance against all coercion is to put a premium on unreasonableness and make a settlement impossible. Had such a pledge been given and made good to the minorities in Canada, which clung to Downing Street and resisted the concession of responsible government at home, that blessing would never have matured and created the great Dominion of our time.

It is not hatred of coercion that operates in Ireland but partiality for the North-East. "Ulster" must not suffer the contamination of a Dublin Parliament. But all Ireland must be coerced for the sake of the North-East, and especially Tyrone and Fermanagh must be put under a Belfast Parliament against their will. That is the outcome of the very acme of cruel false pretence, and if it be pressed, we warn the British Government of the danger of bitter and prolonged civil strife, with far greater reason for it than for the hostility to a single Parliament which, at the bidding of intolerance, the Government endorses in advance.

But by far the most notable passage in this episcopal pronouncement is that in which the persecuted people are bidden trust to the protection of God rather than to the method of reprisals advocated by Imperial politicians. It follows so clearly the lines of our own Declaration of Dependence that it might well serve as a concrete illustration of the spirit and method therein set forth. The Irish Hierarchy expresses itself thus:—

It is for a nation of martyrs to cultivate constant self-restraint. Our people were a great Christian nation when pagan chaos reigned across the Channel. They will remain, please God, a great Christian nation when the new paganism, that now prevails there, has run its evil course.

Our relations with England has been always a terrible misfortune for us. But in the end the constancy of Faith is sure to prevail. It will hasten the day of freedom and peace if we resolutely "walk as the Children of the Light; for the fruit of The Light is in All Justice and Godliness and Truth."

Accordingly, "see that none renders evil for evil to any man, but ever follow that which is good towards each other and towards all men." God is our help, as He has been through all the centuries of trial, the hope of our fathers. With His blessing upon us we need fear no foe. With His light to guide us we need dread no future.

Whatever theological differences may exist between "Crusader" readers and the signatories of that statement, none will deny that we have here a Christian document of the highest value.

Would that our own Churches expressed themselves as clearly and with the same restraint and wisdom!

Factory Smoke: a Reflection.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

I was strangely depressed as the train sped on; my heart was like lead. What was the reason? An hour ago, had I not been buoyant and full of hope? A moment's thought revealed the reason, the cause of the heaviness which, for the time being, seemed almost like despair. Still listlessly looking out of the carriage window, I asked myself: "Why should such scenes depress me? Are they not the signs of England's prosperity and greatness? Surely my mind has not become warped?" But the depression remained.

When these thoughts occurred I was travelling south and approaching an industrial town on the North-West Coast of England. On my left, in the distance, was an aptly-named town from whose concourse of gaunt chimneys thick streams of black, white, and yellow smoke were issuing, which were being swept by a powerful breeze at right angles across the sea. I sat and pondered. And the people in yonder town, how do they live? Are they free and happy; have they comfortable homes; are beauty and art their handmaidens? I knew the answer. Below those defiant chimneys I saw a black patch which spoilt the landscape, looked like a scab upon the verdant earth. That scab is civilisation, I reflected!

After a little while my eyes turned wearily towards the opposite window, to the grey, calm sea which moaned sadly. After a few minutes that sea became splashed with the rosy red of the setting sun, whose glory enlivened the heavens.

It was a wonderful sight, and as I gazed my heaviness appreciably diminished. But it is a sad reflection upon our civilisation that we should turn to Nature for solace from its oppressions and iniquities. Must it be ever thus? I asked. Does not art interpret Nature, inspire as Nature cannot inspire? Then why cannot the vision which inspires art also inspire practice, commerce and industry?

My heart grew lighter as I gazed on that glory, and then, as I saw those horizontal streams of smoke stretching out towards the effulgent, Western horizon, I suddenly felt that there was a sort of glory in them, too. Ere I knew it, I was possessed by a vision. In a trice those trails of smoke were transformed into dust-clouds from the hammer-strokes of laughing, revelling gods, expressed the riotous harmony of the beauty-burdened souls of God-like men. It was a vision of a world set free.

Across the broad plain, in the stretching valleys and up the far hill slopes, nestled in trees by tiny streams stood the countless dwellings of a valiant race of men. The styles of those dwellings and the manner of their approaches baffled my timid imagination, while the colour and gaiety of the general surroundings shocked my chastened tastes. Everywhere I observed men and women walking about with an unfamiliar gait, as though their bodies were provided with elastic. Their dresses were simple but arrestingly elegant. But the look upon their faces, so manly and yet so gentle, and lacking

all trace of servility, of fear, and of brute assertiveness! I was almost afraid to approach such men. Purpose, intelligence and delight were expressed upon all brows.

As I roamed about I observed people assembling in various open places, where they sat, for the most part, upon rugs on the green sward. They were engaged in all kinds of industry, many of which were quite unfamiliar to me. A few read and discussed. All the while, on the raised sward, children danced in appropriate costume. They did not appear to follow any programme other than their own desires.

Among none of these people did I notice any trace of snobbery, for none were rich and all possessed the amplest means of self-expression. All the men in the district went down into the industrial area for two hours daily to work in mine, shop, and furnace, being free to spend the remainder of the day at occupations which attracted them.

Soon after leaving the open-air theatre I passed under an extended archway of roses. As I proceeded I heard a child's voice: "Come and dance! Come and dance!" Whereupon two little mites skipped across the path, like rabbits, and vanished out of sight.

A moment later my brain was pierced by a shrill scream, and soon after we steamed into the cold, bleak station of —. I had nearly an hour to wait, and went into the town to get a cup of coffee. The narrow streets, covered with grime, flanked with low, sombre-looking dwellings, and thronged with a forlorn procession of strikers and unemployed, brought me back to reality. I found a small cafe and entered. As I sipped my coffee, two well-dressed, well-fed men discussed the strike at the adjoining table. "It's got to be done," said one of them, "and the sooner the better. We've dallied long enough. We must fetch out the military and shoot 'em! If they assemble, shoot into 'em, right into 'em! It's the only way. Give way now and you hand over the country to anarchy. Mining's not a bad job. A miner's protected from rain and snow, and works where it's nice and warm and comfortable. The miners have money for drink, and not six months ago I knew of a miner who bought a piano! . . ."

About an hour later I reached my destination and was conducted to the house of my host, a miner. He is a teetotaler, and does not possess a piano. In his shirt-sleeves, he sat with his wife at a little table folding and addressing copies of his Urban Council Election Address.

I related my vision and my cafe experience. My host's eyes grew dim; he shook his head and said: "We've a long way to go. But, comrade," he continued, "our people are seeing the vision, and a vision is like an aeroplane, it carries us along quickly and, what is more, upwards. Then forward, brother!"—and he brandished a handful of Election Addresses high in the air.

Bookland. The International Mind.

In his introduction to the Swarthmore International Handbooks, of which he is Editor, Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson says: "Their avowed object is not merely to record facts, but to present them in a certain light, and with a certain object. That light is Internationalism, and that object the peace of the world."

The Handbooks, which are published by the Swarthmore Press at half-a-crown each, will perform a much-needed service if they can fulfil the publishers' object of producing books at a price that shall not be prohibitive to people of small incomes. For, as the Foreword to the series says, "the world cannot be saved by governments and governing classes. It can be saved only by the creation, among the peoples of the world, of such a public opinion as cannot be duped by misrepresentation nor misled by passion."

The volumes at present published will give an idea of the nature of the series. The Editor writes on "The Causes of International War," G. P. Gooch's volume is entitled "Nationalism." The problem of "Unifying the World" is dealt with by G. N. Clark. L. S. Woolf has tackled the subject of "Economic Imperialism."

The Roots of Imperialism.

It would be difficult to overrate the importance of this last contribution to the Swarthmore Handbooks. It is not merely that it is written with the wide knowledge of the subject possessed by the author. The fact that gives it special value is that it does really get to the roots of the disease known as Imperialism. It is, according to Mr. Woolf, neither the love of adventure nor national pride which leads to the building up of Empire, though these motives have their place. The driving force of Imperialism is economic.

"The impulse to the acquisition of these empires came from financiers and traders; the actual acquisition was largely the work of agents and officers of joint stock companies; and the power of the European State was directly or indirectly placed at the service of these companies and financiers because Europeans had come to believe that the power of the European State should be used in Africa and elsewhere to promote the economic interests of its European subjects."

Further on Mr. Woolf repeats this assertion as to the economic basis of Imperialism.

"Economic Imperialism," he says,—

"is only the logical application of capitalism and its principles to internationalism. Europeans have, as we have seen, approached Africa and Asia from the point of view: 'What profit, what economic advantage can we get out of these two continents?' The answer is obvious to anyone who has been educated in the school of capitalism; just as the holder of capital in Europe has been enabled to exploit the worker and consumer economically for his own profit, so the white man, armed with the power of the modern State, and the weapons of modern war, and the technical knowledge and machinery of modern industry and modern finance, can reduce to subjection, and then exploit economically for his own profit, the land and labour of the less developed Asiatic and African. Hence, just as in national society in Europe there have

appeared in the last century clearly defined classes, capitalists and workers, exploiters and exploited, so too in international society there have appeared clearly defined classes of the imperialist Powers of the West and the subject races of Africa and the East, the one ruling and exploiting, the other ruled and exploited."

A Startling Question.

Considering these facts, a startling question suggests itself. The foundations of the British Empire, it is clear, are economic. Sentiment may play some part, pride may be another factor, but the real cement that binds together this unwieldy mass of territorial possessions is undoubtedly the same that builds up and extends Big Business.

But the reign of Capitalism is drawing to a close. It cannot produce the goods for the feeding and clothing of the world. When, then, this motive of profiteering is no longer operative, when exploitation of "inferior" races is discredited as a national policy, what is going to become of the British Empire? When the cement crumbles, what will happen to the building? The answer is already becoming evident. In Ireland, in India, and throughout the world, the subject races are in revolt. The downfall of Capitalism will mean the end of Imperialism. Like those great Empires which preceded it, the British Empire will cease to be. Having played its part and exhausted its historic mission, it will go the way of Assyria, and Babylon, and Rome.

Nor is there cause for mourning in this. The ground will be cleared for the Empire of the Son of Man.

The League of Nations.

But it is not only Imperialism that will perish. The League of Nations has little chance of succeeding to the heritage of the Great Powers. "The States which are members of the League," says Mr. Woolf,—

"are capitalist States, organised on a basis of capitalistic imperialism; the statesmen who signed the Covenant are capitalist imperialists; the peoples in whose name they signed accept the beliefs and desires of capitalism as the principles of their private lives and of their public policies. So long as Western States are organised on these principles and men accept these beliefs and desires of capitalism and imperialism, they will not, in fact, regard the land and peoples of Asia and Africa as a 'sacred trust of civilisation,' but as a field for grabbing a profit from the oil of Mosul or for obtaining cheap land and cheaper labour."

The closing pages are concerned with constructive proposals of a suggestive character.

The volume under review is the only one of the series which we have been able to examine with any thoroughness, but if the other Handbooks are of the same educational and propagandist value, it would be difficult to point to any series of books, at a popular price, on the questions dealt with, better suited as text-books to guide the thought of Adult Schools, Study Circles, and similar bodies.

Revolution in the Building Industry

MALCOLM SPARKES ON "DILUTION."

If the "Building Trades' Parliament" is to be the "mother" of Industrial Parliaments, then Malcolm Sparkes may be said to be the "father of the House," for it was he who was responsible for its creation. I found the "father" in his office in Oxford Street, not a white-bearded old man, but young, clean-shaven and alert. Formerly a master builder, he felt the need for revolution in industry, and was busy with his new scheme at the beginning of the war, when he was arrested as an absentee. Governments do not countenance short cuts to the New Jerusalem. But Malcolm Sparkes has already signed the contract to build! He is secretary of "The Guild of Builders (London) Ltd.," and they are making a start with four hundred houses at Walthamstow.

This involves paving the way to the new industrial order. The Guild is based on The National Federation of Building Trades Operatives which has 60,000 men in the London section. It is a bold move towards democracy in industry, for the Guild is controlled by the people who do the work and not by the people who put up the money. Space forbids to show how this is not an ill-digested scheme but a scientific form of industrial administration. It is the embodiment of the "pull together" idea. Mr. Sparkes is an enthusiast on what he describes as the "team spirit" in industry. He says that in five years' time, people will be asking why we did not do it before. He is convinced that the Guild System is the way out of our industrial difficulties. He is strongly against Government interference. It may be for the Government to say how many houses are required, but it is for Guilds to build them. At the present time, only ten per cent. of the building operatives are employed in building houses. It is stated that there is more than enough labour in the industry to carry out the full programme of the Government; so that naturally Mr. Lloyd George's threat of further "dilution" by the drafting in of more ex-service men, is viewed with alarm. Mr. Sparkes says this can only be allayed by the Government giving some guarantee, say to the effect that it would take the whole output of the Building Industry for five years or some such period.

* * * * *

In Oxford Street the sun was breaking through the mist. The roadway was up; there was the pleasant smell of tarred blocks, and the Milwaukee Mixer was doing its best to lay a good foundation for them. May it not be that near by there is one of the prophets and pioneers who are making a straight highway in the industrial desert? C.C.

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TWEEDS.—Any length cut. Suitings, Costumes, Overcoatings, Ladies Coats. Patterns sent on application.—R. A. Anderson, 21 St. Andrew Street, Galashiels.

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PLANTS.—A friend offers eight 5/- lots of plants for sale. Good value, not more than one-third catalogue prices. Whole of proceeds to go to "Crusader" Funds.—Apply at once to Mr. W. H. McKellen, Rocklynes, Romiley, Cheshire.

ACCOMMODATION required; 2 large or 3 moderate-sized unfurnished rooms, facilities for cooking and washing-up required in the rooms; please state rent in reply.—R. Tinkle, 3 Stanley Road, East Finchley, N.2.

The Declaration of Dependence, 1776-1920.

By Rev. STANLEY A. MELLOR, Ph.D.

The Editor of the "Crusader" has asked me to contribute a few observations regarding the new appeal, which may turn out to be a new crusade and the greatest, holiest adventure of all, now being urged upon all who have the heart and mind and will to hear.

The Declaration of Dependence is not to be lightly dismissed as only another expression of the spirit of unrest, deep discontent, and profound desire, which is widespread over the earth to-day. It is, no doubt, an expression of that spirit, it arises out of the stormy and passionate heart of Life at this historical moment, whose throbbing no one can afford to neglect or despise, and whose thrill one would desire to have repeated in every individual heart in all the world. But the Declaration of Dependence is not a merely simple, instructive, and relatively inarticulate cry out of the deep places. It is much more than that. In the first place, with the courage of far-sighted vision and faith, it definitely connects the present bewildering and chaotic tumult of existence with the operative will of God. In this surge and storm through which Humanity toils and suffers, the ultimate Divine Will is at work; there is holy meaning and God engendered possibility in all this critical and agonising situation. God seeks His Kingdom through the mighty movements and perplexities of change, through the disintegration and collapse of systems, dynasties, classes, and civilisations, amidst the blaze of revolutionary fires. And this perception of God's Will at work is at once an assertion of faith and a challenge to yet deeper and more consuming faith. It is a challenge, also, on behalf of that necessary co-operation of our human will with God's Will, without which the search for the kingdom cannot be consummated nor the Divine Life fulfil itself on earth. . . .

In the second place, the Declaration of Dependence is not vague and indefinite as to its understanding of what the Will of God in the present time truly is. . . .

It stands for a full and complete Christian Social Revolution. On that issue men must take sides. There can be no compromise and no half measures. It is not reform of existing society that we seek as God's will, but total change. The Kingdom of God is a new creation, involving the downfall and destruction of the old order. As we proceed, if we do proceed, in our crusade this central fact will become ever clearer. We shall more and more fully define it in its details for social organisation and in its immediate demands upon ourselves. . . .

Such, then, are the two main points. For myself, I regard the Declaration of Dependence as only a first step, a significant gesture. We must go further, much further. But first we need to discover our friends. And in that respect I am convinced that we must go primarily to the Christian Churches, to all who profess and call themselves Christians. The very centre of our activity, both for our understanding and for our interpretation of God's Will, is Jesus Christ. It is in His Name that we say "God wills it": it is in and by the Light that was in Him that we dare to say what God's will is: it is to His teaching, His spirit, and the ethical principles He laid down and incarnated that we look for our apprehension of the Kingdom and of the way to reach it: it is by His Vision and His spiritual passion, repeated in ourselves, that alone we can persuade men and challenge and redeem the world. First, then, we must go to those who acknowledge Christ: theirs is the immediate responsibility: they must decide for or against their acknowledged Lord, for or against God's Will revealed in Him. We must let loose upon the Christian Churches the challenging and dividing fire of social revolution. We may not find many who will stand with us in service and suffering; but we shall find some. . . . Let us proceed to seek a greater measure of precision and definiteness in our interpretation of God's Will, asking what in detail it means for social life and organisation and what in detail it demands of us individually and at once. Proceeding by this method, and all the time fearlessly proclaiming our gospel, we shall consolidate our existence as a committed group of Christian people, we shall illuminate our philosophy and point of view, and we shall discover ways of action dictated to us by God Himself in the direction of our controlling desire and final aim.

THE FOOL.

Since the wise men have not spoken,
I speak that am only a fool;
A fool that has loved his folly,
Yea, more than the wise men their books, or their
counting houses, or their quiet homes,
Or their fame in men's mouths:
A fool that in all his days hath done never a prudent
thing,
Never hath counted the cost, nor recked if another
reaped
The fruit of his mighty sowing, content to scatter
the seed:
A fool that is unrepentant and that soon at the end
of all
Shall laugh in his lonely heart as the ripe ears fall
to the reaping hooks,
Though he go hungry.

I have squandered the splendid years that the Lord
God gave to my youth
In attempting impossible things, deeming them
alone worth the toil.
Was it folly or grace? Not men shall judge me,
but God.

I have squandered the splendid years:
Lord, if I had the years, I would squander them
over again,
Aye, fling them from me!
For thus I have heard in my heart that a man shall
scatter not hoard,
Shall do the deed of to-day, nor take thought of
to-morrow's teen,
Shall not bargain or huckster with God; or was it a
jest of Christ's?
And is this my sin before men to have taken Him
at His word?
The lawyers have sat in council, the men with the
keen, long faces,
And said, "This man is a fool," and others have
said, "He blasphemeth,"
And the wise have pitied the fool that hath striven
to give a life
In the world of time and space among the bulks
of actual things,
To a dream that was dreamed in the heart and that
only the heart could hold.

O, wise men, riddle me this: what if the dream
come true?
What if the dream come true? and if millions un-
born shall dwell
In the house that I shaped in my heart, the noble
house of my thought?
Lord, I have staked my soul, I have staked the lives
of my kin
On the truth of Thy dreadful word. Do not re-
member my failures,
But remember this my faith.

And so I speak:
Yea, ere my hot youth pass. I speak to my people
and say:

CORRESPONDENCE.

IRELAND.

Dear Friend, I should like to support very heartily the three suggestions made by T.C.F. in his letter on "Ireland and Labour" in the issue of October 8, and I want to urge your readers to make every possible effort to hold meetings on Ireland, and to get these or similar resolutions passed.

It is, apparently, Labour only that can move Parliament, and Labour cannot act without an assured backing by the public. It is for us, then, to rouse public opinion.

I, too, have just returned from Ireland (on the W.I.L. Mission), and feel convinced that if the bulk of the British public knew the horrors of life in Ireland, for which they by their inaction are largely responsible, they would not permit such things to be done in their name for another day.

Does Labour know, for example, that even ordinary T.U. meetings are illegal, not more than three persons at once being allowed to meet together? That railwaymen have their badges torn from them, while they are put up against a wall and threatened with being shot unless they promise to leave the Union? That Connole, of Ennistimon, who was shot at night and his body thrown into the flames of his burning house, had nothing worse against him than that he was local secretary of the Transport Workers?

Do thoughtful men know what it means when creameries are destroyed, barns and haystacks burned (whether belonging to Protestant or Catholic), when order are issued to Connaught railway officials to "send no pigs to Limerick," when railways are being closed down in one district after another? . . .

You may have little sympathy for the Irish. I ask you, then, to consider the effect on the Black-and-Tans themselves of such a life—of continual drinking, looting, and destroying. What are you laying up in store for these men? and for the boys in khaki—some of them 16 or 17 years of age—being trained in such surroundings, living in an atmosphere that takes for granted that coercion and cruelty are right and necessary? . . .

I am yours sincerely,

FRANCES MELLAND.

12 Mount Street, Manchester.

Those of us who have come to a revived belief in orthodox, undiluted Catholic Christianity as the most revolutionary force in the world, and the only one that can carry a revolution through without force and to the emancipation of all, cannot get our message believed because men see that we stand on the same basis as they. We have to preach this Gospel standing on the bowed backs of those who toil. They will believe us when we stand on the common ground. The Gospel is the story of how God became man in order to save man; it cannot much longer be preached to the poor save by those who for His sake have become poor. May God give us back our faith and give us strength to construct the free platform from which it can be declared.—W. E. ORCHARD, D.D.

THE FOOL—Continued.

Ye shall be foolish as I; ye shall scatter, not save;
Ye shall venture your all, lest ye lose what is more
than all;
Ye shall call for a miracle, taking Christ at His
word.
And for this I will answer, O people, answer here
and hereafter,
O people that I have loved, shall we not answer
together?

PATRICK PEARSE.

The Crusade.

MR. WILFRED WELLOCK'S ENGAGEMENTS.

Sun., Oct. 31.—(Nelson) Morning : Salem Church.
 Evening : I.L.P.
 Mon. Nov. 1.—(Nelson) Election Addresses
 Tues., Nov. 2.—(Nelson) F.O.R. Meeting
 Wed., Nov. 3.—(Leeds) Crusader Meeting

FROM THEODORA WILSON WILSON.

If anyone has any doubt as to the need of our Message and the welcome it receives in the minds of the thoughtful, I wish he or she would take the tour I have had this week.

At New Cumnock I found myself in a mining village, staying in a miner's cottage. My host and hostess welcomed me heartily, a little daughter of seven entertained me to tunes on the violin. At night we had a fair-sized meeting, and at supper and afterwards comrades came in and we had a long talk over the fire on coal mines, religion, the social order, and the rest of it.

At Dumfries again the shadow of the strike was over us. Arriving at noon we talked all the afternoon and in the evening the meeting was very keen and discussion went on until ten o'clock. Then we had more discussion over supper and round the fire.

Proceeding to Newcastle I addressed a small women's adult school, and on Friday went to South Shields where there was a very attentive audience; it was a pity that I had to leave before the discussion.

On Friday I visited Sacriston, a mining village, and we had a thoroughly good meeting, and from there I found my way to Wheatley Hill, a mining village, where we had also a good meeting. What strikes me is the grand spirit I find in the few who are keeping up ideals, and it is good to be able to strengthen their hands, and if I help any, all I can say is that they help me amazingly. We are getting somewhere, of that I am convinced. As for the coal strike, well the miners have a clear case, and personally, when I hear of men having to walk a mile and a half to their work in a space equal to walking under an ordinary table; of a man on his side skinned down both shoulders and back as he gets the coal; well, I don't grudge them the money, but it is no increasing wages that is the solution, that is clear to us all.

"Overworked Jew" in Miss Wilson's account last week should have been "overworked few."

THE CAUSE IN CUMBERLAND.

In every case our meetings in Cumberland have been organised by a small group of determined people, whose efforts were rewarded by a magnificent response. Never have I witnessed such large audiences for such comparatively small places, and rarely better listeners. Owing to the strike, and unemployment, several of our meetings have been held in the afternoon, and as the weather was rather good, and the meetings took place in the open-air, we got great crowds. At Workington, Whitehaven and Egremont the number approached the record, and in two cases, the strike notwithstanding, a large collection was taken.

At all the open-air meetings the people showed no disposition to leave, even after listening to an address of an hour's duration, and asked for the meeting to be continued. Naturally such enthusiasm was a great encouragement to the workers, and they are more determined than ever to carry on the work.

The remarks one overhears, or hears second-hand, after a meeting are very illuminating. "Well, Bill, I never knew 'at I were a communist afore." "You're forced to believe 'it because it's so simple." "What beats me I never saw it that way before." And every meeting confirmed my oft-repeated contention that working people are ever responsive to the spiritual and ideal. At one place our meeting was augmented through the efforts of a policeman who had spent five minutes with us at the commencement. But I could tell better stories about the conduct of policemen were it wise to do so. During my address at Workington a man tried to stir up the meeting against me by a short, fiery outburst, but finding that the audience was against him he bid a hasty retreat. Of all the places I visited I found Penrith to be the most reactionary. We had a fine gathering in the centre of the town and I was given a splendid

hearing, but what I had said on Ireland and Germany was too much for some of the audience. One lady was allowed to occupy our "platform" to state her case. All this was to the good, and helped us greatly and the general feeling was that our meeting had been abundantly worth while. Workers in centres of reaction like Penrith need some sympathy and, where possible, a little help. Everywhere I was cheerfully and hospitably received and although the work was often hard it was always joyous and inspiring. In addition to the places above mentioned, meetings were held at Frizington and Broughton, at which places, as well as at all the others which I visited, I met some rare spirits. At all the meetings we sold out our "Crusaders."

CRUSADER CENTRES OF ACTION.

BIRMINGHAM—

Mrs. J. H. Dearne, 332 Moat Road, Warley, Langley, Birmingham.

BRITON FERRY—

Mr. D. Gibbon, Jesmond House, Waters St., Briton Ferry, Glam.

DUDLEY—

Mr. J. Downing, 86 Park Rd., Netherton, Nr. Dudley.
 Mr. W. E. Leedham, Canal Side, Netherton, Nr. Dudley.
 Mr. S. R. Tilley, 4 Hampton St., Netherton, Nr. Dudley.

DUMFRIES—

Mr. G. Douglas, 95 Queensberry Street, Dumfries.

GLASGOW—

Mr. R. Barclay Murdoch, 48 Cumberland Street S., Glasgow.

GREENOCK—

Mrs. Blake, 18 Eldon Street, Greenock.

HEREFORD—

Mr. Edmund Jones, St. Omer, Whitehorse St., Hereford.

HORBURY—

Mr. A. Halstead, Austerland Villas, Middlestown, near Wakefield.

KETTERING—

Mr. J. C. Dempsey, Rothwell, Kettering.

LEICESTER—

Rev. Seaward Beddow, 108 London Road, Leicester.

LONDON—

Mr. G. Bickers, 133 Geere Road, Stratford, E. 15.
 Mr. G. P. Coverdale, 38 Glengall Road, S.E. 15.
 Miss E. Fall, 69 Morley Road, Stratford, E. 15.
 Miss E. Martin, 18 Avon Road, Walthamstow, E. 17.
 Mr. C. H. Offley, 43 Eastbourne Road, Tooting, S.W. 17.
 Rev. R. W. Sorensen, 31 Palmerston Road, Walthamstow, E. 17.

NELSON—

Mr. R. Bland, 203 Barkerhouse Rd., Nelson, Lancs.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—

Rev. J. C. Spokes, Cambridge House, Rowlands Hill, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

NEWPORT—

Mr. Trevor C. Griffiths, 40 Oakfield Road, Newport, Mon.

PENRITH—

Mr. F. Lester, Forest Mount, Penrith, Cumberland.

PERRANWELL—

Rev. F. Lee, Chycoose, Perranwell Station, Cornwall.

READING—

Mr. J. T. Hull, 89 Grange Avenue, Reading.

SCUNTHORPE—

Mr. C. Allcock, Rose Cottage, Ashby Rd., Old Brumby, Scunthorpe, Lincs.

SWINDON—

Mr. F. J. King, 181 Kingshill, Swindon.

These Crusader Centres of Action, as has been explained, are being organised with the object of enabling us at short notice to get into touch with various parts of the country, and, as occasion may demand, supply extra "Crusader" copies for special purposes. Volunteers are badly needed in the districts not yet represented and we should be glad to hear from readers who will act as our agents in their own localities.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

MRS. SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON is coming to London for a series of meetings under our auspices from Friday, December 3 to Sunday, December 12. We should like to hear at once from any who think they could either ask Mrs. Skeffington to a "ready-made" meeting, or who could arrange a special meeting for her in their locality.

MONDAY MEETINGS AT THE MINERVA CAFE. The speaker for MONDAY, NOV. 1, at 6.30, will be the Rev. GILBERT PORTEOUS, B.A., who is resigning the charge of the Presbyterian Church in Islington in order to become one of the newly constituted "Servants of the Fellowship." This is a tiny body of people who, living on a small and unguaranteed income, are going to different parts of the country in order to spread, publicly and privately, those ideas for which the Fellowship stands. Mr. and Mrs. Porteous form half of the present membership. Tea may be obtained at the café any time before the meetings.

CHILDREN'S HOSPITALITY WORK.—In addition to more general needs advertised in another part of the "Crusader," there are two pieces of work in which only London members and friends can help. We are in urgent need of help in clerical work, filing, etc. This can be done at any time during the day, or in the evening by arrangement. We are also wanting someone who will help to classify the clothes which have been sent in for the children.

OPEN AIR MISSION. There is no longer need to give a full list of the meetings. Unless it is either too cold or too wet meetings will be held regularly as under:—Every TUESDAY and FRIDAY at 6.15: Marble Arch. Every MONDAY and FRIDAY at 7.45: Outside the G.E.R. Station, Leytonstone. Every SUNDAY at noon: Near the Green Man, Leytonstone.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE FUND.

Margaret Adam, 5s. 6d.; Miss R. Conway, 5s.; Rev. F. G. Fincham, £1; Mr. J. T. Hull, 10s.; Mr. G. Mathers, 2s. 6d.; Miss E. Ratcliffe, £1; Mr. G. Scott, 10s.; Mr. J. D. White, £1; Rev. J. Wilcockson, 10s.; Mr. R. Theodora Wood, 10s.

RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

Not for Fools, by H. Dennis Bradley. Grant Richards, 10/6 net.

Satanism and the World Order, by Gilbert Murray, LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., cloth 2/6 net, paper 1/6 net.

A Policy for the Labour Party, by J. Ramsay Macdonald. New Era Series. Leonard Parsons, 4/6 net.

The Swarthmore International Handbooks. Edited by G. Lowes Dickenson. Swarthmore Press, 2/6 net cash:—

Unifying the World, by G. N. Clark.

Causes of International War, by G. Lowes Dickenson.

Nationalism, by G. P. Gooch.

Economic Imperialism by L. S. Woolf.

The Inner Meaning of the Four Gospels.—By Gilbert F. Sadler, M.A., LL.B. C. W. Daniel, Ltd., 3/6 net.

Report of the British Labour Delegation to Russia, 1920. Literature Department of Labour Party. Cheap Edition, 2. 6.

DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE.

The Declaration of Dependence can now be obtained as a separate leaflet from the "Crusader" Offices, 23, Bride Lane, E.C.4, price 4/6 per 100, post free.

HOB0 FORUM

CO-OP. HALL, 86 ROCHESTER ROW, VICTORIA, S.W.,
FRIDAY, OCT. 29th, 8 p.m.

"The CRUSADER" AND ITS POLICY

STANLEY B. JAMES.

Questions and Discussion.

Admission Free.

CRUSADERS RALLY!

THE CRUSADER GROUP

WILL BE

AT HOME

Friday, November 5th, 5-30 to 7-30, at
The MINERVA CAFE, 144 HIGH
HOLBORN, W.C. (Entrance at rear in
Silver Street), and hopes to have the
pleasure of seeing you.

R.S.V.P. to "The Crusader," 23 Bride Lane,
Fleet Street, E.C.4.

*Must Brotherhood always end in Talk,
and only Hatred in Acts?*

It sometimes seems so, for

THERE ARE 500 "ENEMY" CHILDREN FROM THE FAMINE AREAS OF EUROPE

still in the Central Camp at Sandwich,
because

NO HOMES HAVE YET BEEN FOUND.

Will you seek to rouse local interest in this
matter?

Will you take a child into your own home,
either free or at the actual cost of main-
tenance?

Will you send any clothes suitable for boys
and girls between the ages of six and
fourteen?

Will you contribute towards the cost of
maintaining a child in some other home?

For further particulars write to:—The Secretary,
F.O.R. CHILDREN'S HOSPITALITY COMMITTEE,
17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

**HELP TO BUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL,
The International of the Child.**

THE CLASS WAR.—A series of Lunch Hour Addresses on this
subject will be given at Devonshire House, 136 Bishopsgate,
E.C., from 1.20 to 1.50 p.m. on Mondays, Oct. 4th to Nov.
8th inclusive. Speaker: Nov. 1, F. W. Pethick-Lawrence.

SIDELIGHTS.

More Autocratic than the Kaiser.

In his diary for January 23, 1917, Colonel Repington wrote:—

"McKenna told me that he knew the German Peace Terms. They include the evacuation of Belgium with indemnification and of N. France; also a territorial satisfaction to Italy in the Trentino, the neutralisation of the Dardanelles and of Trieste and another Adriatic port. M.K. assumed that the Germans would recover German East Africa but not the other colonies."

Upon this the "Saturday Review" comments as follows:—

"It is not clear from the heavy type whether the indemnification applied to N. France, as well as Belgium. If it did, which is probable, what did we gain by prolonging the war for another twenty-two months? Nothing more than was offered in December, 1916.

"Of course, these terms were concealed from the public, and all attempts to elicit them in the Press were crushed out by the Censor. The Government were determined that the war should go on, and therefore suppressed all discussion. The Government may have been right, or wrong, in this decision. But whichever they were, right or wrong, this is not open, but secret diplomacy. The truth, of course, is that Mr. Lloyd George is more autocratic in his methods than the Tsar or the Kaiser ever dared to be."

Church Ornaments from Shell-cases.

The "Daily Sketch," of October 20, contained the photograph of church ornaments made from shell cases by the chaplain and wounded men at a casualty clearing station. Among the "ornaments" thus manufactured is a crucifix fixed into a shell case! Why not utilise a German skull as a chalice?

Distilleries.

Charles Lamb's story of how roast pork was discovered by the burning down of a house in which a pig had found shelter is eclipsed by the delightful suggestion in the "Glasgow Herald" that whoever else goes short of coal "the work of the distilleries will be maintained in order to guarantee the yeast supply."

We also understand, comments "Forward," that the jewellery industry will be maintained in order to guarantee an adequate supply of tinned meat.

"Reconciliation."

Under the above heading the "Daily Herald," of October 18, had this:—

The following letter has been sent to Professors of Arts and Sciences in Germany and Austria by an influential body of professors and doctors of Oxford University:—

"To the Professors of the Arts and Sciences and to Members of the Universities and Learned Societies in Germany and Austria.

"Since there will be many of you who fully share our heartfelt sorrow and regret for the breach that the war has occasioned in our friendly intercourse, and since you cannot doubt the sincerity of the feeling which engendered and cherished that old friendliness, you must, we believe, be sharing our hope for its speedy re-establishment.

"We, therefore, the undersigned Doctors, head of Houses, Professors, and other Officers and Teachers in the University of Oxford, now personally approach you with the desire to dispel the embitterment of animosities that, under the impulse of loyal patriotism, may have passed between us.

"In the field where our aims are one, our enthusiasms the same, our rivalry and ambition generous, we can surely look to be reconciled; and the fellowship of learning offers a road which may—and if our spiritual ideals be alive, must—lead to a wider sympathy and better understanding between our kindred nations.

"While political dissensions are threatening to extinguish the honourable comity of the great European States, we pray that we may help to hasten that amicable reunion which civilisation demands. Impetret ratio quod dies impetratura est."

The signatories include practically every scholar of reputation many of whom are of known conservative and reactionary views.

The Spirit of Forgiveness!

Commenting on the above in the course of his sermon on Trafalgar Day at a service of commemoration under the auspices of the Navy League, Bishop Welldon is reported as saying:—

"He could not stand in that pulpit on Trafalgar Day without protesting against the treachery of attacks upon unarmed merchant vessels and hospital ships, with their load of suffering humanity, and particularly the firing upon those who were making their last despairing struggle in the sea.

"Had the professors and tutors of the University of Oxford forgotten these things? He prayed God to forgive such wickedness, and that we, at the last, might be brought to forgiving too."

Municipal Crusaders.

Two members of the Crusader Group are seeking election at the forthcoming municipal elections—Mr. W. J. Chamberlain at King's Norton Ward, Birmingham, and "The Ploughman" in South Norwood. We wish our friends success both for their own sakes and for the sake of the localities concerned!

W. J. Chamberlain's Confession.

In his address to the electors of King's Norton Ward Mr. Chamberlain makes this frank avowal of pacifist faith:—

"When the war came I could do no other than remain true to this principle, which I hold more dearly than life itself. I refused to become a soldier; I was court-martialled three times and sentenced to terms of imprisonment, with hard labour, amounting to three years and four months. At the end of 17 months I was released from prison by special order from the Home Office, because of the serious state of my health.

"I mention this matter at the outset of my address because I have no desire to secure votes under false pretences. I would rather be beaten on this single issue than seek to apologise for or to hide my view that—to quote the statement made by Mr. Ben Tillet, M.P., at the Dockers' Conference in May last:—

"Among the common people there is a growing resentment against war, and I hope that resentment will express itself in a refusal to participate in war. . . . The Great God who created man did not create him to destroy his brother. War is bloody murder, and we have had enough of it!"

"From my earliest days I was taught by the Christian Church, by my moral instinct, and by my intellectual faculties that war was nothing more or less than legalised murder. Years before August, 1914, I had become firmly convinced that wars would never cease until men deliberately refused to be led to the shambles for mutual massacre. I believed then, and I believe even more strongly now, that if wars must be, it should be the so-called "statesmen," the lying diplomatists, and the kings and kaisers of the countries concerned who should do the fighting, and not the workers of the respective countries, who are not even consulted on the points at issue before wars are declared."

Dr. Hodgkin's Departure.

Dr. and Mrs. Hodgkin have sailed for Shanghai. They hope to proceed at once to West China by steamer, up the river Yangtse, attending the conference at Chengtu at the beginning of January, 1921, and then coming back for service in Eastern China, Japan, and Korea.

As Others See Us!

A correspondent in Vienna writes: "The belief is growing in the East of Europe that there can be no peace in the world until British Imperialism has been overthrown."

The Crusader

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Friday, Nov. 5th, 1920.

(Registered as a Newspaper)

Twopence.



The Outlook.

THE Government has found that the Dead can be more formidable than the living. The refusal to allow Terence MacSwiney's body to be landed in Dublin is the measure of its fear of his dumb voice and unseeing eyes. A living enemy can at least be killed, but a dead enemy is beyond the reach of the most powerful of governments.

In saying this we are not oblivious to the admirable behaviour of the London crowd which watched the cortege pass through its streets. It may have been lacking in intelligent understanding of what the procession meant and in the reverent behaviour that would have befitted the occasion. But the man-in-the-street refrained from insulting the dead. To that extent he proved his superiority to Officialdom.

SO far as the issue at stake is of importance, the miners may be congratulated on the result of the negotiations with the Government. The wages claim of 2s. put forward by the men has been conceded, "and when it is remembered," says the Labour News Service, "that before the strike the official attitude was that the claim was outside the pale of discussion, the Government has not come well out of the business."

At the time of writing the vote of the miners on the new proposals has yet to be taken, and though the result is uncertain there seems no doubt that it will create division in the ranks of the workers. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the strike will be resumed—for the present. But we must make up our minds that no settlement within the present wages-system is going to settle this dispute.

N EARLY 150 prominent Americans, including the Governors of four States, ten Senators, thirteen mayors, and ten bishops of various denominations, have been formed into a Committee to make an impartial investigation of atrocities in Ireland. Among the witnesses who have undertaken to give evidence before the Commission are the Deputy Lord Mayor of Cork, the Town Commissioner of Balbriggan, which was recently sacked by "Black-and-Tans," and the Chairman of the Town Commission of Mallow, which was similarly treated. It is understood that the British Government will make no difficulty about granting passports to witnesses from Ireland desiring to appear before the Commission. The proceedings are to be conducted openly at Washington. Mrs. MacSwiney, widow of the martyred Lord Mayor of Cork, Mrs. Thomas McCurtain, widow of the former Lord Mayor of Cork, and Sir Horace Plunkett, have been invited to appear as witnesses.

Such an investigation can have but one result. The more impartial it is, the more surely may we expect a condemnation of the whole policy of the Government in Ireland. It is, however, one thing to condemn an uncaught criminal and another thing to catch and punish him.

THERE is food for thought concerning the type of political thought in our Universities in the result of the Election as Lord Rector of Edinburgh University of Mr. Lloyd George, who heavily defeated Mr. Gilbert Murray. The figures were as follows:—

Mr. Lloyd George	...	1,764
Mr. Gilbert Murray	...	509
Majority	...	1,255



The Test

A wealthy philanthropist threw open his doors to all comers. To his loaded tables he invited the wayfarers of the highways and byways. His hospitality was extended with absolutely no condition to everyone.

His friends remonstrated with him that he would be inundated, and begged him to impose at least some condition that would thin out the expected crowd. "There is no fear," he replied, "of my hall becoming too full. I have imposed the hardest of all tests. So hard is it that hungry men will turn away preferring to starve rather than fulfil it. Weary men will tramp on on the next village rather than comply."

"What is your condition?" they asked.

"Just this," was the answer, "that each guest shall accept his fellow-guests. The test applied is simply and solely the comprehensiveness of the gathering. The fastidious, the snobbish, the pharisaic, will be automatically rejected. There is no need of any other test."

Is it not clear that it is the catholicity of the Church which makes it exclusive, that the "narrowness" of creedal tests is due to the wide variety of truths those creeds contain?

The Christian Faith overcomes by comprehending. It excludes the various sectional movements of the day by including them. The mystic would happily join our company if he could be quite sure that he would meet none of your Socialist agitators. Many a Socialist hungers for our fellowship, but finds it impossible to make common cause with the evangelical—all of whose values are other-worldly. The modernist rejects the Plymouth Brother not less emphatically than the Plymouth Brother rejects the modernist.

It is quite interesting to hear those who have abandoned ninety-nine hundredths of the Christian creed in favour of some microscopic portion of that creed (as, for instance, faith-healing), talk of the narrowness of the Church. It is as if someone had said that he had found it difficult to live within the compass of Great Britain and had, therefore, taken up his residence in Birmingham!

The catholicity of Christianity is due to a remarkable history. Those from whom the Church inherited its Faith had been brought into contact with many peoples. By turns they were under the influence of Egyptians, Amorites, Phœnicians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Romans. Much borrowing went on. The stream of Hebrew life gathered into itself tributaries from the whole ancient life of that part of the world which has been the birthplace

of religions. In the veins of the Jew ran the mystic blood of a hundred dusky races. The influence of starry Arabian skies, and somnolent Indian jungles, thoughts begotten in the communistic life of primitive tribes and aspirations kindled by the flames of heathen altars were passed through the sieve of the national soul. The Church itself went through the same process. It winnowed the paganism of the Roman Empire till everything of value had been extracted. Greek philosophers and Roman poets and the culture of obscure sects made their several contributions. Out of all this was built up a synthesis culled from the four quarters of human experience. A Confession of Faith and body of believers gathered from so wide an area is naturally a perplexity to the specialised individualistic mind of the modern world. The all-encompassing thought of an institution that has been built up by the contributions of so many varied races and out of so many differing types of experience is not going to be easily grasped by a generation like ours. We find fault with it for a thousand reasons—all of them different and all of them contradictory. Christianity is too pacifist and it has generated too many wars! It is other-worldly and is guilty of suggesting seditious ideas! It is obscurantist and has enclosed itself in a network of intricate theologic thought which the plain man cannot understand! It is too ascetic and it ministers to an unhealthy desire for "comfort"!

The variety and conflicting character of these criticisms are evidences of our failure to grasp the totality of truth presented by Christianity. Our tired minds become querulous as we endeavour to compass the vastness and coherence of the creed-builders, and we fall out among ourselves as to what is wrong. We can find unanimity only in the assertion that something is wrong. A future generation will declare that our objections cancel each other and leave the structure of faith untouched. It will say that the "something" wrong was ourselves. It will assert that our real objection was to the bigness of the thing we criticised.

Thus it will be seen that the banquet of life is open to all on the sole condition that we respect the democratic character of the Host. The one type of person He rejects is the person who rejects others. He accepts all who will find their place in the Common Life.

The more catholic a Church is the greater right has it to be exclusive. It is only the Son of Man who can judge the world. He who has gathered into Himself the fulness of our Humanity cannot admit us to His presence save as we accept His whole Self.

There is only one condition that shuts us out of Paradise. Over the doors of the King's Palace is written the legend: "Love Me, love My dog."

THE TRAMP.

Surely it is time that Christians began to think for themselves as Christians, and to attempt to discover what the religion they profess involves in this or that matter When we learn to think as Christians we shall begin to count for something.—
GEORGE B. ROBSON.

The Foolishness of Preaching.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

to write an article on the Irish situation, reading over the first page of "copy." I decided to consign it to the waste paper basket and until I could write with some measure of reason on a subject which has thrilled me with an intense desire to do something to escape from the fate attached to every person unlucky enough to be born as "English."

So I am filling my page with a few random thoughts on what may appear to be merely personal, but what are, I believe, of real importance to anyone who is anxious to leave this little corner of the world a little better than he found it. I am about to tell "Crusader" readers something about my election campaign I have just concluded.

Tomorrow (Monday), I shall know the result of three or four weeks' strenuous campaign on behalf of human brotherhood, a campaign made the more interesting by the fact that it has been waged in a ward at present represented in Parliament by the Sir Herbert Austin, who was one of the largest manufacturers of munitions in the Midlands during the war. The Editor has reprinted that part of my address in which I stated the case for the faith which I believe; and it is that statement of the absolute pacifism which will win or lose the election so far as I am concerned.

Obviously enough, we have been contesting this ward against an Asquithian Liberal, and rallying every reactionary element in the ward to our banner. We have deliberately refused to use the usual house-to-house canvassing methods, but have reduced the amount of orthodox "electioneering" to a minimum. We have relied entirely on the "foolishness of preaching": our meetings have been the biggest held in the ward; our distribution literature has been perfect; and just over 8,000 people in the district have been hearing and reading about human brotherhood and its relationship to local and national affairs in a way which has, as novel as, I believe, it has been effective.

Naturally, I expected trouble over my pacifism. The local evening paper, the organ of the warmongers, screamed at me every evening and deliberately tried to upset them. There are about 5,000 houses in the ward, and this "patriotic" journal goes into circulation of 3,000 of them daily. That should have meant lynching, or at least a ducking for the "Bolshevik-Bolshevik" candidate.

But it did not work out that way. My adoption of pacifism was one of the best ever held in the ward, and I had a unanimous vote. Among those supporters at that meeting were men who had fought in the war. One old soldier (by which I mean a pre-war soldier) attended that meeting and jerked out a tirade on my attitude to war. I replied gently but firmly, and he left the meeting before the vote was taken. At every meeting I was supported on the platform by ex-service men, and there were never

more than two or three to interrupt from the body of the hall; in no case was I prevented from presenting my case.

It is difficult to say what the result will be, and I am not greatly concerned with that side of our great adventure. In view of the overwhelming reactionary vote at the last General Election, I should be well beaten, and when one adds to that the fact that the Liberals and Tories have combined against Labour, our little Pacifist-Socialist ship looks like being swamped.

But the thing I am keenly concerned about is the position of those who were working hard against me. Surely there never was such a curious mixture. My opponent stood frankly for the orthodox Liberal position, for "good wages," "better conditions"—but no interference with the present system. I entitled my address, "A Civic Policy of Human Brotherhood." My pacifist statement was on the front page. After outlining the main planks in the Labour programme, I concluded thus:

"I believe that human life and happiness should at all times come before the worship of the Unholy Trinity of Rent, Interest, and Profit . . . and that the only hope for the future lies in the substitution of Co-operative ownership and control of the means of life in the interests of the whole community, in the place of the present system of 'Everyone for himself and the devil take the hindmost!' I sincerely believe that only thus can we ever hope to bring about anything approaching that spirit of human brotherhood which the Carpenter of Nazareth preached nearly 2,000 years ago."

The most active workers against that policy were Liberal Quakers, led by the wife of the biggest Quaker employer in the ward. Members of the Meeting of which I am a member were canvassing against Labour. The Tory warmongers' paper gave its blessing to my Liberal opponent. The opposition at my meetings was evenly divided between Liberals and Tories: at one meeting there were Liberals applauding the interruptions of a drink-fuddled ex-service man who was a tool of the local Tory Jingo. Before the campaign was many days' old I discovered myself as one of the most hideous monsters that ever masqueraded in human form!

It was pathetically funny.

My Communist friends, who see no hope other than in the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the "transition" period of Red Militarism, are pointing scornfully at that combination of Liberal Quakers, Tory warmongers, slum property-owners, and "hard-faced men" who did well out of the war . . .

"So much for your foolishness of preaching—to that class!" said a keen Marxist after one of my meetings.

But I am still hopeful of converting even "that class."

The Crusader

Friday, November 5th, 1920

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The "Crusader's" circulation, comparatively speaking, is not large. But it has one characteristic which papers with many more readers might well envy. We refer to the wide variety of type of those who read these pages. The same post brings us letters of appreciation from a miner, and a minister. A Socialist organisation writes for sample copies, and the leader of a Bible Class or an Adult School asks us to send him extra copies to circulate among the members of his Society. Were we to be gathered together in sight and hearing of one another we should be amazed to find what different classes we represented and how seemingly antagonistic were the bodies that we are individually identified with. Only an inspection of the editorial post-bag could reveal the full extent to which we may claim this characteristic.

The impression constantly borne in upon us by a perusal of our correspondence is that of a widespread movement existing in all sections of the community, not yet fully conscious of itself as a corporate thing, and lacking the means to realise that corporate sense, but, for all that, very real. It is a soul without a body, a kingdom without boundaries, a church with no visible temple.

The temptation to organise this mass of thought and feeling is sometimes very great. But there are already in existence so many organisations, and the energies of most of us are fully engaged in their maintenance. Under those circumstances it seems inexpedient to attempt anything that might be interpreted as the setting up of a New Society. Indeed, what is needed is that existing bodies should draw nearer together and pool their contributions to the common cause of God and Humanity.

In this work the "Crusader" is endeavouring to assist. It is helping us to understand one another. It is encouraging those who stand alone and giving them the consciousness of a membership in a wide federation of thinking minds and striving souls. We want to foster this. It is our aim to set up an ensign that shall be for all peoples, to create a sense of corporate responsibility. How important is the maintenance of this the only possible kind of link between us can be seen. No further words are necessary to point the moral and to urge our readers to do their utmost to strengthen this sole existing bond of union.

An I.L.P. Secretary.

writes: "I herewith enclose 10/- post order as a donation to the CRUSADER from the Branch. I am exceedingly sorry we are not in a position to send more, as the Paper is worth 6d. per copy. I have succeeded in securing 12 regular readers of the CRUSADER, so please send the dozen every week to me. Included in the dozen there is one to be placed on the Reading Room table of Co-operative Store. I shall do all I possibly can to increase the sales."

THE NEW REVOLUTION.

The revolution must be of a quite new kind. Revolution it must be, if the Magnificat guide; for that is down with everything that is up and up with everything that is down. No King Robert of Sicily was glad that it was in Latin lest the common people should know Christianity promised them. And yet it is a revolution that is to put the humble and meek in not the proud and the bitter, of whatever class may even have to be a bloody revolution; blood that must be shed will be our own, not one else's. Only we shall probably have to choose the choice. The world is waiting for the way to be taken first; if it is not done, then use in disguising that the other way will be not only with awful suffering, but with almost certain defeat and destruction.—W. E. ORCHARD

ORDER FORM.

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The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

now come out that Dr. Fort Newton, the man who was recently minister at the City Temple, kept a diary while he was in London. A part of this diary is to be published in America for instruction and amusement of the inhabitants, judging by "a few extracts in advance" of this week in the "Christian World," which will be of lively interest in England, especially to some whose portraits are

Sometimes Dr. Fort Newton appears to have seen more that it was desired. For instance, one day our versatile minister addressed a great meeting at Dr. Aston's Church, and at the close the following observations go down in the diary, which, I remember, is being published for the American to read.

George spoke in the City Temple to-day. It is an astonishing performance, alike for its force of eloquence and its moral camouflage. It seems he has been under a machine-gun fire of questions, and the audience was manifestly hostile. In ten minutes he had them standing and taking up their hats. It was pure magic. I felt proud of it. But after it was over and I had time to think it through I found that he had said almost nothing. He is a man of ideas, I should say, rather than of principles, as Asquith is a man of principles rather than of ideas. Not once has he given me a word of sincerity. 'The Star' says that he is not a stuntsman, but a stuntsman, and I am inclined to believe it. Yet his record of achievement is extraordinary, and I know of no personality in this kingdom who could take his place. Like Roosevelt he knows how to dramatise what he does, making himself the hero of his story, and it is so skilfully done that I see through the trick. Even while I cannot help him he fascinates me." I think my friend will agree with me that that is "some thing!"

is another bit from the diary: "So everything is to be rationed, bread, butter, meat, and— But that has been rationed all along. We have fought in the dark by a people fed on lies. Propaganda is the most terrible weapon so far discovered in the war. It is more deadly than poisoned gas. Having this power, they will keep it for after the war—the truth of which no one of us will live long enough to learn." It would have been useful had some of our leading pulpits said nothing like that at the time. But I suppose it would have been disloyalty to something which, at the moment, greater than the truth, was the cause of the Allies. Yet it was just before that terrible day we made so little protest that we are condemned now to woo her

In the "Methodist Times" Mr. Basil Mathews deals with the alleged "Yellow Peril in London" which provides the newspapers with their latest stunt to make the public's flesh creep. I am glad to find that Mr. Mathews encourages us to a more sane view. He refuses to be carried away by sensational headlines and posters. He says, in effect: Yes, these people are here, and any danger there is can be met if we use a little commonsense and act like Christians towards them. He argues that we should bring our brains to the problem rather than our fears and prejudices. He pleads that suitable places should be provided for Chinese and other Orientals to live in, for very much depends on environment. At present they merely drift into the muddy backwaters of our huge cities. This is neither good for them nor for us. It must be realised that the presence of the Asiatics here is no passing phase to be lightly dismissed. The influx of these races to our shores will increase, he believes, and we must face the whole question anew, and look at these people "not harshly nor sentimentally, but as Christ looks at them." It is a great pleasure to record such words.

In the same journal I find "Historicus" commenting on the way in which the death of the Lord Mayor of Cork may affect this country. This is what he writes: "That any Christian, or so-called Christian, Englishman can think that this man's slow and painful death will do any good under any circumstances either to this country or to the Empire passes the limits of my comprehension. How rapidly the virus of Prussianism is infecting even tolerably decent English people I have too much reason to know. Daily I fear more that when history comes to write its verdict on the downfall of the British Empire it will date it from the 'victory' and the policy of 1918." I recall the old Greek saying, "Whom the gods would destroy they first drive mad."

Oh, dear! The former Berlin correspondent of the "Christian World" shakes his head over the Oxford letter of friendship to Germans. Poor man, he feels the occasion appropriate for the recital (yet once more) of instances of German wickedness. Still he is not completely happy for he feels the pressure of Christian ideas against his own; so he writes, "The Germans are a great and gifted nation of 70 millions, who are bound to make their mark on the future history of the world. Let us treat them fairly; let us, where our own interests and those of the Allies are not vitally concerned, offer some ameliorations of the terms of peace; and let us not hesitate to accept reconciliation when it is offered to us in sincerity." Really I feel I must warn my readers not to laugh.

The Hidden Valley.

CHAPTER I.—THE VISION.

The following story traces the history of a Russian Communistic Colony in the Far West of America. The period, as will be seen, is prior to the Russian Revolution, and belongs to a time when the hand of Czardom is heavy on all who attempted to realise their dreams of economic brotherhood. Without forestalling the course of the story it is possible to say that the experiences of the Colonists reveal the difficulty, arising both from internal and external causes, of attempting to escape from the existing order of things.

The Editor of "The Millarville Gazette" was in the habit of visiting every few months the outlying districts in which the paper circulated. He told himself that these journeys were necessary from a business point of view, and indeed he was able by this means to extend considerably the circulation of the newsy little sheet of which, by the way, he was both editor and proprietor. But the real reason for these journeys was that they released him from the routine of the office and took him into some of the wildest and most picturesque scenery among the foothills. There he seemed to breathe again and renew his youth.

On one of these excursions he had penetrated to a point further than any to which he had yet gone. The excuse of business indeed scarcely served for population there was none in the district in which he now found himself. He was well used to an outdoor life for he had himself for awhile indulged in an amateurish attempt at ranching. Therefore when he found night coming on without any sign of human habitation to be seen he was in no wise disturbed. It was the middle of June, and though up there on the hills the air was chilly it was not too cold for him to think of camping out, and he therefore turned his horse loose on a picquet rope and proceeded to make a fire.

Luke Wise was still a young man and not so far immersed in the commercial spirit of that new country but that he could thoroughly enjoy the grandeur of the surrounding scene. As the moon rose higher and line after line of dim and silvery hills was touched into life by the all pervading light he could scarcely refrain from giving audible expression to that enthusiasm which was a part of his nature. Somewhere beneath him the muffled clatter of water could be heard, and once a night bird called to its mate and was answered. But for these sounds no sign of life came from all that vast moonlit world.

This man whom the Millarville public knew only as the manager of the best advertising medium in the province was in truth a dreamer and an enthusiast. And his mind just then was filled with one of his favourite dreams. Looking away into the moonlit haze of the eastern sky line he seemed to see advancing a mighty army which no man might

number. He saw them pouring forth from slums and from the crowded villages of a great squireocracy. There were the factory hands of England with cheeks that seemed never to have a touch of the sun, peasants from Poland, Germany, Russia, Germany. Noiselessly the great host advanced, with keen eyes fixed upon the West. They came on like a tide and like a tide they filled the emptiness of that new world with the clamour of their varied speech. Farms multiplied apace and were watched. Little villages and larger towns sprang up mysteriously. All was industry, progress, prosperity. The feuds of the Old World were forgotten. They who had been taught by their lords to hate each other worked here side by side. They who had slaved and starved to supply the Old World with bread now owned each his part of the new world and could look forward to to-morrow with hope.

It is not at all improbable that there was a connection between this line of thought and the fact that a few days ago there had been handed him an urgent appeal from Russia asking for advice in the case of fifty families who desired for political reasons to settle in the Far West. When Dickie Bald, the mayor, had passed the communication to him he had been puzzled to know what to do, what advice to give and had put the matter off from side to side. Now he determined to see to it immediately on his return.

That resolve was still further strengthened when given a practical form when the following morning he looked round him at the surrounding country and noted its apparent adaptability to the purpose of such a colony. He knew that a large part of the country hereabout had been purchased, under the impression that there was coal in these hills, by Silas B. Hilkem. The vein of coal had been quickly exhausted. It was perhaps the only bad bargain Hilkem had ever made and Luke Wise told himself that that cute speculator would probably be willing to part with his purchase at an easy price. He made up his mind that he would see him at the earliest opportunity.

The Rev. C. F. Andrews, a Missionary in India who has distinguished himself by adopting the Indian cause against the Capitalist Imperialism of the British Government, has sent the following telegram to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress:—

"Having witnessed with my own eyes the humiliation of Indians in the Punjab, Fiji, Africa, and South Africa, and watched the humiliation of the infamous Turkish Treaty, I see no possible recovery of self-respect except by claiming an independence from British domination not less than that of Egypt. This requires absolute unity of moral purpose for its fulfilment, not compromise or concession."

Studies in the Declaration of Dependence.

IV.—THE POWER OF ASSOCIATION.

"His power is made known to us in association and co-operation."—DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE.

The age in which Our Lord lived was characterised by an intense popular expectation of divine interposition. This expectation took what appear to our minds as strange and even grotesque forms. He was to "bow the heavens and come down." The enemy would be defeated by supernatural means against which his imperial armies would hurl themselves in vain. Such apocalyptic expectations have been the hope of oppressed peoples in all ages. The proletariat of to-day, in some of their prophetic visions of the revolution, come curiously near the Jewish faith in a sudden and mysterious overthrow of the existing order.

We need not brush these dreams aside as foolish superstitions. It is quite true that they are supernatural forces on which we must rely. But it is also true that supernatural forces work according to laws which may be discovered. It is no irreverence to declare that there are psychological explanations of Pentecost, and that God works through the known laws of human nature. Our part is something more than that of idle spectators of events wrought out apart from any help from us. The transcendence of divine power is manifested in those agencies which we ourselves control.

One of the chief means by which the power of God is revealed in human affairs is through the association of individuals in common work and worship. That is not merely an assertion of faith; it is a fact of science. Psychology makes mincemeat of mathematics. The most exact of sciences declares dogmatically that one and one make two. But the evidence of experience goes to show that a number of individuals in association with one another are capable of far greater results, whether for good or evil, than could be attained by their individual efforts. As a matter of fact, one and one make three. The mentality of a crowd is different from, and more intense than, that of any of the individuals composing it. This is the mystical and emotional side of the matter, and its importance can scarcely be overrated. It is the habit among a certain section of people to sneer at public meetings, processions, and similar gatherings. The passing of resolutions at such assemblies is declared futile. The singing of revolutionary songs is decried as sentimental. But it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the world is governed by Public Meetings. The Early Christians were quite right, and various persecuted minorities, such as the Covenanters, have been quite right, from the point of view of tactics, in risking life itself in order to maintain the custom of assembling together. By no other means could the Faith have been sustained and reinforced.

That brings us to the question of Public Worship. To the utilitarian and individualist it will, of course, appear as a crowning absurdity on the part of those professing to be revolutionists to declare that the decline of public worship is one of the chief causes of all our troubles. Dr. Orchard is right when he discloses, as in the quotation given in our last issue, that:—

The fact that the Church has always stood for the gathering of ourselves together has vast social significance; the forsaking of the assembly means more than individual loss: it means in the end tragedy for the community, for it means the gradual loss of the social consciousness which springs from the primitive and universal habit of corporate worship.

The mystical value of association is, however, only one aspect of the matter. There is the moral value. Co-operation is the great means for the training of the social conscience. The place of the family as a sphere for the education of the social instinct has been fully recognised. The Public School, patriotic organisations, and other forms of Co-operative life serve the same purpose. It is only necessary to point to the moral effect of Irish solidarity to-day to be convinced as to this. The signal failure of the Socialist movement to present the world with an unbroken front is evidence of a negative character. The world finds it difficult to credit the capacity of a movement to create a new social life and civilisation when its own members are full of bitterness toward, and querulous criticisms of, each other.

But the supreme instance, of course, is the disunion of the Christian Church. The controversy concerning this may appear, to those to whom all theological matters are profitless, as an arid and futile proceeding. But it will not be questioned that the moral influence of the Church has been impaired by this failure more than by any other single cause. The spectacle of one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church would have an incalculable effect in inducing belief in the Church's social message.

And then, look at the matter from another point of view—that of efficiency. It is late in the day to find oneself arguing for the need of organisation as a means of increasing our power. But there are still individuals who regard all forms of organisation as a violation of the rights of the Spirit. It is not enough, perhaps, to point out to such people that the whole trend of our times is opposed to their old-fashioned individualism, and that at the present time all thinking folk are convinced that the economic salvation of the world depends on the proper organisation of our material resources. But if this is not enough it should surely be sufficient to point out that the idea of a co-ordination of our individual powers and functions is an integral idea of the Christian conception of Society. That conception was expressed under the figure of the unity of the human body, the most intricate and highly organised anatomical structure in existence. To picture our Lord as not concerned with the founding of a Society, to declare, as is often declared, that the Spirit of Christianity perishes at the touch of organisation, is to miss the very genius of the New Testament faith.

These are but hints of the great truth contained in the second section of the "DECLARATION." The Power of God is waiting to manifest itself to the world. But it cannot do so as a discarnate thing. It must be incarnated in a Body. The creation of that Body is our first duty. Our dependence on God compels recognition of our dependence on one another.

THE CONDITIONS OF

DR. ORCHARD

On the eve of the settlement of the coal strike, Dr. Orchard devoted his sermon at King's Weigh House to a discussion of the conditions of industrial unrest. The unrest, he said, was a condition which had been growing for years, but it had been quickened and intensified by the war. For some strange reason it was expected by many, who must have been ignorant of history, that the close of the war would open out a new industrial era, and such expectations were encouraged by the extravagant statements of politicians. The industrial army had now been recruited from those who had seen war service and had been taught that in certain issues there was no remedy but force. These men were impatient of slow change, and had their doubts about the value of negotiations and arbitration. On the other hand, the governing classes had been recruited within recent years by those who were elected solely for their truculent sentiments, and who had quite obviously sought election to protect their own commercial interests.

The Meaning of Victory.

He supposed that there were people still who talked about "a fight to a finish." We had had one fight to a finish, and we did not want any more—there was too much finish about it. We knew now what victory meant. It hurt the side that was victorious as well as the side that was not. The release of the immediate industrial pressure—the coal strike being on its way to settlement—gave an opportunity of considering the subject in a calmer atmosphere than seemed possible even a few hours before. But if the strike was settled, they all knew it was not settled for long. He himself, in dealing with this subject, could not pretend to be neutral or impartial. Everybody knew the colour of his flag. It was a very deep red, but it had a white cross on it which he thought made the difference. He knew his own bias, and the man who knew his own bias could allow for other people's feelings. The concern of the Christian Church in this matter went far deeper than the concern of the ordinary man. It was not with them a case of irritation at inconvenience or deprivation, but of sorrow at the destruction of religious and brotherly feeling and the postponement of man's chief duty in this world, which was to get his soul right with God.

What the Gospel has to Say.

The idea that the Gospel was neutral or indifferent on this matter was due to an absolute misreading. It was quite impossible to believe that the Gospel stood aloof. Our Lord has laid down the profoundest principles which were capable of a quite practical translation. He laid them down in what was very nearly the last week of His life. How deeply His words cut! He had a good-humoured satire for prevailing society. A man who had an ambition to be great was put into some position where he was allowed to lord it over others—in a word, to "boss" them. But He said to His disciples, "Don't be led away by that. If there is one of you who desires

greatness, let him be servant." Translated into modern economic terms, what He meant by the word "servant" was "slave." If any wanted supremacy in that society, let him be the bond-slave of all—bound to everybody as his master. The very first principle laid down, therefore, was that if there was going to be any such radical change as should save society from destruction there must first of all be an entirely new attitude towards service.

The Narrowing Lust of Gold.

How different was this from the present order. The present order has as its economic maxim that one should buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest. It had been held that if every man held fast to it, it would result in some marvellous way in the good of all. It was believed that this policy of intelligent selfishness would act as a tremendous incentive to work, it would quicken production, and secure rewards for those who deserved them. That was the fundamental economics which had constructed and governed our present system. Men from various points of view had attacked it. Some people had thought it opposed to morality and to Christianity. For, changed from an economic into a moral maxim, it meant that everybody in this world should try to get the most possible and to give the least possible. It was very shocking when put like that, but that was the spring and motive of the competitive order. And it had worked out very badly. It had brought some immediate gains which had blinded our eyes to where we were drifting. It had spurred man's inventive powers to a greater height than ever before. It had led to the exploitation of the world's resources. It had raised the general standard of living, and had secured us from the immediate and direct effects of famine and fluctuation. And, with it all, man had gained the whole world.

And Lost His Soul.

Its other effects had been most deplorable. It had depressed and almost destroyed agriculture until this now continued in industrial countries entirely as a subsidised calling. Agriculture was continually put out further and further from home, and that process would one day have an end. It had driven men from the countryside to work in factories and live in monstrous towns. It had produced the most amazing unloveliness. It had created our hideous modern cities, generated a number of horrid and stupid recreations, and given us a vast army of demoralised poor and vulgarised rich, two classes constantly increasing, and apparently dependent each upon the other. It had robbed labour of its dignity and freedom, and it had in the most wonderful manner cheated us entirely of the good things to be expected from education and political liberty. The more people were educated, the more terrible these conditions seemed to be; and, strangely enough, political liberty was continually being rendered ineffective by the way in which the political machine could always be weighted by economic interests. And,

INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

ORDER.

course, the great evil that it had done was to police all the forces of nature, to tie them up and accessibility to the ordinary man, and to concentrate their control into the hands of a few.

Dominant Issue of our Times.

this had brought about, the bitterest strife in man had ever been engaged. The workers organised to protect themselves and enforce demands, and the employers had done the same. And on both sides, so far, they had failed, for the increase of wages which organised labour could really always exact tended invariably to increase in the cost of living. And employers never really been able to discover any device to prevent gradual slackening of labour. Both sides agreed that they possessed the right to control the production, and both believed that they had power to complete possession. It was a war for supremacy, and the extremists on both sides wanted the war to come as soon as possible. This was the dominant issue of our times; it excluded every other issue. Religion, art—nothing really got a look in. It excited the profoundest apprehensions, because this social order of ours was on such an unstable basis and so delicately balanced that almost any amount of trouble would overturn it. It did not prevent strikes, but only the threat of one, to produce vibrations right through the fabric of society. Immediately began to touch all kinds of interests. It promised to bring society to such a hell as no theologian had ever been able yet to imagine.

Need: A Change of Spirit.

Everybody said that what was first wanted was a mental change of spirit. But it was true that man reversed his social maxims there was no solution for the solution of this problem. Until man's action was directed, not to securing a public place, but a place in which he could do public service, not giving as much as possible, but to giving as much as possible, there was little hope in the situation. It was easy to praise this new motive, but very difficult to put it into practice. We have been educated the other way for generations. Our parents, our schools, our universities, our churches, all educated us in that way. Our judgments were corrupted, our sense of values totally perverted to that which ought to obtain for us. So we were our judgments: that we were continually placing blame on others when we were doing the wrong thing ourselves. We held up hands of horror at the mass of men demanding two shillings more a week, but politely—oh, very politely!—we did the same thing. We were all out for two shillings more a shift. Only when one saw it in the light did it appear dreadful.

Right Path.

Do not let us talk as if it were a perfectly easy matter to live according to the new spirit. It was only a question of what would happen to one—because it was almost impossible in the present order of things to be the servant of all. If a man went

on the principle of serving the community he would find that his efforts were being tapped by the less scrupulous. His additional production would be mulcted of nine-tenths of its value by somebody else who could by no means be regarded as the community. Had it been noticed how the present system demoralised everybody? It demoralised both classes who were engaged in it. People were always saying that capital ought to be recouped for the risks it ran. There you were! It was gambling. And on the other side it gave quite a false protection to the worker. When a man worked entirely for himself, if he did not work well, he did not get his dinner, but in the service of a company he could go on for quite a long time doing very little work, and yet be sure of his dinner.

Guild Socialism.

What was there to put in the place of the present system? If only small changes were made, which were all that politicians would make, the general decay would not be arrested, nor the possibility of revolution neutralised. Was it possible to have the new spirit with the gradual construction of a system that would embody it? Our Lord at least visualised the possibility. He proposed a new order for the new spirit. The general maxim that was to govern His Kingdom was that a man should serve the community. Much was heard of direct action; he would plead for direct service. He wanted to see a system whereby everything that a man did should be brought to bear immediately upon the community, and nobody should be allowed to sidetrack it or confuse it. There were two experiments of our time in which this had been done. One was the Co-operative movement—which was started by the Church—but that movement had been very largely sidetracked. Its ideals had never come to complete realisation. A great movement like the Co-operative movement was destroyed or at least deteriorated if people had not the Co-operative spirit. The other movement was Guild Socialism, wherein the workers managed their own affairs and dealt directly with their customers. To start a new order on this basis he did not think was a fantastic proposal. He did not know how applicable it was to all trades, but he recommended to all that that was the way in which thought and experiment should run—the producer and the community, and nobody in between.

Capture the Church!

In conclusion, Dr. Orchard pleaded that Labour might be brought to recognise—as in some degree she was—that Christ was her Teacher, and that the way of the wandering Carpenter was her way out. They need not bother their heads so much about the capture of the economic or the political machine, for that might prove illusory. Labour should set out to capture the Church. It was Labour's Church. It was founded by one of the labouring class. All the apostles were of that class. The solution of the whole problem was not far away. There must be one class—and one Church.

An Incurable Communist.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

I have a little matter on my conscience which grows all the bigger for keeping it there. It concerns a small unpublished meeting of mine which took place in the North of England recently. The reports of the bigger meetings have been duly sent in, but in regard to this one I have preserved a complete silence, and as I came out of it rather badly, honesty compels me to send in a report of it also. So here it is.

I was staying at the house of a miner who had a charming little daughter of eight, called Cissie. Spontaneously she and I became great friends, and within half-an-hour of our becoming acquainted we had arranged that she should take me, after school, to see some ducks in a park. At the appointed hour Cissie bounded breathlessly into the room where I was, clutched my hand and dragged me into the street—and off we went.

By and bye we reached the park and inspected the ducks. I was informed which was the prettiest, and which had lost its mamma, although I was unable to follow the reasoning which led to that conclusion. On leaving the park we wandered farther afield into a region that was new and strange to us both.

Presently we came upon a huge orchard. Before us was a six-foot wall over which hung a branch full of nice ripe apples.

Oh, please, Mr. Wellock, get me an apple!"

That was the beginning of my troubles.

Instead of acting up to the child's communist instincts, I tried to pull her down to the sordid level of respect for Private Property. I said something about those apples belonging to someone.

"Teacher at the Sunday School says that God sends them for us."

"Yes, yes, of course"

"What should we pay money for, then? Does God get the money?"

That locked me up, quite, and as a means of escape I tried to explain that perhaps if people didn't have to pay for apples some would eat more than their share.

"Would they eat them if they didn't want them?"

The child was an incorrigible rebel, and I saw endless catastrophes in store for her if her revolutionary notions were not quashed. I looked around and saw near at hand in the hedge hard by, a yard or so of bare railing. To this spot we walked, and there we had a little confidential talk about—Law and Order! "Law and Order" for a Crusader! It was incredible! How I hated myself defending things I disbelieve in and despise! And yet I felt compelled to do so.

When I had finished, the child left my side, stood straight before me and looked into my face, into my very soul. And I knew she was looking there. Then, suddenly, her eyes sparkled and a big smile burst over her face.

"Isn't it silly!" she said, and ran away laughing.

And then, conscious that she had probed me and beaten me, she swooped upon me with her merciless logic: "Mr. Wellock, you will get me an apple, won't you?"

The little minx!

I asked her what would happen if the policeman should chance to catch me. She at once looked around: "But there is no policeman," and she poked her first finger at me, making little circles with it the air, and crying, "Oh, you're frightened, you frightened! If I were as big as you I'd get one for you and one for me!"

It was terrible!

At last I manoeuvred her away, and we returned by another path. But I was painfully conscious that I was in the child's bad books, that I had lost favour. I tried to make amends by gathering a little bunch of choice flowers. But these only landed me deeper into the mire. "Won't the policeman say anything for you gathering flowers?" "No." "And won't he say anything for gathering blackberries?"

"I don't think so."

"Well, what will he say something for if gathering apples?"

She was merciless to the last.

Finally, I got my charge well ensconced within her father's home, where, to the astonishment of all, she became strangely quiet. I thought it prudent to reserve my story until after our public meeting, and Cissie had retired to bed. But it was too late. We had tea, but before we had left the table Cissie, fixing on me a steadfast, penetrating look, cried: "Mamma, does Mr. Wellock pay for his tea?"

The "Mamma" swooped upon the child, blushed and profusely apologised for her. Obviously explanations were necessary, and the scolding notwithstanding, we all sat at Cissie's feet.

But the most tragic fact of all was that having spent the best part of two hours trying to suppress the communist feeling and notions of that little child I left her to go and address her elders on the necessity of communism! And, truth to say, that is what most of us are doing every day—thwarting human nature in infancy, diverting it into evil channels, and then vainly trying to re-direct it into its natural course when evil tendencies and influences have warped and spoiled it.

And yet people insist that communism is as natural to man!

* * * * *

A few days ago I heard several well-to-do worldly-wise grey heads discussing the Premier's office at the present time?" asked one. "If you move Lloyd George who is there to take his place?" asked another. Well, strange as it may seem, my mind at once flew to little Cissie, the miner's daughter. At any rate, I thought, a little statesmanship along the lines of her unsullied mind would be infinitely more promising than anything Mr. Lloyd George has done or has suggested doing since he came to power. The idea of doing without money may be crude, but the simple belief that all natural desires and aspirations ought to be satisfied is instinctive and irresistible.

The "Good News," according to H. G. Wells.

I confess, as a professedly orthodox Christian, my gratitude to this brilliant writer and novelist for his recent interpretation of the coming of Christianity into the world.

I think Crusaders generally will also welcome his words—for we recognise an unexpected ally in Mr. H. G. Wells; and I think it would be all to the good if our leaders in "darkest Christendom" were to ponder well the utterances of this outsider from churches, and we might even discover the clue to much that is so strangely amiss to-day. They say an outsider sees most of the game; and I believe Mr. Wells, who will be read by tens of thousands, may even help the Christian Church to understand what "getting back to Christ" really means. That phrase is often on our lips, but everything depends on what we mean by Christ.

Army Chaplains have recently told us that in the Army universal respect was felt for Jesus Christ, though, they added, the heroic side of His character seems largely unknown. The Army means the manhood of England; in fact, it means England itself. How has such a conception, we say, came about? Somehow or other, it is plain, we have given a twist, a caricature, to the manliest, divinest, character of history. By our art, by our hymns, by our misguided devotion, we have created a fog. Do we not sing:

"Sweet Saviour, bless us ere we go:

O gentle Jesus, be our Light."

"Jesu, meek and gentle"? etc., etc.

These words may rightly be the language of loving devotion, but they convey scant justice to the robust and manly character of our Lord. This is exactly what Mr. Wells complains about. "Jesus is much wronged by the unreality and conventionality that a mistaken reverence has imposed upon His Figure in modern Christian art."

For a long time, I confess, those familiar words in the gospels, "Blessed is he, whosoever shall not be offended in Me," conveyed nothing at all to me; my whole idea was of a Christ who gave no offence. I see now, I think, the meaning of those strange words. As a matter of fact, He gave offence all along. He upset at the very outset of His work His narrow-minded fellow-villagers. He upset the wealthy farmers of Gadara, He upset His mother when she tried to hold Him back, and, of course, He relentlessly opposed the formalism and hypocrisy of the religious leaders of His day. These Pharisees may have been incarnate wickedness, but they were not blind or stupid; they clearly saw the drift of His teaching. All this Mr. Wells makes out as clear as daylight. The heroic Christ challenges deliberately, always, everywhere, the forces of Mammon, Imperialism, and Clericalism. It was the rich men, the rulers, and the priests who brought about His death. "Getting back to Christ" would, therefore, seem to mean that His followers in this twentieth century ought also to be consistent opponents of that trinity of evils to-day. Mr. Wells helps to rescue Christ, and we discover a Being, "very human, very earnest and passionate, capable of swift anger, and clearly a Person of intense magnetism; and He

came teaching a new and simple and profound doctrine—namely, the universal loving Fatherhood of God and the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven."

Again—it is Wells who insists that Jesus by His teaching condemned the economic system of His day, also all private wealth and personal advantages. I know there are Christian teachers who would deny this, but I think they are mistaken. In His striking picture of Dives and Lazarus He points out the glaring contrasts of Wealth and Poverty more superbly and more graphically than any excited Socialist orator at our street corners. True, He never denounces them as He denounced the religious humbugs of His day; rather He pitied them. He saw how difficult, how all but impossible it was for them to enter the Kingdom. He loved that rich young ruler who was enslaved to Mammon, and His love thawed, as I like to fancy, the mighty iceberg of the love of wealth in that young man's soul, for possibly that young man was the Evangelist, St. Mark; and so, we say to ourselves, if our Blessed Lord condemned the economic system of His day, how much more to-day would He condemn our own, when the contrasts are manifestly more glaring than ever before? It is our system that is so fearfully "anti-Christian" to-day, and the Christian Church is beginning to see this more clearly every day, and we fondly hope that ere long both the Church and the Labour Party will work together to produce a really Christian economic system for the good of mankind and the Glory of God.

Then, further, "Jesus proclaimed not merely a moral and a social revolution. His teaching had a political bent of the plainest sort." So says Wells: a statement which would be strenuously denied by many, I know, in our churches. But His hostile questioners, by their very questions, prove that they at all events were fully aware of the real significance of His teaching. His disciples were dull, we know; they were full of queer notions and ideas—their Master was altogether too great for them: and for us.

Let me add a final quotation from Wells, which is worth pondering. "To take Jesus seriously was to enter upon a strange and alarming life, to abandon habits, to control instincts, and impulses, to essay an incredible happiness. . . . Is it any wonder that to this day this Galilean is too much for our small hearts?"

Some of us—these war days—and most supremely our C.O.'s—have discovered something of the truth of those burning words. We have discovered that Christianity is anything but a tame affair, certainly no respectable affair, but that is how our Holy Religion appears to the mass of our fellow-countrymen, especially the workers.

This modern version of Christianity is certainly unorthodox—it leaves out much that we might like to add—but it emphasises an aspect which we have too often forgotten and neglected, and in spite of all that is written by Wells, some of which we feel unable to endorse, yet we feel that the "light of divinity" shines through his recital, and we return to our gospels with new interest and fresh insight.

EDWYN B. HOOPER.

Bookland. Foundations.

To-day we realise as perhaps never before the tremendous importance of the early years of childhood. It is during these years that the foundations are laid of the whole future life. It is then that the trend of character is settled. It is then that the foundations of health of body, mind and spirit are laid.

The Nursery School movement is significant of the nation's realisation of this fact.

The children of our Nurseries and of our Nursery Schools are the builders of the future, and if they are to build a new world on a sounder basis, and with a bigger ideal, it rests with all educationists to give them an opportunity for fuller and freer development of body, mind and spirit, a greater realisation of interdependence and mutual service than the old system of education afforded.

Grace Owen, in her recently published book, "Nursery School Education,"* presents a comprehensive case which will be warmly welcomed by all educational enthusiasts. To quote:—

"In the establishment of Nursery Schools the nation has a unique opportunity to break through harmful tradition and to make a fresh start, by bringing the education of its children into harmony with a living and developing philosophy of life."

At last "the country has shown itself convinced of the importance of taking determined steps to look to the very foundations of the health and well-being of the people. It has perceived that all schemes of national reconstruction of whatever type, are based on shifting sand, if the young life of the nation is not sound, healthy and well-developed during the first critical years."

The chapters on the "Mind of the Child," by Olive A. Wheeler, D.Sc., are extremely suggestive. She begins by emphasising the thought that in every child there is a "life urge" (Bergson's "Élan Vital"), "a creative impulse toward completion, which expresses itself in many and varied ways." She reminds us that little children in whom the primitive instincts and appetites play so important a role, can easily be interested in anything that is intimately connected with the satisfaction of these primitive needs. Hence the tremendous importance of meal-time and sleep-time, and the manifold tasks and little duties connected with them in the day's programme, through which the children obtain a valuable training in social service.

Two grave warnings are given against over-stimulation, on the one hand, by presenting too great a variety of interests, or offering formal teaching before the child is ready for it, and, on the other hand, against the repression of natural instincts, by the constant checking of a healthy curiosity, and by the frustrating of those crude, childish experimentations by which independence and growth are best achieved.

The findings of Psycho-Analysts are quoted here, and we are reminded that the discipline must be of "such a nature as to lead the child to face and solve his conflicts. It must not be merely negative. A continual 'Thou shalt not' is certain to lead to disaster in one of two directions. If the individual is sufficiently vigorous it will lead to an explosion in

which the pent-up forces break through the artificial barriers and express themselves, it may be, in illegitimate ways. On the other hand, if the organism is weakly, repression will lead to mental ill-health."

We are reminded that "reprimand favours repression, and tends to drive the emotional excitement below the threshold of consciousness," and recommended to study always the root causes of the trouble and achieve the sublimation of the conflicts rather than through an over-repressive discipline, to drive them below the threshold of consciousness, where they fester as anti-social tendencies.

It is suggested that the religious influence of the Nursery School will be felt more in the atmosphere than in direct religious teaching. Our Nursery School must radiate love and trust, for "Where love is, God is." The happy little company of children will, by their simple songs of praise, and "thank you's" for every good gift, daily acknowledge the source of all good. "God will be to them no dread Person, but the 'Unseen Helper,' the Father of all, and Creator and source of all beauty and joy.

The child has a natural hunger for beauty which, if awakened and ministered to now, will be the means of enriching his mental and spiritual life; the value of music and of all rhythmic games is recognised, as also the extraordinary value of times of absolute silence and complete relaxation. Dr. Montessori's "Silence Game" is given its due of appreciation as a simple direct means of training in the child the listening ear, teaching him the art of relaxation and immobility, and enabling him to establish self-control of mind and body.

With reference to the child's hunger for beauty and latent talent for expression, it is suggested that "the taste of the nation may be improved if this impulse for expression is given wise direction in the Nursery School, and the good beginning continued in the elementary school. In this way the vandalism that covers public buildings, fences, and walls with unsightly drawings may become extinct."

Valuable chapters are contributed by C. Chisholm, B.A., M.D., on the hygiene of the Nursery School. She recommends, wherever possible, the establishment of open-air schools. She also urges close contact between home and Nursery School, and between parent and Nursery School Superintendent. The whole volume goes to show that the Superintendent of the Nursery School must be nurse, teacher, and social worker in one.

The book has additional value in that it contains practical suggestions as to buildings, equipment, furniture, etc., and also charts and information concerning such matters as infection, quarantine, recognition of symptoms, and treatment of accidents. Also full regulations for Nursery Schools issued by the Board of Education.

But to some of us its chief charm lies in its vision of the opportunity Nursery Schools afford toward the building up of "citizens of that better and happier England for which we work and hope—the England that is to be."

DORIS LESTER.

* "Nursery School Education." Edited by Grace Owen. Published by Methuen and Co., Ltd., London. Price 5/6 net.

A Christian Prison.

The following is from an article in the Glasgow "Forward" of October 30th:—

The Lindenhof Prison is a few miles from the centre of Berlin, near Lichtenberg. Up to the last few years it was the ordinary conventional prison, respectable to the eyes of all who loved Prussian law and military authority. The entrance was marked by the usual great iron door, studded with inch-thick rivets and double-locked, the cells were numbered, and the doors had peep-holes for the warders to spy on the doings of the dangerous persons within. Strict discipline was enforced, and the prisoners were taught to fear the Governor. But the Governor also feared the prisoners, and even when he conducted divine worship he laid his revolver on the altar table for perfect safety from his self-made foes.

With the coming of the present Director of the Prison there has also come a terrible revolution. Dr. Karl Wilker, Ph.D., M.D., is a man of ideas and of faith. He has the peculiar notion that the majority of his criminals are the victims of a vile and unequal social system which made no adequate provision for the natural wants of many of its human units. Many of the petty thefts he believed to be nothing more than a desire for a few of the good things of life: in any case, the taking—if it was there in plenty for the few—of a loaf of bread to stave off starvation, was much more natural (in Dr. Wilker's view) than starving within sight of the means of life. He believed that the Capitalist system of society kept a section of the community poor, refused to educate that section or give it the means by which it could attain a culture. He also believed that the prison system was a mere negation, turning men out in every case more bitter than when they entered, and, therefore, less fitted than ever for taking their place in ordered society. A great many criminals never got a real chance in life. They had been sent to prison for punishment because they were bad characters. But society had never tried to make them good. Dr. Wilker believed, therefore, that as their whole life had been a punishment, prison, if it was to be of any service to these, must be a school and a home where they would be trained in the social spirit to take their place in the service of the community. No one wanted a man who had been in any of H.M. Prisons; Wilker's view was that residence for three years in the right sort of jail ought to be rather a recommendation.

Wilker's first act as Director was to remove every bar from the windows and the locks from the doors. All the cells were re-painted like ordinary living rooms, and the numbers and the spy-holes were removed from the cells. The new Director called his dangerous persons together and explained to them his purpose. They were not to be a group of people who mutually suspected each other, they were to be a social community in which each was to live and work for the happiness of all. Rules and regula-

tions, said the Director, he abhorred, and what he personally disliked he was very unwilling to impose on anyone else. There would, therefore, be a minimum of rules. Regarding punishments for misbehaviour, the customary rule was to impose extra work on the delinquent, but as all work in their community was to be a pleasure and a service, and as he did not believe in corporal punishment, another means would have to be discovered. Dr. Wilker admitted his own difficulty of being a judge, and so he proposed a policy of democratic control by which the prisoners would form themselves into a jury to hear cases and discover a punishment to fit the crime. The worst thing the criminals could devise was the duty of washing a few extra dishes.

As regards training in social service, the Director instituted apprenticeships on the intensive system in such trades as Joinery, Cabinet-making, Printing, Market Gardening, Bootmaking, Tailoring, and for those who so desired it, some education in Art—Drawing, Music, etc.—and for that purpose a band was formed, and also a Dramatic Society. The Institute, which is now really a technical institute with residential students, has its own social life and its own Monthly Magazine, to which the "criminals" contribute articles and sketches.

Not only so, but if Dr. Wilker happens to become possessed of tickets for the theatre or opera in Berlin he goes in along with his "prisoner" friends to spend the evening there, not as their Governor, but as one of themselves.

One peculiarity of this prison is that there are often applications for an extension of the term of imprisonment, and in every case the prisoner re-enters the world better fitted in every way to take his place in society, not with a grudge against a system that exiled him for three years in useless employment, but with gratitude that at last he had experienced that human touch that makes the whole world kin.

The visit to Lindenhof will long be a happy memory. It was the nearest approach to what one might call a Christian prison. Visitors to the institution are informed that they are expected to speak as friends with all whom they meet in the grounds, and to beware of treating any as inferior or criminal types. Dr. Wilker himself moves among his friends, and is welcomed by them as they are at work or play, and never fails to join them for a period daily in doing the same tasks as he has set for them. When one thinks of a prison system maintained by nominally Christian Governments and tolerated by Christian peoples, without either protest or enquiry, systems which turn men out branded with shame, it is refreshing to know that Dr. Wilker has abandoned conventional Christianity as a soulless unpractical thing, and has become a Socialist whose religion is to help his fellowmen to realise their full manhood.

The Crusade.

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FROM THEODORA WILSON WILSON.

At Norton-on-Tees, we had an excellent meeting and again question time opened out the discussion. At Leeds I went to a women's meeting on behalf of the candidature for the City Council, of Mr. Clay. There is a wide opening I should say, for work amongst women, and Dr. Ethel Williams told me at Newcastle that she believed that "kitchen meetings" held in a simple way right amongst the people would be of the utmost value. This is a form of work which could be carried on by many "Crusaders" who are not able to attend or speak at big meetings.

But anyone could ask for the loan of a kitchen or parlour and invite a few to a friendly "talk-over" of things that matter. The needs of the neighbourhood, the Declaration of Dependence, the "Crusader," the children and the "Explorer," education, housing, etc., would loosen the tongues of such a small gathering.

We had a good F.O.R. meeting at Leeds, and some present felt that the Declaration was too vague. I tried to show that it was inclusive and touched the economic order vitally. It is good, however, to hear all criticism, for only thus can we grow.

On Sunday I had the great joy of meeting some children at Purley and I hope an Explorer Guild will be the result. The children and I agreed that we had had a "lovely time."

We intended to have a good outdoor meeting in the evening, but the rain stopped us.

THE CRUSADE IN LANCASHIRE.

My meetings during the past week have been concentrated in Nelson, my native town. Nelson has a population of 40,000 souls, and the fact that we have been able to hold four good meetings under the auspices of different organisations, yet all having the same fundamental purpose, is an indication of spiritual health, and a good augury for the future.

We had a big attendance at the Co-operative Women's Guild on Wednesday, when we discussed the relation of women to the future. Very keen interest was shown and even after the meeting was closed the discussion was continued in small groups.

At the Salem Young Men's Fellowship, when we discussed methods of revolution, the same keen interest was manifested, and the attendance was the highest yet reached.

On Sunday morning we had a large congregation in Salem Church, and the astonishing fact to me was that so many professing Christians were manifestly disposed to listen to revolutionary ideas, Christian Communist doctrines, who previously have always shown a keen antipathy to such. One member of the congregation came specially to tell me that he thought I ought to concentrate on the Churches. "With your message of revolutionary Christianity," he said, "one appearance in a Church is worth six appearances at Labour meetings." I am

not quite sure that he is right, although there is much in his contention.

On Sunday evening, at the I.L.P., the hall was full to the doors, and the meeting was most enthusiastic, and a deep, spiritual feeling pervaded it. A comparison of these two meetings held in the same town, on the same day, one in a Church the other in the I.L.P., provided much food for reflection. Where are the centres of spiritual force to-day? That question was thrust upon me with irresistible force after last Sunday's meetings, and there is no doubt as to the answer. Friends are confident that much good has been done by our meetings. W.W.

CRUSADER CENTRES OF ACTION.

BIRMINGHAM—

Mrs. J. H. Dearne, 332 Moat Road., Warley, Langley, Birmingham.

BRITON FERRY—

Mr. D. Gibbon, Jesmond House, Waters St., Briton Ferry, Glam.

DUDLEY—

Mr. J. Downing, 86 Park Rd., Netherton, Nr. Dudley.
Mr. W. E. Leedham, Canal Side, Netherton, Nr. Dudley.
Mr. S. R. Tilley, 4 Hampton St., Netherton, Nr. Dudley.

DUMFRIES—

Mr. G. Douglas, 95 Queensberry Street, Dumfries.

FLEETWOOD—

Mr. A. L. Scholfield, "Sandholme," Abercrombie Road, Fleetwood, Lancs.

GLASGOW—

Mr. R. Barclay Murdoch, 48 Cumberland Street S., Glasgow.

GREENOCK—

Mrs. Blake, 18 Eldon Street, Greenock.

HEREFORD—

Mr. Edmund Jones, St. Omer, Whitehorse St., Hereford.

HORBURY—

Mr. A. Halstead, Austerland Villas, Middlestown, near Wakefield.

KETTERING—

Mr. J. C. Dempsey, Rothwell, Kettering.

LEICESTER—

Rev. Seaward Beddow, 108 London Road, Leicester.

LONDON—

Mr. G. Bickers, 133 Geere Road, Stratford, E. 15.
Mr. G. P. Coverdale, 38 Glengall Road, S.E. 15.
Miss E. Fall, 69 Morley Road, Stratford, E. 15.
Miss E. Martin, 18 Avon Road, Walthamstow, E. 17.
Mr. C. H. Offley, 43 Eastbourne Road, Tooting, S.W. 17.
Rev. R. W. Sorensen, 31 Palmerston Road, Walthamstow, E. 17.

NELSON—

Mr. R. Bland, 203 Barkerhouse Rd., Nelson, Lancs.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—

Rev. J. C. Spokes, Cambridge House, Rowlands Hill, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

NEWPORT—

Mr. Trevor C. Griffiths, 40 Oakfield Road, Newport, Mon.

PENRITH—

Mr. F. Lester, Forest Mount, Penrith, Cumberland.

PERRANWELL—

Rev. F. Lée, Chycoose, Perranwell Station, Cornwall.

READING—

Mr. J. T. Hull, 89 Grange Avenue, Reading.

SCUNTHORPE—

Mr. C. Allcock, Rose Cottage, Ashby Rd., Old Brumby, Scunthorpe, Lincs.

SWINDON—

Mr. F. J. King, 181 Kingshill, Swindon.

These Crusader Centres of Action, as has been explained, are being organised with the object of enabling us at short notice to get into touch with various parts of the country, and, as occasion may demand, supply extra "Crusader" copies for special purposes. Volunteers are badly needed in the districts not yet represented and we should be glad to hear from readers who will act as our agents in their own localities.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

MINERVA CAFE MEETINGS.—The Speaker at the Minerva 144 High Holborn) on Monday, Nov. 8, at 6.30, will be MARGARETE CLAISYER. Tea, for which no charge is, can be obtained from 5.30-6.30. There is a collection for expenses. The addresses are followed by a short discussion, but the meetings are over by 7.30.

PRINCIPAL WORK. There is a great amount of this to be done both in connection with our ordinary propaganda and the new Hospitality Scheme. Miss Elsie Martin, who has been our staunchest helpers, is now in charge of the work, and we are very glad to hear from all who can give one night a week. Please do not let this appeal pass unnoticed. The need is great. Follow the counsel of the Unjust Steward—"sit down and write."

HOSPITALITY FOR OUR "ENEMIES."—Many of the persons who come on business to London find that often board-houses, etc., are closed against them. A member of the Fellowship is trying to get a list of friends who would be willing to offer hospitality, either for a night or for a longer time on an honorary business basis. Communications sent to the secretary will be forwarded to her.

ROOMS TO LET.—We should be glad to hear of any friends who would like to board with members of the Fellowship and whom any who are seeking "paying guests." We can often help people in touch with one another.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 24 Gray's Inn Residences, E.C.1.

CRUSADER STALL.

The Women's Freedom League have extended their stall to us to take a stall at their Green, White and Gold Fair to be held at Caxton Hall on Friday and Saturday, November 26th and 27th. We feel that by accepting this offer we shall be giving an opportunity to all our friends with deft fingers and ready heads, who are unable to subscribe to our stall. We found last year that the stall proved a very useful exchange between those who have little money but who have time and ability to make things for those who need these things and are willing to pay for them. In this case we reap a benefit from both parties. The stall also provides uncommon and attractive Christmas presents. Gifts of provisions, such as home-made jams, pickles, and cakes, or farm garden produce are always popular, also useful household articles and plain clothing. Please keep your stall free to come and buy, and kindly send non-perishable goods before Monday, November 22nd.

DR. WALLACE AND THE DECLARATION.

Dr. Wallace, M.A., the organ of the Alpha Union, edited by Dr. Wallace, M.A., quotes in full the Declaration of Dependence as published originally, in our issue of October 1st, and adds the following editorial note:—

"On this basis or something like it—on some such understanding of the practical meaning of Christianity—there should be a new Inter-Church and Inter-national World Movement, which could probably not attract at the outset any very considerable proportion of the over-rich, but it would be charged with spiritual power—it would be Revolutionary Christianity utilised for the new holy civilisation."

MISS WILSON'S ENGAGEMENTS.

SOUTHERN TOUR.

Nov. 7 Bristol I.L.P.
Nov. 8 Bristol F.O.R.
Wednesday, November 10 ... Bath Theosophical Soc., 3 and 7.30.
Admission in the district are invited to these meetings and are to make them known to their friends and others.

THE CRUSADER GROUP

WILL BE

**AT HOME
THIS EVENING,**

Friday, November 5th, 5-30 to 7-30, at
The MINERVA CAFE, 144 HIGH
HOLBORN, W.C. (Entrance at rear in
Silver Street), and hopes to have the
pleasure of seeing you.

THE CLASS WAR.—A series of Lunch Hour Addresses on this subject will be given at Devonshire House, 136 Bishopsgate, E.C., from 1.20 to 1.50 p.m. on Mondays, Oct. 4th to Nov. 8th inclusive. Speaker: Nov. 8, H. B. Lees Smith.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

TWEEDS.—Any length cut. Suitings, Costumes, Overcoatings, Ladies Coats. Patterns sent on application.—R. A. Anderson, 21 St. Andrew Street, Galashiels.

PLANTS.—A friend offers eight 5/- lots of plants for sale. Good value, not more than one-third catalogue prices. Whole of proceeds to go to "Crusader" Funds.—Apply at once to Mr. W. H. McKellen, Rocklynes, Romiley, Cheshire.

POPULAR DISCUSSION CONFERENCES, Brotherhood Church, Southgate Road, N. Nov. 7, at 3.30. W. N. Ewer, Foreign Editor, "Daily Herald"; at 7, F. R. Swan.

DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE.

The Declaration of Dependence can now be obtained as a separate leaflet from the "Crusader" Offices, 23, Bride Lane, E.C.4, price 4/6 per 100, post free.

THE MINER.

In view of the interest excited by Mr. Wellok's article, under the above title, in our issue of October 22nd, it has been reprinted as a separate leaflet, and can be obtained on application to the "Crusader" Office, 23 Bride Lane. Applicants are asked, if possible, to contribute to cost of reprinting.

CRUSADER STALL

AT THE

Green, White and Gold Fair,
Nov. 26 and 27.

CAXTON HALL.

COME & BUY YOUR CHRISTMAS PRESENTS.

SIDELIGHTS.

How Not to Become a Millionaire.

Mr. Austin Hopkinson's experiment of making it quite certain, as he told the House of Commons the other day, "that in no circumstances" should the "appalling fate" of becoming a millionaire ever overtake him, has introduced in industry an entirely new principle—the definite limitation of the income of the employer to an amount, in his case, less than he actually received before the war, and undoubtedly very much less, he says, than what he might now obtain if he wished.

For a number of years he tried the experiment at the Delta mining machinery workers in Lancashire of working shorter hours than are customary in the trade and paying higher wages than the district rate. The further experiment, which was introduced in March, added a novel scheme of profit-sharing, in which he arranged that after a certain point has been reached increased profits are not to add to his own income. "For the scheme increases your share, as compared to mine," he told the men, "in a continually greater ratio up to a point when the whole of the increased profits go to you."

If the profit is at the rate of £1,000 a year Mr. Hopkinson takes nine-tenths and his men one-tenth. On the second £1,000 he takes eight-tenths and his men two-tenths; on the third £1,000 seven-tenths and his men three tenths, and so on.

"The scheme," he said, in an interview with a representative of the "Observer," "differs from all others. The ordinary profit-sharing scheme is introduced to increase output, and incidentally to increase the income of the employer. But this is a device for decreasing my own income, and it is not an incentive to men who are already doing as much as is good for them to do any more. My men during the war built up an output which was perfectly wonderful, without any share of profits."

"What was the inducement?" Mr. Hopkinson was asked.

"They knew," he said, "I was not making anything out of the war, that I was losing heavily, and, being just normal north-country workpeople, they were quite determined to do what they thought was their duty."

Explaining his reason for making this further experiment, notwithstanding that production was as high as it could be and working conditions were quite satisfactory, he said: "It is rather the result of feeling that they were such extremely nice men that one was bound to do what was good for them, and also to try to get away from the theory that the employer is no better than his men. The only way in industry by which an employer can justify his position as a leader is by not imitating his men in getting as much as he can."—"Observer," October 31, 1920.

Religious Revival the Remedy for Industrial Unrest

The "Manchester Guardian" has just published a supplement on "American Resources," which contains a paragraph about Labour so delightful that it ought not to be lost. Here it is:—

"One cannot review mineral resources and the industries based upon them without constant reference to labour conditions. Most of us, perhaps, were disposed to think that if the great body of younger men were to serve in the army and brought under military discipline the experience would develop orderliness, respect for authority, and obedience to law. In large degree the reverse has been the effect. There has never been so much restlessness, dissatisfaction, unwillingness to meet the plain facts of life; to be industrious, law-abiding and self-supporting. Apparently military life destroys individuality, initiative, and the feeling of responsibility. The private and the junior officer simply obey orders. Once discharged from the army their helplessness and their tendency to believe that the Government owes them support, no matter what they do themselves, are the outstanding results. With almost as many men as ever in the country, there never has been a time in the memory of those now well on in years in which it was so difficult to secure workers, or to keep them on their jobs. Strikes, absurd and unreasonable demands, and a general disposition to upset the sensible order of civilised States all seem to be the direct results of having been compelled to meet German aggression with a world in arms.

Many thoughtful observers sometimes wonder if any can be found, other than a great moral and religious such as marked the Wesleyan movement over a century in England."

What a brilliant idea! "Most of us" thought the military machine would do all that was required to an obedient slave, but it has failed, and now, in the last, we must try what religion will do. We have descended from the Mount, and hounded down the pacifist conscientious objector, so that we might resist German aggression (in other words, capture German trade); but now time has come to serve out a ration of brotherly love.

Joseph Southall, in Birmingham "Evening

India's Passive Resistance.

The latest reports from India show that the call to the British administration is being responded to widely. A telegram from Simla, dated October 15th, announces that students of the Aligarh College, after a visit from Mr. and the Ali brothers, have decided to refuse to attend and delivered under the auspices of the British Government have taken an oath to support non-co-operation. They also called upon their Principal to renounce his title of and to decline nomination to the United Provinces Legislative Council. They have requested the Trustees of the College to abandon the Government grant, and Mr. Shankat Ali, the Nationalist leader, has promised to provide the funds for the College, in its place. The Simla correspondent of the "Times" states that in consequence of the boycott, there is no contest for the new Legislative Councils in many of India.

The Ceylon National Congress has followed the example of the Indian National Congress, and has unanimously resolved to boycott the new scheme of constitutional reform recently by Lord Milner, as utterly inadequate and reactionary. The Congress also declared that the Governor, Sir Manning, by his failure to represent the wishes of the people, the Imperial authorities, has forfeited the confidence of the country.—"Workers' Dreadnought."

MacSwiney's Faith.

The two quotations given below are characteristic of Terence MacSwiney, the late Lord Mayor of Cork.

"When the scroll of God can be reached to and read by a mortal hand our dreams may vanish and the freedom fail; but as long as the decrees of Heaven stand aloof on high justification and hope, thus long will the endurance and loyalty to the old love in the hearts of Gael."

"He is called to a grave charge who is called to a majority. But he will resist, knowing his victory over them to a dearer dream than they had ever known. He fights for that ideal in obscurity little heeded—in a misunderstood, in humble places still undaunted. He seizes any vantage point, never crushed, never despairing, and cheering a few comrades with him to-morrow."

"And should these few sink in the struggle the ideal of the ideal is proven in the last hour; it justifies man against a whole race. It makes him the savior of a race."

The Crime of Forgiveness.

The "Evening Standard" of October 27, in a leading article on the Oxford Professors' letter to Professors in Germany, Austria, says:

There are some things in regard to which it is impossible to be liberal, and unchristian to be forgiving, and the sense of reality, has long ago decided that the thing Germany did in 1914 is one of them.

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The Outlook.

THE Public Mind is a difficult problem. For the last week it has been concentrated with breathless interest on the fate of a single individual charged with murder. Every newspaper has given first place to the Greenwood trial. It has even eclipsed the racing news on the newspaper posters. Yet the organisation of murder in Ireland receives scant attention. And the death of thousands of innocent people on the Continent, as the result of an inhuman policy, casts but a slight shadow on our comparative policy. Unfortunately this hectic interest in murder trials serves only too well the purpose of those who welcome any distraction that may postpone scrutiny into the actions of Governments.

THE election to the presidency of the United States of the Big Business Candidate has a sinister significance for the future of that country. America is the land of extremes. The elements of revolt are fiercer there than here, and Reaction is better organised and even less scrupulous than on this side of the Atlantic. The election of the Republican nominee is an indication of the strength of the Commercial interests, and confirms our belief that it is in the land of "Democracy" and the Almighty Dollar that Capitalism will make its last and bitterest fight.

RARELY has the issue between Capital and Labour been raised in so clear a form as it was in the recent debate on the Emergency Powers Bill. Clause I. of that Bill enacts that—

If at any time it appears to His Majesty that any action has been taken or is immediately threatened by any persons or body of persons of such a nature and on so extensive a scale as to be calculated, by interfering with the supply and distribution of food, water, fuel, light, or with the means of locomotion, to deprive the community, or any substantial portion of the community, of the essentials of life, His Majesty may, by Proclamation (hereinafter referred to as a Proclamation of Emergency) declare that a state of emergency exists.

William Adamson, M.P., leader of the Labour Party, moved an amendment to add after the word "scale":—

"Whether by financial operations or the exercise of a monopoly and the artificial raising of the price or the withholding of supplies, or failure to produce or otherwise."

This amendment, which would have made the Bill operative against ALL who are holding up supplies, was lost, the voting being 57 for and 214 against. Unfortunately that unmistakable revelation of class bias will not prevent preachers, politicians, and Press denouncing the workers for not producing more, or put an end to the silly talk about agitators who "foment the class war."

* * *

IN organising ceremonies of profound moral and social significance without attempting to translate them into practical action, the Church has set an evil example which the State is only too readily imitating. Whoever suggested the burying in Westminster Abbey, on Armistice Day, of the body of an Unknown Warrior, has the gift of striking the popular imagination. To give place in the national Mausoleum to one of the great company of Unnamed Dead is, by implication, to honour all, however obscure, who suffered in the war. But the number of ex-service men now unemployed and the general conditions to which the soldiers have come rob the ceremony of all reality. It is just a ceremony and nothing more—an illustration of the dope-religion of the State.



MAGIC

That was a suggestive passage quoted in the "Crusader" from Dr. Fort Newton's diary, in which the ex-minister of the City Temple described the effect of a speech of Mr. Lloyd George's. "It

was pure magic," says the diarist. The context leaves us in no doubt as to the sense in which the word is used. The glamour of speech, the arts of the orator had tricked the audience. They created an atmosphere favourable to the speaker and fatal to the critical mood. It was only afterwards that the sophistry of the utterance became plain.

A similar effect is sometimes wrought in the name of the Church. It is to this that Socialist writers refer when they speak of Religion as the Dope of the People. The critical spirit is not so much met as silenced by the art of the ecclesiastical stage-manager. The senses and the imagination are exploited at the expense of the mind and conscience. For the time the congregation is under a spell. It is hypnotised into the belief that it is in Communion with Higher Powers. The actions of the priest are seen through a mist of religiosity. The whole performance acts as a sedative upon the critical powers. Only when the service is over and the congregation emerges into the clear light of day and hears again the familiar sounds of street traffic, is the spell broken, and it is discovered how little spiritual power has been generated by the performance.

This necromancy is not peculiar to those Churches which employ ritual. Dr. Fort Newton's description of the Prime Minister's oratory shows that the same effect can be wrought by speech. Those bodies which have thought to escape the dangers of ritual by repudiating the appeal to the senses and confining themselves to the cultivation of preaching have by no means avoided the peril from which they fled. The spell of the preacher may be no less magical than that of the priest. The after effects may be as disappointing in the one case as in the other.

Nor can one find comfort in those cases where art of every description, whether of the speaker or of the ritualist, has been repudiated. The stodginess of those people who rely for the cause of reform on fact and argument is no match for the imaginative gifts utilised in the interests of ancient institutions. A regiment of soldiers marching to the accompaniment of their band will destroy the effect of the most closely reasoned speech on the iniquities of Militarism. The flapping of a Union Jack may be more than a match for the most damning evidence of a Blue-Book. The fallacies of Capitalism have been proved over and over again, but the multitude is still unconvinced.

I must confess to finding many of the gatherings of people, in whose arguments I most profoundly believe, infinitely depressing. The attempts to avoid trickery by the negative method of refusing to appeal to sentiment and imagination do not strike

me as having been particularly successful. Something vital has been lost in the process. The escape from superstition by way of Ethical Societies, Rationalist Associations, and Trade Unions, does not seem very satisfactory.

Perhaps the two types I have been contrasting are best seen when described in the terms of personality. There is on the one hand your "plain-spoken" individual who says what he means and means what he says. He puts all his cards on the table. There are no recesses of mystery in his being. Five minutes' interview with him will tell you as much about him as even his wife knows. There are no heights or depths in his nature over which the mists linger. He is without subtlety or device. All the world labels him as "honest." But somehow he cuts no figure. He has no "magic."

Then there is the other type—shifty and unreliable, perhaps, without principle or any kind of moral consistency, with a plastic mind and conscience, the sudden changes of which bewilder and dazzle the spectator. He has a deep knowledge of crowd psychology and can adapt himself rapidly to the needs of the moment. But though his speech may be camouflage and his promises a delusive mirage, yet the camouflage apes big things and the mirage represents fairy oases and towering mountains. His dishonesty has captured the crowd more than the transparent sincerity of the plain man, for the reason that the latter offers only negative values. The wizard has at least pretended to be something great. His eloquence may be grandiloquence, but at least it is not dull prose. This preference of the mob for the magician is not only extremely suggestive; it is not altogether discreditable. A man who gave up the pleasure of purchasing a motor car for the sake of buying a Turner, only to find that the picture was a fake, would, at least, show his preference for art over the latest form of plutocratic ostentation. May it not be to the credit of the crowd that it prefers Lloyd George to Asquith?

But there is a third type in which we may see wizardry combined with sincerity. "Great is the mystery of Godliness," but it is a mystery which compels the will and strikes at the root of character. The saint is a miracle, but he is also—a saint. It is the combination, in Christianity, of the everyday virtues which all can recognise, with mystical values which none can analyse, that is its strength. The world is looking for a religion which can exorcise its evils without first blindfolding its intellect and conscience and stupefying its will. The Church that has no "magic" will fail as disastrously as the Church that can hypnotise but not convert. Only when mysticism and character, imagination and truth, kiss each other will religion create a popular movement. At present the distrust of "superstition" on the part of the "plain man," and the tendency, on the part of the initiated, to regard the mysteries of faith as something esoteric and unrelated to the everyday problems of life and character, constitute a divorce; the fatal effects of which are seen everywhere. Not till we have the realities of which the Lloyd Georges give us the imitation shall we capture the popular mind. Not until the magic of the Church is translated into "the mystery of godliness" can that capture of the popular mind confer any lasting benefit upon captives.

THE TRAMP.

Labour and Ireland.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

A few weeks ago, in writing on the subject of the proceedings of the Trade Union Congress, I ventured to criticise the British Labour movement on ground of its apathy on the question of Ireland. I summed up my criticism by quoting the scathing rebuke administered to the Labour movement in this country by the "Manchester Guardian" in which that fearless journal told Labour that while it was prepared to go all lengths to prevent a war against Russia, "it is a good deal less concerned at the war against Ireland which they (the Government) have actually declared and are busily prosecuting." I ventured the opinion that the leaders of the British Labour movement, with one or two exceptions, were shirking the Irish question.

I know at least one prominent Labour leader who regarded the few words of criticism contained in my article as being too harsh and as doing less justice to the efforts made by certain individual members of the Labour Party on behalf of Ireland. I regret to say that since I last wrote on this subject the situation in Ireland has become infinitely more acute, and the position of the Labour movement has, in my view, become infinitely more humiliating. I write as a life-long member of the Labour movement, and I know that I am expressing the views of many in that movement who feel stung by the reproach which the people of Ireland level at our movement, and who feel, too, that energetic leadership on the Irish question would have rallied to the side of Labour every decent member of the community irrespective of party.

It is not enough to make speeches deploring the wickedness of the Government's Irish policy; nor is it enough to point to the past record of some of those who are now professing horror at a situation which is largely the result of their own lack of courage in the past years. What some of us want to know is: what is Labour going to do? The Editor of the British "Forward" asks this question in the current issue of his paper and asks the National Administrative Council of the I.L.P. to give a lead. The Council very rightly rules out the possibility of a "down and out" policy on behalf of Ireland. Nobody with any knowledge of the industrial situation to-day would advocate such a policy, for the very simple reason that the majority of the organised workers in this country would not respond to such a call unless there were leaders with sufficient courage—the other thing—to initiate it.

Suggestions have been made that the Labour movement should start a fund to assist the Irish people. The Society of Friends, and other bodies, have made similar suggestions. But while I would gladly make any sacrifice in order to subscribe to such a fund, I cannot help feeling that the money would be better spent on a big "Hands off Ireland!" campaign on the lines of Labour's "Hands

off Russia!" campaign. The most terrible thing about the Irish situation is the lack of knowledge of the real facts among our own people. Friends with first-hand knowledge of the Irish Terror tell me that in spite of the horrible things being done in our name, the Irish people still believe that such things are only possible because we do not know of them. A writer in last week's "Nation" endorses this view:—

"Englishmen who travel in Ireland," he says, "are overwhelmed by the universal signs of military terrorism. In village after village they find women and children leave their homes every night to sleep in the fields, and stories of the flogging and torture of peasants to compel them to give information rest on undeniable evidence. Irish people talking to these travellers repeat again and again the same phrase: 'The English people cannot know what is being done.'"

The Labour Party is now the second party in the country. With bold leadership it could rouse the people of the country on this issue as no other party could do. Where Mr. Asquith cannot muster a handful of his own followers in his strong but somewhat belated protests, Mr. Henderson, or any other recognised leader of the Labour movement, would have the solid backing of every individual member of the movement. The propaganda capacity of the Labour Party is enormous; there are times when it can drown the voice of the capitalist press gang. It was successful in its efforts to prevent an open war against the people of Russia. With many of the powerful organs of the Press opposed to the Government's Irish policy Labour could, I believe, successfully conduct an agitation against that policy, an agitation which would do much to atone for its seeming apathy during the past few weeks.

There is still time to sound the clarion call: "Hands off Ireland!" and there are many thousands who will respond to that call. As the "Nation" truly says:—

"The House of Commons indeed is hopeless. But the nation has no reason for acquiescing in a policy of intimidation and murder, and unless its conscience is brought into action, it will go down to history branded, not as the worst criminal in Europe, but as the criminal that was the worst hypocrite of all."

Labour can, if it will, save the British people from such a judgment.

While there is a lower class I am in it, while there is a criminal element I am of it, while there is a man in prison I am not free.—EUGENE DEBS.

The Crusader

Friday, November 12th, 1920

Editorial Communications
To the Editor,
Business Communications
To the Secretary,
 23, BRIDE LANE, FLEET ST.,
 LONDON, E.C.4.
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 2/9 per quarter.

The Faith of the Pioneer.

Pioneers sometimes have no more than their principles to guide them. They cannot see a step before them. Plans and programmes are denied them. They advance in faith, waiting for the implicit wisdom of that which inspires them to guide their energies into the right channels. It is one of the tests of faith that it should thus commit itself to a task the means for which are not visible.

No revolutionary time table.

We may frankly confess that we cannot draw up a time table for the revolution. We may even confess that while we regret some of the methods advocated for bringing about the social changes necessary, we are not always clear and definite as to the methods by which the end in view is to be attained. We are not, therefore, dismayed. We walk in faith.

The next thing is the best thing.

We can at least do the next thing. Because we cannot start a world-wide strike it is no reason for not buttonholing the next person we meet and attempting to put them at our point of view. Because we are not prepared to organise a Red Army we are not prevented from circulating the "Crusader." The world is full of people who would mount a barricade but cannot afford time to attend a Committee, who would sacrifice a fortune to see the Commune established but cannot afford two-pence a week to assist the propaganda of their principles.

The dramatic gestures of history are few. But the spade-work that makes each step of progress possible is enormous.

Spade-workers are badly needed for our Navvies' Battalion. Join up to-day!

We should like to call our readers' special attention to the announcement on another page regarding the "Crusader" Stall. Please help if you can!

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 23 Bride Lane, London, E.C.4.

"UNTO THIS LAST."

"Consider whether, even supposing it guilty, luxury would be desired by any of us, if we clearly at our sides the suffering which accompany it in the world. Luxury is indeed possible in the future—innocent and exquisite—luxury for all, by the help of all; but luxury at present can only be enjoyed by the ignorant. The cruelest man in the world could not sit at his feast unless he sat blindfold."

"Go forth until the time comes when the golden bread and the bequest of peace shall be unto this as unto thee."

I am repeatedly amazed at the callousness, lack of imagination of many people who are so comfortably circumstanced. They apparently regard it as a Divine right that they and their children should live in comfort and even luxury, offsetting the expense of human beings employed by the State.

I was talking to an employer of labour recently—someone in the "building line." He was disgusted with his men—they were never satisfied. And the Labour Party backed them up and encouraged them to strike—for most unreasonable motives. After a bit I gathered that his men were on strike and were demanding **part payment for wet**. Imagine the audacity of it! I suppose these people can scotch off their hunger—like the electric light—when the rain comes down. I queried innocently: "I suppose the children of your men don't get hurt on wet days, then." He waxed indignant and replied: "That's nothing to do with me. I can expect to pay when work isn't done."

I am afraid I made a convert—a convert from ranks of those who stand round at election time murmuring "What do we stand for? It doesn't matter. **Vote for us and keep out Labour.**"

A few minutes after this conversation I passed a private school. The children were just coming out and were met by fond mammas, laden with wraps and goloshes. To the children, wet weather is just good fun—they are sure of something warm and nourishing to keep out the cold. And yet the very rain which provokes their laughter is hated and dreaded by the thousands of children whose fathers are audacious enough to demand "part payment for wet time."

What a condemnation of our economic system! "The cruelest man living could not sit at his feast unless he sat blindfold."

If only the matter rested with the children—Mr. Wellock's little friend, "Cissie," as her mother's verdict would be "Unto this last as unto that."

THE PLOUGHMAN

War has slain its thousands, but Commerce has slain tens of thousands.—BALDWIN BROWN.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

"Urbanus," who writes charming literary articles for the "Church Times," has been to the theatre to see Sir James Barrie's "Mary Rose." He was delighted, but his sufferings at being placed among a wing and bag-scrunching public, draw from him the following amusing remarks on the habits of those who attend theatres. Many of my readers will recognise the essential truthfulness of the picture, if any of them are "crunchers," perhaps they will desist in case some "Urbanus" be brought to press.

Here are the remarks. "If you would judge the quality of the bulk of London's playgoers, sit among them in the pit or in the stalls. Listen to their talk; take note of their behaviour. Their questionings of each other will set you wondering what pleasures such dense creatures find in the play whose points they miss and whose whole drift they misunderstand. The inanities at one's back are bad enough, but none by far is the grinding of molars, the scrunching of paper, and all the other concomitants of the constant work of mastication with which certain playgoers occupy every moment, from their entry over their toes to the curtain's final fall. If I had my teeth, chewing in the theatre would be as strictly hidden as smoking. Even at 'Mary Rose,' the play, for all its thrall, could not master the chocolate-crunchers. On my right were a clergyman and a young giant whose jaws never stopped, despite all the red-flashing glances I threw over my shoulder. I shall tell all that it gives but an oblique view of the stage, but the box is the only safe place nowadays. Perhaps, even all the mad king of Bavaria, who insisted on the performance of Wagner's operas to himself alone, was not so mad as he is made out to have been."

And now I am talking about theatres, let me quote from the "Methodist Times." "The Sunday entertainments' party has taken another step towards the destruction of the sanctity of the Lord's Day. A performance of 'King Henry V.' is announced to take place in the Strand Theatre, London, on Sunday afternoon. As usual, the move is camouflaged by the statement that the proceeds are in aid of charity. No charge is to be made for admission, but there are to be collecting-boxes in every part of the house. The charity concerned is the Red Cross Association." After saying that the Red Cross Society is a most excellent and worthy institution, the editor continues his attack by pointing out that the opposition to the proposed performance is not confined to the Churches. He states that the Actors' Association, the Variety Artistes' Association, and the National Association of Theatrical employees are overwhelmingly against it.

Undoubtedly the question of the use of Sunday is just now a difficult one. At least, it is clear that it cannot be solved on the old lines of "Bunt Pulls the Strings," where the blinds are drawn down to

keep out the sunshine, and the youthful members of the family are set to learning the Shorter Catechism. That sort of "sanctity" is gone, thank God. But it does not solve the Sunday Question. I think it would greatly help to clear the air if it were once for all recognised that there are two distinct things involved, namely, an ECONOMIC question for work-people as such, and a RELIGIOUS question for religious people as such. The present hopeless confusion arises, I believe, through our trying to solve them both together. It is, of course, quite futile to attempt to secure the "sanctity of the Lord's Day" by any kind of legislation, but it would be quite possible to legislate so that one day of rest from labour shall be secured each week for all workers. That having been settled, it would be for the religious people to attend to the other half of the problem.

My readers will be aware that the recent Lambeth Conference gave a good deal of thought to Industrial Questions. Here is a paragraph of a very important kind from the pages of the Report afterwards issued. "The workman needs to be assured, first, that the right things are produced—things which contribute to beauty or to use, not superfluous utilities—and, secondly, that the wealth that is produced will be justly distributed and devoted to the public good. The corollary of the principle of brotherhood in relation to our industrial system is that we must regard industry not chiefly as a means of profit or class advantage, but as an opportunity of service for the glory of God and the good of man's estate. . . . We are forced to ask whether the present system is compatible with the law of Christ." Canon Adderley, discussing this, asks:—"Are the Bishops prepared to bring pressure to bear on individual members of the Church to live and act on the principles they lay down?" He suggests that the peers spiritual, owing to their position in the House of Lords, have a great chance to speak out on the matter, and "Hansard" would be the everlasting testimony to the tremendous thing that the Church of England wanted to do in the twentieth century."

The "Methodist Times," following up the Canon, makes stimulating comments. Here they are:—"Resolutions on social matters are born in places other than Lambeth. They are sent forth from every Conference meeting-place. If they were acted upon there would be ferment. Some leaders would have to go out into the wilderness. Names would be added to the noble army of martyrs. And there would be notable declensions from Church membership. But what power and life would accrue to the Church! When will our leaders have the courage to translate pious resolutions into drastic actions? Yes, when? "When the moon turns into green cheese!" says someone at my elbow. But I cannot allow that answer; it is too rude, and I fear it shows a cynical disposition that should be corrected.

"That Fox."

By IZZIL.

A Committee of modern good people, mild, indulgent and evasive, were discussing the addition of new members to their number, when someone suggested a Mr. K——. "I oppose the election of Mr. K——," came a quick response. "Mr. K—— is a liar." The word liar fell like a bombshell and sotto voce expressions such as "most unchristian," "judge not," and "sad" ran round the Committee. When the shock had subsided the chairman, with tremor in his voice, began, "Mr. R——, I regret that you should speak in this uncharitable manner." "Sir, what I say is what I think." "Ah! but we are Christians, Mr. R——, and thoughts should be controlled by brotherly love." "But, Mr. Chairman, what I think is true. Mr. K—— is a liar." "Even so, I would respectfully suggest that the love which thinketh no evil should forbid us to believe that our brother falls short in veracity, or at least to convey such opinions to our fellows." The incident thus ended.

I walked home after the Committee pondering the question raised. Does Christian charity really require us to be false to truth? Are we not to face fact and state fact? And if we state it must we refuse to do so in a downright, outspoken way? Would it be more Christian, for instance, not to call a man a liar who is a liar, and say instead "He is a person not meticulously accurate in his manner of expressing himself." No! Surely there is no virtue in circumlocution. I looked down the ages to

the standard set for word as for deed by Jesus Christ and there came into my mind the phrase, plain, unadorned and unreserved, "Go and tell that Herod." No mincing of matters in that. To us, we should say "Go and tell that dear fellow who though he is living with his brother's wife, and an adulterer, and is also a murderer, having beheaded a great and innocent man, has yet a lot of good at the bottom of him. He really hasn't got a bad heart. Babies crow when he holds them in his arms, and dogs will lick his hand, and the poor are fond of him. He is good-natured and easy-going. Anyway, I must not say anything bad about other people, or if they are bad."

This kind of lovey-doveyism, if we may coin a word, is certainly not to be found in the Master. It is only in this case but in many others did He speak in strong terms of opprobrium. "Woe to you hypocrites." "O generation of vipers." "Ye fools and blind." "Ye serpents." "This adulterous and sinful generation." Not ingratiating ways of address. To think of Jesus Christ as only meek and gentle is absurd; He was full of passionate wrath and most of all against all forms of insincerity and expressed this wrath in very forcible terms. Why then should we be called on to think in a loose and irrational way, and forgo truth when occasion arises for speaking it? In this there is no "charity." "Charity believeth all things," you say. Yes, but she really believes them. She does not camouflage falsehood and call it truth.

Sinai Lamps.

Because of the misuse made of the Old Testament by pious militarists and others, many to-day regard the first and largest part of the Bible as of little use save as literature, or as a help in the study of the spiritual development of the world. But when we really look into the Law of Moses and consider its provisions, we may find that in many things we, in "Christian" England, still lag far behind it. Take for instance what is supposed to be one of the newest and best ideas of American philanthropy (or wisdom, or justice). You can find the principle of Mothers' Pensions set out in the Law that was given in the wilderness to the Chosen People. A reference to Deut. 24, 19—21, will make this clear.

In the earlier edition of the Law, "the fatherless and the widow," appear to be summed up in one word—"the poor."—See Lev. 19, 9—11; Lev. 23, 22.

It was not a matter of charity to leave this provision for the widow and her fatherless children, but of duty, which left undone might well leave the expectation of no crops for themselves next year. This gives a fresh light on the command found in the earliest edition of all of the Law, "Thou shalt not afflict any widow or fatherless child." Exodus 22, 22.

Conder, in his "Tent work in Palestine, 1885" in the chapter on the Fellahin, says: "An ancient custom—to which the peasantry can assign no origin—is observed in reaping; the corner of the field is left unreaped, and this is given to the 'widows and the fatherless'; this corner is called Jeru'ah, and in the same way a bunch of wheat is left on the ground to be gleaned by the poor and helpless. These gleanings are threshed by the women separately."

In Thomson's "Land and the Book" we may also read that in his day the figs that ripened on the trees after a certain date became the property of the poor, and although the peasantry did go over the boughs of their olive trees many times, yet the last gleanings were for the poor, who would be able enough to keep their little lamp burning through the dark nights of winter.

But the right to glean did not exhaust the provision for widows made by the Law of Sinai. Twice in Deuteronomy (14, 29 and 26, 12) it is ordained that a tithe was to be taken a part by, "the fatherless, and the widow, which is within thy gates, shall come, and shall eat and be satisfied; that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all the work of thine hand which thou doest."

In Isaiah 54, 4 there is perhaps a hint of some such feeling towards widows as that which obtains in India, but it existed it was not in harmony with the Law or the Prophecy or the Psalms. So far from a widow bringing a blight, it was expressly ordained that twice a year she was, with her fatherless children, to have a share in the festivities of families more happily placed.—Deut. 16, 11 and 14.

In the light of these provisions is it any wonder that He who came, not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it, and who Himself knew what it was to be a widow's son, should account the last mark of hardened unrighteousness is a judge, that he did not willingly right the widow?

What does He think of the law of England in its attitude towards peace-widows and their fatherless bairns?

Studies in the Declaration of Dependence.

V.—IDEALISTS AND REALISTS.

We cannot work independently of the industrial and economic conditions of our times. As the navigator must study tides and winds in order that he may make the best use of them for his purpose, so must we learn to understand the material conditions of our age in order that we may overcome and utilise them.—Declaration of Dependence.

The forefathers of the Socialist movement were idealists. For their authority they relied on abstract reason. Out of their own minds they spun the fabric of the New Society. They schemed as though they stood at the beginning of Time with no existing conditions to consider. Their fairy palaces rose resplendent as at the word of a magician. But their utopias had no foundation in the real world with its complex life and hardened traditions. It was as though an agricultural enthusiast should sit down to plot out a farm he had never seen, with whose soil he was unacquainted, and concerning whose climatic conditions he knew nothing. The resulting systems were remote from the actual world. They never got under way. They were like ships in the dry dock and needed the tide of the historical movement to float them.

With the Marxians appeared the materialistic corrective. For them the main thing was the unfolding in history of a process of economic development. In the prevailing social conditions they saw the promise of a new order of society, Capitalism was bringing about its own destruction. It would, in time, create its own destroyer. It had already abolished private property in the resources of nature and the means of production in the case of millions of workers. The vast majority of men had been deprived of any semblance of ownership in the mines, factories, railways and other agencies of production and transport. Moreover, under the auspices of Capitalism itself, the workers have been associated together in industrial processes, subjected to the same industrial conditions and, in a hundred different ways, taught the identity of their interests. In this way have been created a class consciousness and industrial organisations, which latter may be trusted to play an important part when the psychological moment for a revolution occurs. In addition to this, the organisation of capitalist enterprise is preparing the way for the unification, in the hands of the community, of the entire business of production and distribution.

The reliance on the historical process apart from conscious human co-operation, when stated in this one-sided manner, reverses the picture we gave of the agricultural enthusiast. It reproduces for us the attitude of the primitive savage depending for subsistence on the course of the seasons and the bounty of nature. And, indeed, at times, this materialistic philosophy came dangerously near fatalism, and tended to produce despair of any effort to set up, in the midst of the present order, any approximation to the Communistic Society anticipated. Those infected with these ideas spent their time in acrimonious and wordy discussion of their theories. Since all action was prohibited they

could employ their energies in no other way than in fighting each other.

The realism to which the pendulum now swung had further disastrous consequences. Principle was sacrificed to what was considered the inevitable conditions of the present form of society. Just as the organisation of capitalist enterprise was seen to pave the way for communal control, so, it was pointed out, the creation, by the capitalist state, of armies, provided the workers with a weapon when their time should come. The munitions and military training which Capitalism had organised for its own defence were to be used against it. The reign of brotherhood was to be brought about by using those very methods characteristic of the régime it was to overthrow. Satan was to be employed to cast out Satan. It is easy to see how this emphasis on the necessity of respecting and using existing conditions degenerated, when divorced from Christian faith, into this kind of opportunism. The irony of the situation is perceived when the opportunists claim to be more revolutionary than those who are not only out to destroy Capitalism but are equally determined that they will not soil their hands with the weapons of coercion forged by the spirit of Capitalism.

But we should be unfair to the leaders of the Marxian School if we allowed this one-sided statement to stand as their final pronouncement. Speaking more especially with regard to the fatalistic tendencies in the movement, it is only fair to say that the more eminent of those leaders find a place for the initiative and activity of the human agent. As the farmer masters nature by obeying her and adapting himself to her laws, so, the revolution is to be brought about by carefully considering the nature of the social and economic conditions out of which it is to come and co-operating with them. Man must master the machinery. He is not a discarnate being working in a vacuum of abstract ideas, neither is he the helpless tool of a historical process. He consciously chooses a certain destination and like a navigator employs every wind and current consistent with his purpose.

It will be seen that this is the course prescribed by the Declaration of Dependence. It springs out of the philosophy of the Incarnation. To redeem mankind and to inaugurate the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth God entered into human conditions. So entirely did he submit Himself to them that even the adverse winds of Pharisaism and Roman Imperialism sped Him to His haven. He utilised the existing agencies and traditions of the Jewish Church no less than the world-wide imperial organisation for the founding of His Society. We stand, therefore, for the incarnation of idealism, and the employment of every force provided by the present régime. But it is by submission to it that we shall win, not by "smashing" it. We must prove ourselves its master by allowing it to do its worst. Our method must not interfere with the freedom of others even when that freedom is used in what seems to us an evil way. When we destroy our enemy's freedom we destroy our own.

ST. CHRISTOPH

The legend of St. Christopher is well-known. A woodcutter by profession, it was his ambition to serve the mightiest master he could find. Prompted by this motive he passed from the service of one lord to that of another, seeking always the supreme lord. Seated one night round the camp fire he saw his companions start and look around in terror at the name of the Devil. Ascertaining that they were in greater fear of this grim personage than of their own king, Christopher set out on his travels looking for him of whom even the mightiest were afraid.

It was not long before he had discovered his Satanic Majesty and enlisted in his service. He performed, in this new employment, many marvellous feats, and was rapidly promoted. But, again, the Shadow of a greater Lord was cast across his path, for there is One Whom even the devils believe and tremble. He would sometimes observe those with whom he was associated crouch in terror at the name of Christ. That was enough for Christopher. His travels recommenced. After divers wanderings he found the Object of his search and by Him was employed in carrying travellers on his broad shoulders across a dangerous river ford. In his ferryman's hut one winter's night he heard a small voice crying "Christopher! Christopher!" Going out he found a Child waiting to be carried across the swollen river. With his burden on his shoulder Christopher waded in. But the load grew heavier as he advanced, and when he reached the other side it was no Child but the Man, Jesus, whom he deposited on the further bank.

Progress in Terms of Service.

Most modern commentators on this legend have dwelt on the identification of Christ with "one of these little ones." But a more significant and less commonplace feature of the story is its treatment of the Saint's pilgrimage in terms of progressive service. From an obedience that is tyrannical and demoralising he passes to one that ennobles.

The Vulgar Age.

The legend of St. Christopher preserves for us a type of character which had a beauty all its own. The sort of person who found the end of living in the service of one greater than himself and would slave for his lord, and if needs be die for him without thought of reward, is rarely met with. He lives on only in the nooks and crannies to which the tide of modern commercialism has not reached, and where the old clan spirit still survives.

We have learned to look on this attitude of reverence and dependence as something shameful. It is regarded as indicating a servile spirit. To be independent of others, to call no man lord, is our ideal, an ideal which we call democracy.

But is there any doubt that in the pursuit of democratic independence and equality we have lost something? Is it so certain that the old-fashioned servant was servile? Did he not derive dignity from his lord, and was he not respected by that lord far more than is the modern employee by his temporary employer? Moreover, he was secure. The purgatory of the out-of-work was unknown to him. He had his place in the Community, however humble, and was sure of the necessities of life. In his selfless devotion to another's interests there was a moral beauty to which our civilisation can show no parallel. We have lost all this. In gaining "freedom" we have sacrificed something of priceless value. As a result we find ourselves on the threshold of indescribable anarchy, with no authority to govern our lives, and consequently without any true dignity of character. America, the birthplace of the Declaration of Independence, has become a synonym for vulgarity. The democratic age has proved to be the Vulgar Age.

Civilisation and the Fall.

It may be granted that Feudal relationships were incapable of holding the new wine poured in by the Renaissance. The authority of priests and lords was not big enough to contain the expanding spirit of man. But the way of escape was not that which was taken. The mistake then made was the Fall to which may be attributed the misery and chaos of modern Society. St. Christopher points to the truer way. Not by throwing off all lordship, but by seeking the real Lord of Mankind should men have escaped from Feudalism. Thus might have been retained the beauty and graciousness of the old order without its tyranny and narrowness.

The Social Conscience.

The return to our lost Eden has commenced with our discovery of the Authority of the Community. The Social Conscience is softening our manners and doing something to banish the vulgarity of Capitalism. Loyalty to the Community takes the place to some extent of loyalty to the lord. As an object of devotion International Society can claim its heroes and martyrs, its faithful servants who recognise that they "are not their own." We are becoming, in spite of the seeming power of reaction, more capable of disinterested enthusiasms for the

MODERN LIFE.

causes we serve. Men and women are content to fill obscure posts if only they can, by some piece of work faithfully performed, contribute to the triumph of "the Movement." Organising and attending small meetings in dingy halls, selling papers and pamphlets to unwilling or even scornful customers, putting in attendance at dreary committees, occasionally going to prison for sedition, they are manifesting in this chaotic world a new order, and bearing witness to the emergence of a new authority capable of controlling our anarchic wills. Little perhaps do they think that they are recovering for mankind the ideals of selfless devotion which was the glory of Feudalism. Nevertheless, it is the case. In spite of its narrow class limitations this new devotion is a thing to be welcomed. It is giving dignity to thousands of lives. It is the one avenue by which an increasing number of men and women are finding escape from the sordid struggle imposed on them by Capitalism.

Monarchy versus Republic.

But will this impersonal authority suffice? Can devotion to the Community and loyalty to its best interests recover for us all the lost values of the past?

It was the personal relationship of lord and servant that gave Feudalism its beauty, and it is that which shines through the legend of St. Christopher.

If only this International Community could become personalised! If our obligations to Society and our devotion to its interests could be derived from some one who might stand to us for the whole, and with whom we could enter into intimate relationship, serving him with the same selflessness as the servant in other days served his lord! There is something in human nature that demands this. Impersonal causes tend always to become identified with some one leader, whether it be a Karl Marx or a MacSwiney. This is the struggle of Monarchy. The Republican ideal has never entirely ousted the conception of devotion to the State as a personal devotion to the Sovereign. No temporary president, even, can claim the same quality of loyalty that the monarch, be he ever so insignificant a personality, obtains.

The Democratic Monarchy.

Is the ideal here suggested an impossible one? As a matter of fact, it is that which the Christian conception of Society has for nineteen centuries held before the world's imagination. The Kingdom of God is a democratic monarchy. It centres about a

Person whose democratic character is indicated by His title, "Son of Man." Devotion to Him and, through Him to all men, is its life blood. Dependence on Him is the condition of all the freedom and independence its citizens enjoy.

I am not without hope that the legend of St. Christopher will be repeated in these days. The Saint, devoting himself to the service of his fellows, found in the forlorn Child he carried the Lord he had so long sought.

This age of Social enthusiasm is destined to make the same discovery. In its care of the oppressed and afflicted, in its social and international enthusiasms, will be revealed the identity between suffering humanity and the Son of Man. The Democratic Monarchy will be established. The Kingdom of God, conserving all the values of past and present, will be set up.

PETER THE HERMIT.

Song of the Harvest.

Woe to you, oh, monarchs and kings enthroned,
Hear the storm that gathers in dark recesses,
It shall rise like waves of the surging ocean,
Soon it shall slay you!

Not the fawning servants that cumber your heart-
stones,
Not the tools who weave you a fine dream of glory,
Not the praise with which they have overwhelmed
you,
Pale things that crumble,—

Not your castles, builded of stone and iron,
Not your cities, walled and fitted with cannon,
Not your armies bought and ready for slaughter—
Not these shall save you!

Woe to you, who blinded with greed and passion
Cannot see the storm that is bringing destruction,
Cannot read the doom of your breed forever—
Blind you shall perish!

All your faith in the gods of your kind is broken!
All your strength is a jest and a mocking for weak-
lings,
All your hosts are a dream, the tempest shall break
you—
Soon comes the harvest!

—DAVID P. BERENBERG,
in "The Socialist World."

Bookland. The Faith of Ramsay Macdonald.

Within the compass of 180 pages, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in his latest book, "A Policy for the Labour Party" (Leonard Parsons, Ltd., 4/6 net), has given us a clear, graphic, and fairly complete statement of the case for social transformation via parliamentarism, and, incidentally, of his Socialist faith. Within such limits I think it would scarcely be possible to give a more convincing statement of the case for evolutionary Socialism. Moreover, the book is straightforward, vigorous, breathes a good spirit, and gives ample evidence of a desire to be fair.

I have used the word faith deliberately, for what struck me in reading this book was that Mr. MacDonald was not so much weighing up the respective merits of different revolutionary policies as stating his faith, a faith so powerful and paramount that it only needed to be clearly stated to be accepted. And certainly, whatever deficiencies Parliamentarism may have as a method of social revolution, it must be admitted that if the majority of those who worked it possessed the force and conviction of Mr. MacDonald, such deficiencies might not be very apparent.

On the whole I must confess that I find Mr. MacDonald's statement unconvincing, and chiefly, I think, for the reason that he does not, in my opinion, correctly visualise the present time or appreciate the magnitude and nature of the forces that are arrayed against Labour. He assumes, for instance, that it would be possible for Labour to secure the reins of Government in the near future. Considering what took place at the last Election, and the "development" in Press methods since, I see no hope of Labour winning a General Election. But providing she did, I think that the Capitalists, particularly through their Press, could soon bring it down, and by methods more subtle than he suggests. He discusses the event of a Capitalist revolt, or hold up, and advocates meeting it by means of a General Strike, quoting in defence of this contention the General Strike in Germany which defeated the Kapp-Ludendorff "Putsch" in March of the present year. But what he omits to mention is that the "Putsch," notwithstanding its "failure," was the means of bringing down the Government.

Strange as it may seem (considering his intimate knowledge of political life and his acquaintance with our capitalist rulers), it would yet appear that Mr. MacDonald entirely misjudges the temper of our financier politicians, and underestimates the lengths to which the Government is prepared to go in order to crush Labour. Everything points to the conclusion that an extensive reactionary movement is in progress, and that sooner or later there will be either unitedly throughout Europe, or in the separate countries of Europe, a fierce clash between Capital and Labour; and for Labour to ignore that possibility and not prepare for it is suicidal. Quite rightly, Mr. MacDonald says: "There must be revolutionary conditions before there is any substantial response to revolutionary propaganda." But what are

"revolutionary conditions"? Many would be disposed to argue that we had revolutionary conditions now. And certainly, considering current events in Ireland, the Emergency Powers Act, Mr. Churchill's recent speech at the United Workers' Club, our Government's evident determination not to make peace with Russia, the growth of unemployment and the attempt of employers to pull down wages, there is much to be said for this view. Moreover, if Labour discontent becomes much more active, does anyone doubt that the Government will declare a "State of Emergency"? And would anyone deny that a "State of Emergency" is a "revolutionary condition"? Then may it not legitimately be asked if the neglect to prepare a policy for a "revolutionary condition" be not a betrayal of Labour? If Labour does not possess a policy for a crisis, the result will be that if the Government resorts to extreme measures the workers will either capitulate or revolt; and capitulation will mean either permanent subjugation or a postponement of the issue.

The chapter on "Nationalisation" is very interesting, and one that Guild Socialists and all who have a fear of over-centralisation and bureaucracy will read with great care. Having already condemned the Guild system of economic government, Mr. MacDonald proceeds to develop a system of Nationalisation which shall be free from bureaucracy and shall allow for the fullest local control. But it may be doubted if the freedom desired and promised will actually be forthcoming along the lines suggested in this book. Our bureaucratic administration has been too much for many zealous reformers in days past, and the belief is widespread that it will prove too much for a Labour Government. And I must confess that such passages as the following are not very reassuring:—

"To some people, politics are a mere jumble of expediences and compromises, patches and darns on a rent and frayed society. That is not our view. In politics there must be expediences and compromises. . . . Society has gradually to be organically altered. But the expediences and compromises must contribute to some complete conception. . . ."

How, one wonders, is the new spirit to be born and to enter into industry and government, when the old system preponderates and causes the old spirit to permeate and dominate every new issue, effort, and experiment?

If we are ever to have a New World it will be as the result of a New Spirit; and a New Spirit, if it comes at all, will come suddenly, like the Dawn, and speed through society like a rushing wind. It is because Mr. MacDonald does not appreciate this fact that he writes as follows: "In fact, the policy of 'Direct Action' is only an application of the policy of the blockade to the class struggle." •

There are some among us who dare to believe that the extreme measures of a reckless, decadent Government may be the means of opening the eyes of the people so that they see. It is for this day of vision that these labour—and wait.

The Empire that Abides.

"We are living, all of us, on the edge of a volcano which is giving daily signs of its increasing activity and soon may overwhelm us—Unionist, Nationalist, and Sinn Feiner alike—in one hideous and final eruption. Is this to be the end—the end of Unionist and Nationalist sacrifices in the Great War, the end of Sinn Fein idealism, the end of constitutional Nationalism's long struggle for self-government within the Empire?"

"The worst part of Ireland's tragedy to-day is the general paralysis of political, social, and economic thought. The country as a whole is making no effort towards salvation. It appears to have resigned itself to a doom which, indeed, if that mood is maintained any longer, may become inevitable." —"Irish Times."

The Irish crisis is only the natural outcome of a deep-seated disease, the existence of which we hardly suspected five years ago. When Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman applied the term "methods of barbarism" to our war of conquest in the Transvaal he scandalised the British public, but, according to General Botha, "those words saved South Africa." The words are equally true of every war and of all Law and Order maintained in the last resort by violence. The voice may indeed be the voice of Jacob, but the hand is the red hairy hand of Esau. The antithesis is still freedom or frightfulness, trust or terror; and Ireland is but one example of the last resort having become the first resort. India, Egypt, Austria, our English gaols with their silence blockade, our English lock-outs and strikes with their coal blockade, the Irish boycott with its Fellowship blockade, are other instances of the appeal to terror and to methods of barbarism.

The practical question is where and how can we attack and overcome The Destroyer? The first difficulty is apathy, the second partisanship. When machine guns are mounted in Trafalgar Square and the cavalry are charging down Whitehall we may not be apathetic, but we shall still be partisan unless we realise that the Terror is not to be overcome either in Moscow or in Cork but in our own midst in spirit and in truth. But what can we do? All we can do is to do all we can. There are many "Crusader" readers who will have, humanly speaking, no special means of access to the facts or the persons dictating Irish affairs. But there are few without access to personalities—in family, industrial, or social relationships—who may still be in the grips of the paganism of Fear with Terror as the Last Weapon for ruling others. That is the enemy, and its kingdom is within. If we can get men right on this issue they will be right on the Irish and the English and the industrial question as well.

The appeal of the Fellowship of Reconciliation that the only solution of the Irish problem is a venture of Trust and Goodwill has been put personally to those in high places in the English Government and in the Sinn Fein Council. In each case it has been recognised as the ultimate solution. But who

will take the first risks of trust? Who will face the Cross? What statesman will face the bray of the Northcliffe Press, the howl of traitors, the disruption of the Government, the downfall of the Empire, that such a venture would seem to necessitate? And what statesman could retain office and stick to the principle of refusing to use violence for purposes of rule? What about the Arabs of the Soudan and the hooligans of Hoxton? Can the law of love suffice there? It is simple for us in the ease of our irresponsible detachment to prescribe heroic solutions for other weak men in high places to adventure when we ourselves shrink from our smaller Cross of renunciation and the world's rejection. High Office merely gibbets the crime and weakness of Man in the face of the world. It was a Cross that revealed a Man's unconquerable soul.

When that Man was told how the Roman troops under Pilate had butchered the Galilean zealots at their Sabbath sacrifices, His only comment on this atrocity was: "I tell you unless you change your attitude you will all perish in like manner." He would tell the Sinn Feiner so just as bluntly as He would tell Lloyd George or Stick-at-nothing Asquith in the early days of the war. Sinn Fein shootings and boycotts and sentences of their Courts are just as pagan as the revolt of the Galilean zealots, or the insurrection of the Welsh princes, or the Fight for Right, or the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. St. Paul saw what Christianity was up against—"For ours is not a conflict with mere flesh and blood, but with the despotisms, the Empires, the forces than control and govern this dark world—the spiritual hosts of evil arrayed against us in the hidden warfare."

Ireland is but one tragic front in the conflict of "the forces that govern this dark world." Poland is another—freed but furious and futile in her achievements.

But in Ireland this paganism of violence is now revealed as fratricide. Must the deluge spread to our own land, to our own mining valleys and factory towns, to our own homes; "so that a man's enemies are those of his own household," before we realise the Terror which we are assenting to in our political and social life?

Arise and conquer while ye may
The foe that in your midst resides,
And build within the heart of Man
The Empire that abides.

That is the only Imperialism that can be Christian and International.

"Dreamer of Dreams!" We take the taunt with gladness,
Knowing that God, beyond the years you see
Hath wrought the dreams that count with you for madness
Into the substance of the life to be.

The Present Outlook.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

"Well, and what do you think of the British public now?" said to me a well-known Socialist, rather furiously, on Tuesday after the publication of the results of the municipal elections, "I think they deserve all they're likely to get." "Perhaps," I replied, "The British public, like most others, is timid and full of fear, and it fights shy of upheavals, particularly when it is on the brink of one. But perhaps that fear is greater in Britain than in most other countries because it is so long since we had a social upheaval. Russia, and even Italy, are used to disturbances, and so they never mind an extra one as long as there is a reasonable chance of gaining something by it."

And that is my considered judgment. I am convinced that this country was never more ready for a thorough social change than it is to-day, and yet it is positively afraid of its new leanings and judgments. Our people have trusted authority so long that they are afraid to trust anything else, and even in the polling booth their courage fails them. And it would fail them in a new general election. In fact there is every likelihood that the British public will go on playing the coward and the fool until—until it unexpectedly and spontaneously turns its back on the past and plays the man. And it **WILL** do that one day, but not I think, on the occasion of an election. What circumstance or set of circumstances is going to shock the British Public into a revolutionary soul-saving act it is impossible to predict, but some event will and must, as we cannot maintain the present state of international and class warfare, and the existing wasteful economic and industrial systems much longer. Our extensive imperialistic policy, with its counterpart, an enslaved proletariat at home no less than abroad, must either be carried through or abandoned. And as social unrest is deep-seated and increases rather than decreases in spite of adverse elections there is reason to believe that the policy of imperialist-feudalism now being pursued by our Government will sooner or later bring about a huge crisis.

The present social war is fast degenerating into a mere struggle for the means of life and of enjoyment, the possession of material power. So long as industry rests on its present basis of private-profit, the workers will demand as short hours as possible and the highest wages they can exact. Nothing but the overthrow of the present capitalist system will or can put an end to that conflict, although artful devices will be adopted by the Government with that object. Failing in these attempts, our rulers will threaten and slander the workers, and finally they will adopt force. Already they appear to be making ample use of their new army of spies, and are beginning to keep a strict eye on propagandists, as the prosecution of Sylvia Pankhurst proves. The Emergency Powers Act prepares the way for catastrophic measures which may bring the final struggle.

But we must not lose sight of one extremely important fact: the march of events in this country appears to be marking time with the march of

events in the world at large, particularly in Europe. Those people, for instance, who think that the Irish question can be treated separately, on its merits, are pitifully ignorant of the facts. The British handling of the Irish question is consistent with a relentless reactionary policy which practically all the capitalist governments of Europe are carrying out. A free Ireland at this moment might be a danger to the world, certainly to those countries which, like Britain, are just awaking from a protracted sleep.

If anyone is in doubt upon this question let him study the speech of Mr. Winston Churchill at the United Wards' Club of the City of London, on November 4. If that speech reveals the mind of the present Government, and there is only too much reason to believe that it does, it means that the agitation for freedom in Ireland, India, and Egypt, etc., are being regarded as Bolshevik risings, or movements springing out of Bolshevik plots, and the reference at the close of Mr. Churchill's speech to the military preparedness of this country, would lead one to suppose that the most rigorous measures are going to be adopted, if need be, to suppress these legitimate demands for freedom.

As to Europe, Herr Gessler, German Minister of Defence, stated the other day that it only needed a spark to start a civil war in Germany, a statement which is supported by many letters I have recently received from Germany, and by Phillips Price, who stated some days ago that a reactionary rising is expected in that country at any moment.

In Austria the Clerical Party is in the ascendant and the adoption of a reactionary policy, even to the extent of uniting with Hungary, is expected.

As to Hungary, the Socialists are sending out frantic appeals to the proletariat of the West to take steps to put an end to the White Terror which, they say, continues unabated.

Reaction in Bavaria is all-powerful, and in Rumania a general strike has been broken down by terrorism, while in Czecho-Slovakia the Socialists appear to have been cowed.

As regards Russia, if words mean anything at all, I take it from Mr. Churchill's speech, above referred to, that there is little likelihood of real peace between this country and Russia. Moreover, our action in regard to Russian submarines, as well as our policy in the Black Sea, where we appear to be paying special attention to Batoum, is disquieting.

In these circumstances it seems to me that our duty is unmistakable: We must give up all thought of petty criticism and petty reforms and endeavour to prepare the people spiritually and intellectually for the New World. I believe mankind is ready for the pure doctrines of Christian Communism, but there are so few preachers to proclaim them. Obviously our choice lies between endless social warfare terminating, probably, in a huge civil war, and a revolution via moral and spiritual enlightenment. The pity is that so few of our Labour leaders seem to understand this. But we must go on undaunted.

The Hidden Valley.

CHAPTER II.—SILAS B. HILKEM.

Louis XIV. is reported on one occasion to have said "The State! It is I." There had been a time when Silas B. Hilkem might have made the same boast about Millarville. It was he, indeed, who had built the first store and followed it up by erecting the first hotel. At that time he was station master, post master, and land agent for the district. If you intended settling in the neighbourhood you made the entry of your quarter section in the office of Silas B. Hilkem. Such things as you needed to complete your outfit you purchased of the same. Whatever goods arrived for you by freight train passed through the hands that had dealt out your flour and molasses. Should you want a drink to conclude your bargain it was to Silas B. Hilkem's saloon that you were obliged to go. So busily occupied a gentleman was sure to grow rich, and Silas not only became rich but went on getting richer, adding constantly to his multifarious occupations and the profits accruing therefrom. To do him justice his increased prosperity resulted in the corresponding progress of Millarville and most of its inhabitants. To say that it soon became a town conveys nothing, for in the West "town" is the plural of house and signifies merely two or more houses. Woe betide the stranger who failed in speaking of the place to give it the rank of city. As the population increased, Hilkem, of course, to some extent was eclipsed. But he was still easily first in all commercial matters, and what Silas B. said, with regard to any suggested municipal undertaking, generally, in that democratic community, carried the day.

It was, therefore, only natural that, apart from the fact that he owned the section of land which Wise contemplated as being suitable to the immigrants, the Editor of the "Gazette" should consult this financial magnate. In spite of their different temperaments and characters, and the fact that the great man invariably demanded a reduction in the price charged for his advertisements in the "Gazette," the two managed to hit it fairly well. Luke Wise was as yet young and an idealist. No great disaster in matters of friendship had disillusioned him with respect to human nature. It was without any feeling of antipathy, therefore, that he saw Hilkem occupying the easy chair in his editorial sanctum. It was well that the chair was a large one, for Silas' figure had grown with his prosperity, and his massive gold chain stretched very taut from one waistcoat pocket to another.

"You leave it to me," the Fat Man was saying, rubbing his big red hands one over the other. "They shall hev the land. Good land it is, too. Just suit 'em."

From somewhere in the subterranean depths beneath his wrinkled waistcoat there came the sound of a chuckle.

"I like to think that the money we make in the Province is being invested in drawing fresh population to the land," said the Editor. He was not yet out of the sententious age.

"Umph!" said Hilkem.

"Well, you grant," Luke Wise continued, bending over his desk, an earnest look coming into his grey eyes, "you'll grant that it's a fine thing to be able to afford a home and the shelter of our free institutions to those expatriated peoples of Europe. I like to think," he went on, oblivious of the baffled look on the Money King's face, "that America opens a door to the persecuted of all races. And the benefit is not all on their side. They bring to us their unquenchable hatred of tyranny. They revive our love of freedom. We shall probably find that from them will come the artists, the poets of the future."

He was quoting, with evident self-approval, from a leader he had that morning written for the next issue of the "Gazette."

"Ha! ha! ha! That ain't my way of looking at it," said the Fat Man, raising himself with some little exertion from the armchair in which he was wedged. "I reckon to get eight per cent. on my money, and other folks must look after themselves. If I'd bothered my head about Jews and Poles and sich like scum, I wouldn't be what I am to-day."

"Very true," said Wise, not without a touch of sarcasm. "Then I may leave the matter in your hands?"

"Sure thing!"

"So long!" "So long!"

Hilkem passed out of the office.

The Editor leaned back in his chair, and smiled a little to himself at the thought that he was securing the assistance of the Money King in overthrowing the reign of Mammon.

At that moment there was little hint in his mind of the Hidden Valley. The march to the Promised Land appeared to lie over an unobstructed course. For some while he had rebelled against the dominant Commercialism of the city. Frustrated in every direction, his sympathies with the oppressed peoples of the Old World had almost turned to the gall of cynicism. On the point of discovering that American professions of democratic principles were not to be taken too seriously, he needed but one experience of disillusionment to rob him of the faith which had seemed to make life worth living. But now his idealism blazed up again. He saw himself achieving something real and concrete. His creative instincts were fully alive, and in imagination he beheld the future community building itself up as a veritable colony of the Empire of Heaven, subduing its surrounding enemies and proving an outstanding object lesson to the Society of which Hilkem was the typical representative.

(To be continued.)

An injury to the meanest subject is an insult to the whole constitution.—SOLON.

OPEN THE DOORS.

Dear Sir,—Will you be kind enough to insert another reminder with regard to the announcement in the "Crusader" of October 8 for Londoners who have a bedroom to spare to help in a scheme of promoting international goodwill. The war spirit is still extant, and prejudice dies hard. Travellers who desire to come to London to introduce business, so necessary for the world's re-adjustment, find hotel doors closed against them and have nowhere to stay. There must be many people who could accommodate German business men with a room to stay at and thus do their bit in helping to restore the friendly relations which some have pulled down. There is no need to remind "Crusader" readers that the well-being of this country depends on co-operation in trade with other countries. All countries are inter-dependent, and not one is destroyed or hurt without all others being benefited thereby. So, for the selfish reason of helping this country, if for no other reason, pray let us have offers of open doors for the accommodation of business men. They are of course willing to pay for this. It is not a matter of asking for funds this time. Those who have a room to spare please write to Miss E. Crohn, 14 Carholme Road, Forest Hill, S.E.23, stating what will be the charge for bed and breakfast. Many more names are needed. Time is passing and the world is getting worse every day for want of co-operation. Open the doors.—Yours truly,

(MISS) E. G. MILES.

47 Atholl Mansions, South Lambeth Rd., S.W.8.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WHAT WENT YOU OUT FOR TO SEE?

Dear Sir,—The dense crowds which bordered the whole length of the route of the Sinn Féin procession last Thursday, made one ask "What have you come to see? The demonstration was so simple, so serious arrangement, no appeal of music or pageantry of beautifully emblazoned banners, and the body honoured was not that of a man of great worldly respect, neither a prince nor a statesman, nor a great soldier, but that of the Mayor of a town and country with which we have been always at enmity and are now practically engaged in war. Very few of the thousands of men and women who reverentially watched last Thursday could have had sympathy with MacSwiney's aims and ideals. Why then the fascination? Undoubtedly it was the spell of the Cross; this man gave his life as a ransom. And deep down below our antagonism, personal, or of class or nation, lies our instinct for sacrifice. Who dare then declare that self-preservation is the law of our being? The crowds on Thursday witnessed to a deeper fact that it is self-destruction.—Yours sincerely,

L. E. TURQUAND.

THE CRUSADE.

Owing to a misunderstanding about the time of closing, our meeting in Leeds on Thursday, the 4th, organised by the F.O.R., was not as fruitful as it might have been. There are things which a speaker often leaves for the discussion, and there was evidence that a very profitable half-hour might have been spent after the address had it been possible to continue. There was a moderate attendance and many "Crusaders" were sold.

In Nelson we have had two more meetings, one in connection with the Liberty Group, a spiritualist body, and the other under the auspices of the Co-operative Society's Education Committee. Both were good meetings and splendidly attended. At the former meeting very keen sympathy was expressed with the point of view put forward, both as regards the individual and society, personal duty and personal rights, both of which, as was contended, demanded fundamental social changes.

On Sunday evening we had a good and enthusiastic meeting at Barnoldswick, under the auspices of the Labour Party. Opinion is very backward in Barnoldswick and it seemed to me that the need was particularly great for carrying the challenge into the churches. W.W.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE FUND.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Amount previously acknowledged	269	14	7	Miss W. Jones.....		5	0
Anon.	5	0	0	Mr. J. W. G. Lawrence		5	0
"A Reader"	3	6		Mr. F. O. Ioesch....		10	0
Mr. G. H. Stuart				Mr. D. Hotson			
Beavis	5	0		Palmer	3	0	0
Mr. T. Brooks	10	0		Mr. E. Peters		10	0
Miss B. C. M. Brown	1	0	0	Mrs. Ridley		5	0
Mr. H. C. Cooper...	5	0		Mr. F. J. Simpson..		2	6
Miss E. Farrow.....	5	0		Miss J. M. Thomas	1	0	0
Mr. W. H. Hancock	2	6		Mrs. F. Weekes.....	10	0	0
Miss H. Hattrill.....	5	0					
				Total..	£293	8	1

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

THE MEETING NEXT MONDAY, November 15, at the Minerva Café, 144 High Holborn (opposite Holborn Town Hall and one minute from the British Museum Station) will be addressed by the Rev. FRANK FINCHAM. Tea, for which no charge is made, is served from 5.30-6.30, at 6.30 there is the address, followed by a short discussion. The meetings close at 7.30. So far they have not proved a success in point of numbers, but we hope this will be changed and that they will come to be regarded as a regular meeting place for all our friends.

MRS. SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON'S VISIT.—If any desire to arrange meetings for Mrs. Skeffington between December 3 and 12, they should write at once, as the programme will have to be finally fixed immediately.

CLERICAL WORK AND BILL DISTRIBUTION.—We are most anxious to have a complete list of those who can be called upon for either or both of these pieces of work. Many excellent opportunities of advertising our meetings and of finding fresh homes for our "enemy" children have to be missed just because we have not enough voluntary help. Our effective work would be doubled if we could get from only a dozen keen workers ONE NIGHT A WEEK.

THE NEED FOR SPEAKERS.—May we once more appeal for help in our propaganda work? If we have any members or friends who would like to speak, but feel themselves inefficient, we shall gladly arrange a class for them, if they will write.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

MISS WILSON'S ENGAGEMENTS.

Saturday, Nov. 13 :—Weston-super-Mare: Friends Meeting House, 3 p.m.

Sunday, Nov. 14 :—Weston-super-Mare: Victoria Brotherhood, 3 p.m.

Tuesday, Nov. 16 :—Newport: Duckpool Road Baptist Church.

Wednesday, Nov. 17 :—Newport.

Thursday, Nov. 18 :—Swansea: F.O.R. Meeting, 7.30 p.m.

Crusaders in these districts are asked to attend the above meetings and to make them known to their friends and others.

MR. WILFRED WELLOCK'S ENGAGEMENTS.

Sunday, Nov. 14 :—Sunderland: I.L.P.

Tuesday, Nov. 16 :—Kimbleworth (Co. Durham): I.L.P.

Wednesday, Nov. 17 :—Wheatley Hill (Co. Durham): I.L.P.

Crusaders in these districts are asked to attend the above meetings and to make them known to their friends and others.

URGENTLY WANTED.—Two or three unfurnished rooms in or near Gravesend.—Robert A. Timney, 21 Dover Road, East, Northfleet.

CAN ANY READER HELP family now living apart, in urgent need of rooms, any part of London.—R., 13 Bracewell Road, W.10.

I.L.P. PROGRAMME.

The following is a copy of the Draft Programme of the I.L.P. recommended for adoption:—

1. Object.

The I.L.P. is a Socialist organisation, whose aim is to end the present Capitalist System and its exploitation of Labour, together with all form of hereditary and economic privilege, and to establish a system by which the community will own, organise and control its resources for the benefit of all.

2. Control and Management of Communal Property.

The industrial organisation of society in the Socialist commonwealth must be based upon the communal ownership of land and capital. The amount and character of communal production and service, the determination of the principles governing the division of the national income, and the co-ordination of supply and demand, must be in the hands of a central body and local bodies representative of the people both as producers and consumers.

3. National Assembly.

The source of civic expression must be the whole body of citizens, exercising authority through a national representative assembly, directly elected by the people, with a decentralised system of local government.

4. Co-ordinating Authority.

For the purpose of co-ordinating the activities of the National representative Assembly and the organisation of producers and consumers, there must be a general council consisting in equal parts of representatives appointed by the National Assembly and the central body of organised producers and consumers.

5. The Transition Period.

Before the final stage is reached, the Socialist Movement must accept as intermediate systems only those which promote its ultimate aim: for instance, any scheme of nationalisation or municipalisation

- (a) must give the workers in the industry an effective control over and responsibility for its administration;
- (b) must tend to eliminate capitalism and prevent the creation of new means of financial exploitation; and
- (c) must deny any claim on commodities and essential utilities for any other than the young, aged, and infirm, and those engaged in the production and distribution of goods and rendering social service.

6. Immediate Objects.

The I.L.P. recognises that, with a view to the application of Socialist principles when the working class has attained to power, the first tasks of the Socialist movement are

- a) the co-ordination and development of Trade Union organisation with a view to the securing of full working-class solidarity and the obtaining of control over industry;
- b) the strengthening and expansion of the Co-operative movement, with a view to making it the effective representative of the domestic consumer in the future Socialist Commonwealth;
- c) the capture of local and national governing bodies, with a view to the development of administration on Socialist lines and the destruction of the machinery of the capitalist State.

7. International.

Realising that imperialism and war waged by capitalist governments constitute the greatest hindrances to the attainment of Socialism, the I.L.P. believes that it is incumbent upon Socialists to destroy imperialism and render war impossible; it therefore aims at the fullest development of the international working-class movement, at the most effective action by that movement for the prevention of war and the liberation of sub-

ject peoples, and at aiding, by every means in its power, the victory of the working-class in all lands.

8. Method.

In pursuance of these objects, the I.L.P. realises that, owing to the fact that elections under the existing British Parliamentary system frequently result in false and inadequate representation, and enables governments to manipulate and thwart the national will, it may be necessary on specific occasions for the organised workers to use extra-political means, such as direct action. The I.L.P., holding that the best means of effecting a peaceful revolution is for the organised workers to prepare themselves to take over the industrial machine, determines to take its part in the struggle of the working class to win its freedom from the economic tyranny imposed by the capitalist class and the capitalist State.

CRUSADER STALL

AT THE

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE
Green, White & Gold Fair,
Nov. 26 and 27.

CAXTON HALL,
WESTMINSTER.

Admission (including Tax): Friday, 3 p.m., 2/6;
after 5 p.m., 1/3; All Day Saturday, 1/3.

COME & BUY YOUR CHRISTMAS PRESENTS.

S.O.S.

In accepting the stall at the Green, White and Gold Fair of the Women's Freedom League, we confidently rely upon our friends to

STOCK OUR STALL.

We are, therefore, sending out this very urgent call.

Will every Crusader feel a personal responsibility for sending at least one gift—socks, stockings, gloves, or any useful personal or household requisite.

The demand for home-made cakes, sweets, jams, and pickles always far exceeds the supply. New and second-hand books are also asked for.

The Fair is a great opportunity for getting delightful and unusual Christmas presents.

A GOOD IDEA.

Friends unable to send goods have sent us sums amounting to 12/- towards furnishing the stall.

The Sale will be held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on November 26th and 27th, opening each day at 3 p.m.

Please send all non-perishable goods to this office now and up to November 22nd, and

COME AND BUY.

TWEEDS.—Any length cut. Suitings, Costumes, Overcoatings, Ladies Coats. Patterns sent on application.—R. A. Anderson, 21 St. Andrew Street, Galashiels.

SIDELIGHTS.

The Boy Scouts.

In connection with the controversy concerning the Boy Scouts Mr. John Hargrave ("White Fox") contributed to the November number of "Foreign Affairs" a collection of quotations intended to reveal the military character of the organisation. They are taken from Sir Robert Baden-Powell's "Scouting for Boys" (9th revised edition, issued 1919) which is the official handbook of the Boy Scout organisation:-

The Knights taught themselves the use of arms in order to protect their religion and their country against enemies.

They kept themselves strong and healthy in order to be able to do these things well.

Thousands of them went out to Palestine (the Holy Land) to maintain the Christian religion against the Mohammedan Turks.

They were always ready to fight and to be killed in upholding their King, or their religion, or their honour.

We are their descendants and we ought to keep up their good name and follow in their steps.

You Scouts cannot do better than follow the example of your forefathers, the Knights, who made the tiny British nation into one of the best and greatest that the world has ever seen (pp. 25-26).

We must not forget that occasionally nations, like people, lose their tempers or want to steal territory, and then if a country does not show that it can stand up and protect itself it will be bullied and beaten. So if you Scouts want peace for your country you must each be Prepared at any time to stick up for it . . .

Learn marksmanship and drilling, so that you can take your place with the other men of your race in defending your women or children and homes. . . . (p. 275).

We have many powerful enemies round about us in Europe who want very much to get hold of the trade in our great manufacturing towns. . . . Their only way—and they know it—is to stab suddenly at the heart of the Empire, that is, to attack Britain.

For this reason every Briton who has any grit in him will be Prepared to help in defending the country (p. 280).

If a strong enemy wants our rich commerce and Dominions, and sees us in Britain divided against each other, he would pounce in and capture them (p. 278).

Play up! Each man in his place, and play the game! Your forefathers worked hard, fought hard, and died hard to make this Empire for you. Don't let them look down from Heaven and see you loafing about with your hands in your pockets, doing nothing to keep it up (p. 276).

The assertion on page 318 that "there is no military meaning attached to Scouting" will not remove the impression to the contrary created by these quotations.

A Hungarian S.O.S.

In a manifesto to the proletariat of Europe and America the Communist Party of Hungary says:-

When the Hungarian Proletariat fought its decisive battle for the sake of liberating the workers of the world and saving civilisation menaced by general barbarism—when the Hungarian proletariat fought in that dreadful strangling ring of capitalist powers—you never stirred. That general strike planned for the 21st of July 1919 to demonstrate in favour of the Hungarian Soviet Republic—at a time when we were already down on our knees and fighting almost with our teeth and nails only—that strike was looked forth to by all of us as if it had been Salvation. But it has become a nail instead in the coffin of proletarian dictatorship in Hungary.

With clashing teeth the Hungarian bourgeoisie, still the pet of the Entente, jumped at our throat. And there began that calvary and martyrdom of the Hungarian workers unparalleled in History.

You protested. Indeed you did! In most severe newspaper articles you disapproved of white terror and proposed diplomatic intervention, as the result of which the diplomatical body of Entente Diplomats were present in full parade at the wholesale execution of our bravest comrades! You were most indignant at having to learn that women were raped with sharp sabres, that pins were pushed under the nails of our comrades, that they

were singed with red-hot irons, that they had to lick up the own excrements, that they were crucified like Jesus Christ, that their genital organs were crushed, that their eyes were poked out, that they were buried alive. You were indignant, you shook your heads and even speeches and interrogations could be heard in Parliament, and all the time our best comrades were killed, killed, and, listen, they are killing, killing, killing and barbarously torturing them still.

Right into your deaf ears we want to cry, to shout, to roar that with the most terrible of tortures they are killing the still!

Act for the sake of our still living, but already doomed comrades! It is you who must save them!

Don't mind just now your own petty cares. Don't mind even the increase of wages. All will be yours soon anyway! Think of the bleeding Russian, of the martyred Hungarian, of the doomed Proletariat of Central Europe!

Sylvia Pankhurst at the Police Court.

Speaking in her own defence at the Mansion House Police Court Miss Sylvia Pankhurst thus described her life in the East End:-

"I want to say to you, Sir Alfred," she said, "that although I have been a Socialist all my life, I have tried to palliate the capitalist system. I have been a journalist, and I was only when my father died. I saved £400, and went to work in the East End, just before the war. At the beginning of the war there were no separation allowances for the women. Many of many a time they have brought their children dying to me. I started four clinics for dying children, and I have sat up nights after night with the little ones who were brought to me. I set up a day nursery, but all my experience showed that it was useless trying to palliate an impossible system. This is a war system, and has got to be smashed. I would give my life to smash it."

The "Peace" to end Peace.

The present international situation as regards armaments is well summarised in the current issue of "Foreign Affairs" as follows:-

France, which was spending two milliards on her army and navy in 1914, with budget for eight milliards in 1921. Britain is spending about four times more than she spent in 1914, and is considering the transference of control over the increased Indian army from Simla to Whitehall as a world-wide weapon of imperialistic action. America is building a fleet which will make her, when it is complete, the leading naval Power in the world. Japan is budgeting for a navy of 68 millions, making colossal purchases of munitions and engaging a special staff of foreign experts for her arsenals versed in the latest infernal vices for destroying human life. Belgium doubles the size of her army, and Holland, under the Belgian threat remains unarmed.

The Wicked Critic.

The greatness of our Empire Commonwealth has been based entirely upon the principles of Christianity. The Government of this country is based entirely upon the ideals of Christianity and still takes first place in the counsels of nations. Its laws are administered by men, mostly Christians, who at the present moment have to perform a thankless task to an apparently grateful community. It is always far easier to condemn than to co-operate. If the critics of the House of Commons were to show more of the spirit of Christianity and attempt to create a healthy and optimistic public life we should very soon have social and industrial stability.—Sir Alfred W. Yeo, M.P., J. in the "Sunday Express."

One of our Little Wars.

Mr. Winston Churchill gave in the House of Commons week the following returns for casualties in Mesopotamia since October 31, 1918:-

British soldiers: 83 killed, 106 wounded.
Indian soldiers: 823 killed, 2,370 wounded.

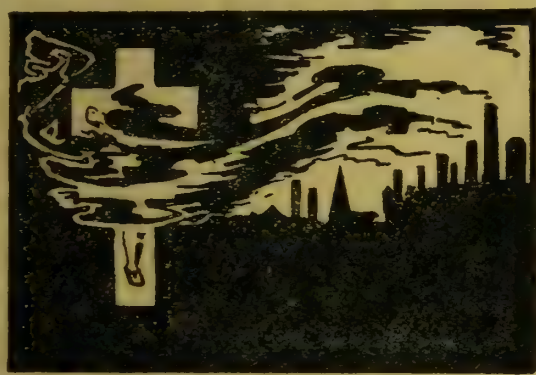
The Crusader

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The Outlook.

WRANGEL'S defeat, Tchitcherin's Note, and the Manifesto of the Council of Action bring Russia once more into the limelight. British naval activity is reported in the Black Sea, the object, it is stated, being to prevent junction between the victorious "Reds" and the "Turkish rebels." It is suggested that the present situation, military and diplomatic, will force a decision on the Cabinet and bring about the disruption of the Coalition. We are not hopeful of such a result. It is Mr. Lloyd George's method to hold out elusive hopes to the more Liberal among his colleagues and then when a crisis is reached to throw his weight on the side of reaction. He will follow that course in the present case, and he is strong enough to hold together the present Government on any policy he may select.

THE rumours of a coming General Election do not seem to have much behind them. The more far-sighted members of the Government cannot be blind to the coming downfall of the class they represent. Seeing this, their policy is to retain office as long as possible and make hay while the sun shines. Politically and financially the policy of the Coalitionist is opportunist. It must make the best use it can of its present chances, knowing well that they cannot be renewed. The motto of those now in power might well be, "After us the Deluge."

THE League of Nations is actually in session. But nobody, therefore, is anticipating the arrival of the Millennium. The Secret Treaty arrived at between France and Belgium, the details of which are not to be made public, has been a timely reminder, in so far as one is needed, of the impotence of the League.

THE complacency of Imperialism surely has never expressed itself so completely as in the Prime Minister's utterance at the Mansion House. "We are offering Ireland," he said, "not servitude but partnership, an honourable partnership, a partnership in the greatest Empire in the world, a partnership in that Empire at the height of its power, a partnership in that Empire in the greatest day of its glory." Is it correct to speak of partnership where one member of the firm is dragooned into the alliance? We had always thought the term applied to those who enter into a voluntary association. And Ireland is not ambitious to become a member of the "greatest Empire in the world." It is not attracted by the grandiose vulgarity of Imperialism. It would define greatness in different terms to those of Mr. Lloyd George.

SEEING that Ireland is not attracted by the dazzling splendour of "the greatest Empire in the world," it is, apparently, to be subjected to an economic blockade until it recovers its senses. The closing down of transport, the destruction of creameries is part of this plan. It is the last feeble device of an intellectually bankrupt Government.

And it was in the power of that same Government, by a generous act of emancipation, to win the affection of Irishmen for ever!

THE Municipal Elections—if it be not too late to speak of these—have on the whole been disastrous to Labour, though the fault of that has been due largely to the electoral system. Various reasons have been given for this defeat. But the psychology of elections is difficult to understand. Just at present we are suffering from one of those periodical moods of apathy on the part of the public—a mood which has prevailed since the commencement of the Coal Strike. But the reaction against this is not far off.

"If Winter's here, can Spring be far behind?"



The Satanic Brotherhood

Have you ever noticed what may be called the sectarianism of Hell? I mean that there is a curious separatism between different types of sinners. While confessing our

guilt as regards some particular kind of wrongdoing, we adopt an air of superiority towards those whose form of depravity is different to ours. We not only thank God that we are not as this sinner. We thank Him that we are not as this kind of sinner. There is a marked inability among us to acknowledge the fatherhood of Satan and the brotherhood of all his children. Greed will not recognise Fear; Pride refuses to shake hands with Servility. We are often told that while we are willing to confess that we are sinners we are slow to name our sins in detail. But the reverse is also true. "I know I have a nasty temper," we say, "but, thank God, I don't sulk like B——." Sins of the flesh seem so remote to those who may be conscious of censoriousness. The prodigal, on the other hand, may sometimes be heard congratulating himself that he is not like his "prig of a brother." "We have our faults, but ——," is the usual formula which introduces this kind of remark.

This is particularly common in international relationships. During the war it was rampant. Of course we knew that we English people were brusque and insular, but there was one thing at least on which we could pride ourselves. We would not make war on women and children like those damned Prussians!

The fallacy of this sort of thing is evident from the ease with which one type of moral depravity passes into another. As a disease deeply rooted in the constitution will take, now one form, and now another, so sin rushes from one extreme to the other. The miser becomes a spendthrift. The ascetic breaks out in sensual excesses. A commercialised people betakes itself to militarism. A warlike nation becomes rich and develops all the symptoms of a corrupt plutocracy. Red Armies beget Napoleons. The transmutations of moral evil from one form to another are, indeed, literally endless. All of which goes to show that the specialised confession may err just as does the general confession.

There is one striking passage in the New Testament in which Jesus gives His authority to this view of the matter. It is that which relates how a woman accused of adultery was brought before Him. On that occasion He turned to her judges with the remark, "Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone." It is not suggested that they had sinned after the same fashion. But the distinct implication is that they were involved in her guilt in a manner which deprived them of all authority to

judge. Adultery has many forms. Those who have profaned the worship of God and desecrated the Temple by exploiting its worship for their own purposes had no right to accuse one whose profanation was of another character.

A consideration of the lesson conveyed by this rebuke would check many of the Pharisaic utterances by which one class of sinner throws stones at another class. Perhaps the bitterness of the poor and the callousness of the rich might be seen as twins of the same father. The recklessness of the ne'er-do-well and the cold caution of the respectable would be understood to be, in spite of seeming antagonisms, closely related. The family likeness would be clearer between the prisoner in the dock and the judge, bribed by social position and popular honour, on the bench. The journalist who prostitutes his pen and the woman who sells her body would have to recognise their kinship with one another.

But above and beyond these considerations is the fact, already hinted at, that to check moral disease at one point and thus to drive it to express itself at another is a futile proceeding. Disease is not cured in that way. The roots must be destroyed. The repression of certain evil habits may end in the manifestation of new forms of perversity. It is not enough to inhibit sins. It is sin that must be overcome. Moral reform like social reform, by specialising and concentrating, sometimes misses its object. Herein lay the strength of the old Evangelical doctrine as to the need of conversion. Man, said the preachers, must be born again. He must become a new creature. No patchwork reform suffices. Human nature needs a complete renewal so that the entire outlook and attitude shall be in harmony with the will of God.

And what is true of moral reform is true of social reform. Militarism, profiteering, drunkenness, cannot be overcome till all are overcome. There is a solidarity of evil which makes it impossible to deal effectively with one member of the tribe without involving the others. These social sins are the children of the same foul parent. Our Society is rotten at the core. All classes are infected, all nations all churches. There is nothing for it but revolution—the social equivalent of conversion.

Once the Satanic Brotherhood recognises its solidarity and its various sections cease to throw stones at one another, we shall have made a great advance towards a recognition of our Brotherhood in Christ. But before we can say "Fellow-Christians" we must learn to say "Fellow-Sinners."

THE TRAMP.

Industrial work, still under bondage to Mammon, the rational soul of it not yet awakened, is a tragic spectacle . . . Labour is not a devil, even while encased in Mammonism; Labour is ever an imprisoned god writhing unconsciously or consciously to escape out of Mammonism!—CARLYLE. "Past and Present."

A Reply to Correspondents.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

My article of a fortnight ago, in which I dealt with my experiences while endeavouring to preach the gospel of human brotherhood in the teeth of strenuous opposition from Liberal Quakers and Tory warmongers and slum property-owners, has brought me a number of letters from readers in all parts of the country, all of whom commence by tendering to me their deepest sympathy in my efforts, and most of whom conclude with none too flattering remarks concerning Liberal Quakers!

I have endeavoured to reply to most of my correspondents personally, but I should like to take this opportunity of replying more fully than was possible in the necessarily brief notes I have written to them. And in so doing I think I shall manage to make my reply of general interest, because the questions dealt with are of vital concern to all who are keen enough to take an interest in the work of the "Crusader."

Here is a typical extract from a letter sent by a good friend who is a Quaker, an I.L.P.-er, and an employer of labour "struggling in the midst of a system I am certain is wrong"—to quote his own words. After an appreciation of the "Crusader," my correspondent says:—

"We cannot deny that what you told us this week filled us with dismay—that Quakers opposed you in your election . . . We naturally long that Quakers would move as fast as we and you feel they should. Still, I believe we may feel very encouraged that there is more movement among us than in other churches. I send this letter as a line of appreciation, sympathy, and encouragement . . . Please go on . . ."

Another friend writes in similar strain, and after an apology for the shortcomings of some Quakers and a reminder that "Quakerism is greater than Quakers," urges me in a specially underlined sentence, "Therefore, do not think of severing yourself from Quakerism."

These extracts give the gist of all the letters I have received. When they began to arrive I had quite a shock, and I went carefully over my article in order to satisfy myself that the printer had not taken liberties with my copy and made me declare my intention of severing my connection with Quakerism because Quakers had worked and voted against me. It was a great relief to discover that I had made no such declaration. But the fact that so many readers read as much between the lines is clear proof that I conveyed a wrong impression; and I want to say at once that I have no such intention—at present—and that when I wrote the article I had no thought of leaving Quakerism.

I was a Quaker long before I joined the Society of Friends. From my earliest days in the Socialist movement, when I was "fired" from a Methodist chapel because I was preaching to my little class a curious mixture of Christ, Ingersoll, Tolstoy, and Blatchford, I have experienced the indescribable spiritual strength and comfort derived from that quiet contact with what I always insist upon calling the real world about us. I did not definitely link up with the Society of Friends in those days, because—well, because I knew a number of Quakers, and I had not fully realised the truth of my friend's declaration that "Quakerism is greater than Quakers." I had to go through prison in order to realise all that Quakerism means, or should mean; and it was in a prison cell that I came definitely to the view that the only hope for the future lies in the fusion of all that is best in Quakerism with all that is best in Socialism.

I joined the Society of Friends because of that belief, and I shall not leave Quakerism until I am persuaded that what came to me in prison as a ray of Light in a dark world was nothing but a will-o'-the-wisp. I frankly admit that there are times when I am terribly disappointed with Quakers. But I am just as often terribly disappointed with Socialists—and with myself. I am disappointed with Quakers when they speak fine words about love and brotherhood, and then put all their energies into the defence of a system which makes such words a hideous mockery. I am disappointed with Socialists when they speak of liberty, equality, and fraternity as things to be won by a "dictatorship" based on armed force. I am disappointed with myself when I find myself falling short of my own ideals.

I mentioned the circumstances under which I fought my election because I believe they were typical of the world situation to-day. The circumstances and the results were almost identical all over the country. For the first time we saw a practical illustration of the truth of what some of us have been saying for years: that it is no more possible to serve both God and Mammon in the political world than it is in any other sphere, and that when the real question at issue is the very existence of the present social disorder there will be no middle course to choose. And when Quakers find themselves, however unwillingly, on the side of Mammon in defence of a system which has brought the world to the present hideous chaos, it is well, I think, that an attempt should be made to show them exactly where they are as the result of the choice they have made.

Of course, the root of the trouble is, as ever, Fear—that and the fatal mistake of trying to dissociate "politics" from "religion." But I must not pursue that subject further or I shall want another couple of pages.

The Crusader

Friday, Nov. 19th, 1920.

Editorial Communications
To the Editor,
Business Communications
To the Secretary,
23, BRIDE LANE, FLEET ST.,
LONDON, E.C.4.
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TO ALL CRUSADERS

Moved thereto by the urgency of our need we issued recently an appeal to such as we thought might assist us. The printing and sending out of that appeal cost, approximately, £20. Up to the present donations to the amount of £313 have resulted. Of this sum we have reason to believe that £200 would have been given us independently of our special whip. That leaves £113 as the result of an effort which taxed the resources of our office to the utmost.

We shall not seem to fail in thankfulness to those who, often at real cost to themselves, contributed if we point out the inadequacy for our needs of the result achieved. This inadequacy is the more to be regretted as the recent effort cannot be repeated. We must now rely for the continued existence of the paper on the effect of such editorial appeals as this. We, therefore, make no apology for our importunity. There must be numbers of our readers who have felt inclined to help us but who have postponed taking action. We most urgently press upon them the need to realise that postponement may be fatal.

The "Crusader" is not a luxury; it is a necessity. It has a claim upon us that stands before at least a part of our normal expenditure. It is for some of us the most direct way in which we can assist a movement on the success of which, as we believe, the future of the world depends.

It is no pessimistic exaggeration to say that that way may be closed. Have you yet done your part to keep it open?

RALLY OF CRUSADERS.

Please keep Friday and Saturday, November 26th and 27th, free to come to our stall at the Caxton Hall, Westminster. Particulars of the Fair will be found on our advertisement page. We are hoping that friends will rally to our support, and take this opportunity of meeting one another. Tea will be obtainable at moderate charges.

OUR EMPIRE.

"We are offering, not servitude, but partnership, an honourable partnership, a partnership in the greatest Empire in the world, a partnership in that Empire at the height of its power, a partnership in that Empire in the greatest day of its glory."
—Mr. Lloyd George at the Mansion House.

"The Greatest Empire"? Ah, you have not seen
What we, in loneliness and desolation, saw
Towering above all Kingdoms that have been,
Shatt'ring the splendour of the lords of war.

Build you your blood-bought Empire far and wide,
On slaves that cringe and parasites who fawn,
Poor though we be, and by all men despised,
We fling your offer back with proudest scorn!

When palaces you built are piled with dust,
And filled with moans of passing winds forlorn,
And hectic cities, flushed with pride and lust,
Stand grey and ruined in the World's Last Dawn,

Then shall you come with wistful suppliant eyes,
Moaning the folly of your former pride,
Seeking a place, with those you now despise,
Beneath His sway Whose Empire aye abides.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

A PUBLIC MEETING on "RECONCILIATION WITH IRELAND" will be held in the Large Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, Ludgate Circus, on WEDNESDAY, DEC. 8, at 7.30. MRS. SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON will be the principal speaker. Some of the other meetings Mrs. Skeffington will address during the visit we are arranging are as under:—

Friday, Dec. 3.—Hampstead, The Friends' Meeting House.

Saturday, Dec. 4.—Letchworth.

Sunday, Dec. 5.—At 3.30, The Brotherhood Church, Southgate Rd.; at 8 p.m., Leytonstone, Burghley Hall.

Monday, Dec. 6.—At 6.15 p.m., The Minerva Café; at 8 p.m. Walthamstow.

Tuesday, Dec. 7.—Private meeting arranged by Canon Guy Rogers.

Thursday, Dec. 9.—Bermondsey, Town Hall.

Friday, Dec. 10.—Tottenham, The Friends' Meeting House.

Saturday, Dec. 11.—Lewisham.

Sunday, Dec. 12.—Bow, Kingsley Hall.

CLERICAL WORK.—It will be easily understood that this visit and the other work in hand involves very considerable clerical work. Will all who can assist in this come to the office THIS FRIDAY EVENING any time after 5 p.m.?

MINERVA CAFE MEETINGS.—The usual meeting will be held on Monday at 144 High Holborn. Tea can be obtained any time after 5.30. The Secretary will give a report of the Council Meetings being held in Sheffield over the week-end and will also speak on "Have the Pacifists failed?" The address will be given at 6.30 p.m.

THE HOUSE SHORTAGE.—It may interest friends who are unable to find suitable quarters to know that the Secretary has the addresses of the following:—

Chiswick.—Top floor, two rooms, unfurnished £1 per week.

Central London.—Four-roomed self-contained flat, furnished, £2 10s. per week.

Croydon.—F.O.R. member would like a paying guest, £3 3s. per week.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

I have been reading the Report of the Conference "holden at Lambeth Palace." I want to quote here a few very significant words from page 46, as they bear on many things that are said from time to time in the "Crusader" regarding our industrial troubles. The Bishops at Lambeth resolved as follows, that "An outstanding and pressing duty of the Church is to convince its members of the necessity of nothing less than a fundamental change in the spirit and working of our economic life. THIS CHANGE CAN ONLY BE EFFECTED BY ACCEPTING AS THE BASIS OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS THE PRINCIPLE OF CO-OPERATION IN SERVICE FOR THE COMMON GOOD IN PLACE OF UNRESTRICTED COMPETITION FOR PRIVATE OR SECTIONAL ADVANTAGE. All Christian people ought to take an active part in bringing about THIS CHANGE, by which alone we can hope to remove class dissensions and resolve industrial discords."

I have emphasised some of the words to call special attention to them. I am quite sure they point the way out, and the only way out. Take, for example, the problem of the mines. It will be a great mistake for anybody to imagine that the whole thing is settled just because the men are now back in the ground once more. What we have got now is merely a breathing space between rounds. The struggle will never cease (and it ought not to cease) until an entirely new principle of dealing with coal is put into operation. The same with the railways. And the same with industry as a whole. It is a great gain that the Bishops have got so far as to state the issue so plainly.

The British Flag, it would seem, is a protection to slavery in Hong Kong. I get my information from no less a paper than the "Church Times." Some months ago a question was asked in the House of Commons about the alleged sale of girls and children going on, so it was stated, under the noses of British officials in Hong Kong. The "Church Times" learns from a correspondent that the sale and purchase still proceeds for the purpose chiefly of domestic servitude and prostitution. It is a sorry story. It is stated that on one occasion the wife of a Naval Officer in H.M. dockyard tried to help the slave girls, and stir up public opinion on the matter. As a result of her activities her husband was informed that unless her efforts ceased he would be superseded and sent home. So that ended that. And the cruelty continues. And over Hong Kong flies the flag! I gather from the "China Mail" that the sale of human beings is forbidden by Chinese law—but it can be done in Hong Kong. The English missionaries would do well to turn for a while to their own countrymen. I hope they are doing it.

I am glad to see a strong protest being raised in some quarters against our continued occupation of the island of Cyprus. The island is overwhelm-

ingly Greek, and its desires for re-union with Greece cannot well be thrust aside by a nation like ours which so loudly proclaims its love for weak little peoples. And, besides, Italy has decided to hold on to Rhodes as long as England retains Cyprus. So the liberties of two little peoples are at stake. It is announced in the Religious Press that the Metropolitan of Paphos and the Holy Synod of the Church of Cyprus have resolved to assist the people of Cyprus in their struggle for union with Greece. Large meetings are being held in all great centres, disapproving of the decision of the British Government to keep Cyprus, and the Holy Synod appeals for support to all friends of justice. If there are any left who are not like Brer Rabbit.

A long Open Letter to the Churches appears in the "Challenge." It is concerned with Ireland, and asks very pointedly what the leaders of the Churches have to say about the situation. The writer declares the quiescence of the Churches to have become a matter of serious gravity. I quote the concluding words of his fine appeal: "You are, or you claim to be, the enshrinement of the Christian ideal. You hold, or you claim to hold, the heritage of the Christian tradition. What do you do for them to-day?"

Writing on the Irish question the "Methodist Times" expresses the opinion that now the coal strike is ended the country will probably take a greater interest in Ireland. I think there is a good deal of truth in that opinion; yet it is very, very hard to get the people of this country to take an intelligent interest in anything that really matters. As a matter of fact this strange public apathy is one of the problems of the time. And it is one of the severest penalties we pay for the waging of war. The simple truth of the matter is that we have worshipped the "hard-faced men" until we have become like our gods. And even the Christian Church has taken part in that worship to such an extent that her leaders are now become so insensitive in their souls that they do not cry out in pain when they see soulless tyrants shedding innocent blood, or starving a whole population into submission.

"The first People's Orchard Theatre is now eight or ten feet above the ground," says a note in the "Challenge." It is being built in the natural amphitheatre on the hills above Chalice Well at Glastonbury. What fair promise in those names! The idea of the promoters (the Village Festival and Open-Air Plays Association) is to encourage the country people to make and act their own plays, expressing their own thoughts, using history and local legend, interpreting the present hour, and also venturing possible foreshadowings of the future. I may add that full particulars of this interesting movement may be had from the Warden, Chalice Well, Glastonbury.

The Fear of the Crowd.

A writer in the Glasgow "Forward" describes, in an article on "The Church and the Masses," the remoteness from the interests of ordinary folk in which so many Christians live, and more than hints that they cherish something like fear of the crowd.

"They occupy business offices by day and return to their mansions at night far removed from the paths of the common folk. Jesus of Nazareth seems almost to have sought out the crowd, and we read that when he saw a crowd he was 'moved with compassion.' A business gentleman in Glasgow, a good Christian and a generous giver, confessed to the present writer recently that, since we entered these days of industrial unrest following the war, he never saw a crowd, but he had a certain dread of its power and a suspicion of its purpose. In other words, he hated and suspected the crowd. . . . Renan tells us somewhere that Greek statesmen and thinkers had this dread of crowds, their policy was alternately to bribe and crush the masses. 'I hate the vulgar crowd, and keep them at a distance,' said one of their writers, and, to-day, though one cannot hear these words in this democratic (?) age one can feel that spirit throbbing through the whole governing and possessing classes of our country. The fine old gentlemen of blood who still preserve Victorian gentility, the newer race of New Club men, and the City man building the Empire on Success—all of them conforming Christians—hate and fear the crowd and keep them at a distance. Even in those relationships of life which oblige their interests to be discussed as parts of a common question they still keep at a distance and representatives are hired to appear on their behalf. These civil and political representatives are but the servants of their masters, they do not love the crowd, and feel no compassion or pity for it; they only fear lest the people should become wise and understand and recover control of themselves and their interest."

There are men and women to-day who are conscious that their possessions and privileges are threatened by the crowd and who see in every gathering a menace to their security. Their fear of losing their social prerogatives makes them cowards. And their cowardice shuts them out from the big human interests of Life's Highway. It is not only the officials of Dublin Castle who are prisoners. The position of the privileged class in this country is fast becoming a very similar one. The sight of a public procession makes them shake in their shoes and withdraw to the shelter of their dug-outs in Clubland or to the safe society of their tenantry in distant country districts.

Nor is it only those who fear the loss of material wealth or social position who are thus in dread of the crowd. Students, hyper-sensitive natures, the devotees of art no less than the plutocracy stand in fear of the "barbarians." The exotic character of their culture cannot endure the rough winds of popular criticism. Here, if the matter be analysed, will be discovered a feeling akin to guilt. This culture has been enjoyed at the expense of the people. It has followed artificial lines. It is a class product with all the limitations and unreality of a privileged caste. No wonder its devotees fear the crowd and most of all the crowd that is beginning to think and work out its own scientific and artistic salvation!

How different was the attitude of one of the most sensitive minds of the ancient aristocracy of Mediæval Italy! Dean Church, in his essay on Dante, says, "There is no shrinking from fellowship and co-operation and conflict with the keen or

bold men of the market place and council-hall in that mind of exquisite and, as drawn by itself, exaggerated sensibility."

Of a greater than Dante it was said that He had pity on the crowd because they were "distressed and scattered," or, as another rendering has it, because they were "harassed and neglected." The compassionateness of Jesus was due in part to the fact that He had no reason to fear the crowd. He claimed nothing for Himself that He did not claim for all. His possessions and privileges He was prepared to share with all who would accept His fellowship. Consequently He was free to enter all ranks of society, to come and go in the homes of the peasantry as also in the mansions of the prosperous.

This fearlessness, this freedom, should be characteristic of Christian men and women at the present time. They have no right to echo the panic-stricken Press. It is not for them to emulate Coalition politicians in working themselves up into a fever of suspicion on every sign of popular discontent any more than they are called upon to catch the infection of fear spread by those who see in every political move some sinister design against democratic rights.

The flattery which is only another symptom of the same moral cowardice is equally unlike the courageous attitude of Jesus. The attempt of the Church to gain the ear of Labour by a belated expression of democratic sympathies is as unchristian as the panic-mongering of the Capitalist Press. If the purpose of these advances is to win back the popularity which has been so completely and deservedly lost, then we can prophesy failure with the utmost certainty. The welcome accorded "the boys" who returned from the war was not a more disastrous failure in securing attachment to the Church than will be this attempt to win the democracy by insincere and time-serving laudation.

The way to the heart of the crowd is first of all fearlessness of the crowd, and, second, compassion for the crowd.

A poor Irish widow, her husband having died in one of the lanes of Edinburgh, went forth with her three children, bare of all resource, to solicit help from the Charitable Establishments of that city. At this Charitable Establishment and then at that she was refused; referred from one to the other, helped by none—till she had exhausted them all; till her strength and heart failed her: She sank down in typhus-fever; died, and infected her Lane with fever, so that "seventeen other persons" died of fever there in consequence . . . The forlorn Irish widow applies to her fellow-creatures, as if saying " . . . I am your sister, bone of your bone; one God made us: ye must help me!" They answer, "No, impossible; thou art no sister of ours." But she proves her sisterhood—her typhus fever kills them.—CARLYLE, "Past and Present."

Studies in the Declaration of Dependence.

VI.—THE FAMILY IDEAL.

It is the will of God to unite all in one family.—

DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE.

A case has just come to my knowledge of a man driven by unemployment to the verge of insanity. A creditor has taken measures to sell up his home in the course of the next few days. It is probable that by the time these words are in print the little bits of furniture his wife and he have collected will no longer be theirs, and they, with their child, will be adrift in the world. I have been cudgelling my brains to discover some way of escape for this harassed family, and in every direction the world has presented the aspect of closed doors.

Even if some Philanthropist were to come forward, or some Charitable Institution were to intervene, it would only mean temporary help in an isolated case. Charity in these cases is but a corrective to the general tendency and working of our Society. It is not in the structure of the organisation itself. What we have to create, if we are to realise the will of God, is a social organisation in which love and service shall be the dominant motive and in which the whole framework of our economic life shall be such as to express the family spirit. In such a Society the whole resources of the Community would be at the disposal of the needy. Rest, fellowship, material assistance, would be forthcoming for the sick, the overstrained, even in the case of those who had misused their chances. Maintenance would be unconditional. The idea that it is a reward for services rendered is one of the unchristian fallacies of our political economy. In the parable of the Prodigal Son it is the man who has wasted his substance for whom is killed the fatted calf. The wage-system, which embodies the idea that the worker sells his labour-power in return for payment, is condemned root and branch by this conception of Society as a family. In that Society Charity would not be the exception, but the general rule. We should all live on Charity—that is, on means provided by the Community, quite apart from any industrial return on our part, and simply on the ground that we were members of the family.

That would destroy the Commercialism that now governs industry. Work would be redeemed from its mercenary character. Reacting to the hospitality of the Community, we should find ourselves drawn into the common service. We should want to be "in it." The sight of men and women busily and cheerfully engaged in co-operative labour for the good of all would be too attractive to be resisted. To be a drone in this hive of industry would mean an isolation which no one could long tolerate.

But if we were all servants one of another we should also all be masters. The possession of the land and the means of production by a handful of people who can dictate terms of existence to the rest of the population bears its condemnation on its face. To complete the sense of satisfaction in labour there must be responsibility, powers of control, and all that is implied by communal possession.

Of course this management would be delegated,

The control of industry by the whole body of citizens exercising its vote at every point would be impracticable, and undesirable. Certain leaders would be given authority. The wisest, the most skilful, the experts, would be constituted captains. But their authority would be derived from the community as a whole. Loyalty to them would be nothing more or less than loyalty to one's fellow-citizens. To accept orders from them would only mean accepting orders from one's larger, social Self. It would be service not servitude.

Of course, such a system might easily degenerate. One body of workers, organised as a guild, might exploit their monopoly to the injury of others. A central body with power to co-ordinate would be necessary. This central body and the leaders generally might take advantage of their authority to tyrannise. On the other hand, the democracy might cripple the initiative of its leaders.

There would arise the need for some Supreme Authority to whom all alike might look and on whom all alike would rely. Communism necessitates a religious interpretation of life. Humanity cannot be the object of its own worship and service. It must look beyond itself to One whose will is law and whose character affords a fixed standard by which action can be governed.

And so we demand as the ultimate motive of our Community the consciousness of God and of the demands of His will. That completes the family idea. For without a Father there can be no brotherhood.

Strangely enough, this brings us back to the very genesis of religion. The further back we go in the history of religion the more closely do we find it identified with the social and economic life of the tribe. The god is literally the father of the community. The resources of nature are his gifts, acknowledged as such by fitting oblations. The distribution of food and the productive energies of the tribe are communal. From that simple social religion mankind fell away. Some assumed master-ship. Private property and individualism crept in. The unity of the tribe was shattered.

The world has grown infinitely complicated since then. We are told that it differs so entirely from that ancient world that it has become impossible to restore the institutions and beliefs of the past. Has it not become more impossible to continue as we are? Has not Capitalism led us into a cul-de-sac?

In its childhood the race displayed, on a small scale and in the terms of an extremely simple economy, the kind of faith and organisation in which it was meant to live. This intimate life with God and our fellow-men, this combination of faith, freedom and fellowship, constitute the only condition under which human nature can be itself.

It is our mighty task in this generation to swing the world back to its earliest ideals, to bring to the ancestral home of the race the gathered wealth of our experience, to reunite God and Man, and Man with Man in one Holy Family.

HAS THE MIDDLE

The middle-class person who desires to escape the extinction—economic, intellectual, and moral—which seems overtaking his class finds himself in an embarrassing position. Every effort to break down the lines of caste and escape into some other section of society results in failure.

If he attempts to climb into the class above him the problem proves a well nigh impossible one. He may enter the world of Big Business, and even acquire a title. He may fraternise on apparently equal terms with the aristocracy. Money may procure him many of the characteristic possessions of the class to which he aspires. Some feudal castle may become his by the authority of the auctioneer's hammer. Deer may adorn his park, ancestral (!) portraits hang in his dining-hall. But in his heart of hearts he knows he is still an outsider. The aristocracy, by its very nature, is open only to those of aristocratic birth. Like Nicodemus, he asks in despair, "Can a man be born again?"

On the other hand, if, under some chivalrous instinct, he seeks admission to the ranks of the proletariat, his case is no better. He joins a Socialist Society, calls his fellow-members "comrades," takes up his residence in a slum district, and learns to throw the necessary contempt into his pronunciation of the term "bourgeois." All in vain! His training and education, his comparative security, the unforgettable fact that he has descended in the social scale, his lack of experience of proletarian conditions betray him again and again. After the first eruption of Socialistic enthusiasm he becomes critical of his new companions and attempts to lead them into other paths, only to be frustrated by what he regards as narrow class-jealousy.

Has the Middle-Class a Vocation?

Then the question may occur to him whether his position in Society confers on him any particular mission? Has he been right in attempting to forsake his class? Suppose he should decide to remain loyally in that section of the community in which he happened to be born, could he find in it any worthy vocation? Is there any interpretation of the Middle-Class functions which might make a thoughtful, serious-minded man glad that he belonged to it? On every hand he hears it spoken of as the football between contending sections. But what if, after all, it should be the Umpire in the game?

Then he begins to consider his position and discovers that, like the Euclidean "point," position is the only thing the Middle-Class can claim. It has no distinct economic characteristics of its own. It is both capitalist and proletarian. All its intellectual powers seem exercised in balancing itself between two extremes. Its organisations do not impress him as having any great message for the world. Ratepayers' Associations and Middle-Class Unions, with their purely defensive policies, do not capture his imagination. The parliamentary in-

stitutions, which are the peculiar creation of his class, he finds dwindling to insignificance. The churches which his neighbours in Suburbia attend, he discovers, are in much the same condition. So he is driven back to the conclusion that the sum total of his equipment is a certain social position.

What of that position?

For the first time the name Middle-Class becomes really suggestive. Can it be that it has something more than a social and economic significance? What if it should contain the hint of a spiritual and moral mission? The world of to-day is torn by a hundred feuds. Capitalists and workers are at one another's throats. Ireland is distracted by a fierce contest in which economic, political and religious motives all have place. The "Peace" Treaty has sowed the seeds of innumerable future wars. And there is no arbitrator, no Go-Between, no Middle-Man, no—Middle-Class!

Compromise.

The suggestion that the function of the bourgeoisie is that of reconciling the differences of the extremes between which it stands will at once lead readers to suppose that we are thinking of that unhappy disposition for Compromise which is already the weakness of the class in question. What is meant, however, is something very different from the soothing syrup of the professional peace-maker. The banal generalities by which a certain type of individual attempts to hush strife, and which he mistakes for expressions of the reconciling spirit, are not here under consideration.

The futility of Compromise in the present condition of the world is already evident.

As an instance, take the suggestion that Capital and Labour need each other and must, therefore, "make it up" and be good friends. Capital must be more generous in the distribution of wages, and Labour must be less free in the use of the strike weapon! As though any increase of wages could settle the question of the wage system! Capitalists and workers are compelled by the very nature of the present system to oppose one another. The Capitalist's economic functions are those of a profiteer and, with the best intentions in the world, he can be nothing else. Any talk about friendly relations between these two parties is no better than a proposal to amend the rules of war. It does not abolish the war. So also with regard to the various problems that arise under the head, Imperialism. Measures for the better treatment of subject races remain mere compromises while the question is unanswered as to whether there should be subject races at all.

One of the best illustrations of the working of that spirit of Compromise associated with the Middle-Class, and with this country, the home, par excellence, of Bourgeois institutions, is in the realm of religion,

ASS A MISSION?

The Church of England, as its history shows, is the result of Queen Elizabeth's ministers' efforts to avoid the extremes of Roman Catholicism and Puritanism. Within its borders, each interpreting its articles in its own favour, are the most diverse sections, between whom no sort of reconciliation has been effected. The impotence of the Church of England in Ireland at the present time reveals how completely it has failed to bring about in its own life and doctrines, a reconciliation between Catholicism and Protestantism. It has been truly said that Anglicanism was meant to be neither "High" nor "Low." It was only meant to be quiet.

If, therefore, the only mission open to the Middle-Class is that of effecting Compromises after the manner indicated, we may as well abandon pursuit of the subject.

The Ministry of Reconciliation.

But Reconciliation is a different matter. Reconciliation faces the claims of both extremes and harmonises them. It effects what, in philosophical language, is termed a synthesis. Compromise is a mechanical arrangement. Reconciliation is creative.

And it is amazing to find how the most violent antagonisms yield to this treatment when employed with courage and faith.

Such oppositions, for instance, as Democracy and Aristocracy are not, as generally supposed, mutually exclusive, but supplementary. The Christian conception of Society demands both.

The old controversy between materialism and a spiritual view of the universe comes to a conclusion which should satisfy the extremists of both parties in the sacramental view of matter.

The claims of Tradition are not in conflict with the dreams of the Idealist. The continuity of history admits of the fullest progress—a progress in which both Traditionalist and Revolutionist may rejoice.

And so we might proceed through the entire list of modern controversies, approaching them neither as partisans nor as compromisers, but in the spirit of the Apostle who, writing of the sections into which the Corinthian Church had broken up, declared "All are yours."

This we believe to be the spiritual and moral function of the Middle-Class. It is to exercise a Ministry of Reconciliation. Its position between the two extremes of Society has been given it for a purpose. It must lay hold of that purpose and fulfil it. In the present condition of the world there is no more important work to be done than that which falls to the lot of those who, in virtue of their freedom from the bitterness of partisans on either hand, should be free to deal with our present-day problems in a spirit of detachment.

The Mediator.

But if the Middle-Class is to realise its vocation as the Arbitrator and Reconciler it must accept the Euclidean definition of itself. Let it realise that it has nothing but its position. It is simply a somewhat unhappy blend of the classes above and below. It is not a primary colour. It is not black, nor white, but only grey. It is not for it, therefore, to enter the arena with the other disputants and to cultivate a class consciousness of its own, much less a class organisation. To do this is to rob it of its authority as Judge. The Judge does not present a case to the Court. He is not involved personally in the dispute. He is there to harmonise, to arbitrate.

On every hand the extinction of the Middle-Class is prophesied. But if any section of society has a mission to perform it will survive. Until that mission is accomplished it cannot be destroyed.

In the sense defined above there will always be need of a Middle-Class. So long as there are parties must there be one to reconcile their differences. No changes in society can effect this need. It is as permanent as the need of Him of Whom it was written:—"In Christ is neither Greek or Jew, bond or free, male or female," Who, of two ancient antagonists, formed "one new man."

The writer of this article has, in common with so many of his class, felt strongly the temptation to repudiate his social connections. They seemed to commit him to a policy of weak and ineffective compromise. He viewed the traditions of the bourgeois with dismay, and hastened to disavow them. But he discovered that, whether he would or not, escape was impossible. With that discovery came the resolution to make the best of them. That "best" proved so much better than he had dreamed that in place of contempt he began to feel an exaltation of mind at the contemplation of the high calling to which he was called. Here was a task hard enough for the most heroic, more urgently needed than any other he could have coveted, and, above all, essentially Christian, for what is Christianity but the worship and service of Him Who came to make reconciliation between God and Man and between Man and Man?

CHRIST AND CULTURE.

He would never forget hearing an encyclopædic person say that Christ would have been a more effectual teacher if He had been more cultivated. "As I live, those were his very words." And I wanted to smash him with the coal scuttle, and wipe my boots on his face. And, in a figure of speech, I did, and for days I railed at education and pined for the company of cabmen."—MEMORIALS OF SIR EDWARD BURNE-JONES.

Bookland. Dr. Orchard's Sermons.

A monthly sermon by Dr. Orchard is published under the general title, "The King's Weigh House Pulpit," and at regular periods these are gathered up and issued in book form. The latest of these publications lies before us—"The Safest Mind Cure and other Sermons," published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 6s. net.

Unlike most preachers, Dr. Orchard works within a certain system of ideas. As you read his sermons you catch sight of a body of truth. The thoughts they express are parts of an organic whole, all the ramifications of which the preacher has mastered. No sermon stands entirely by itself. It is linked up, not only with the other sermons of the series, but with the teaching of the preacher as a whole. There is visible also a unity beyond that of the preacher as such. Dr. Orchard's ministry at the King's Weigh House has been characterised by the use of Catholic forms of worship. And there are those who profess an ability to draw the line very clearly between the priest and the preacher and to be able to appreciate the latter while entirely repudiating the former. But the task is a difficult one. These two sides of Dr. Orchard's ministry interpenetrate each other to a remarkable extent. The sermons could have been preached only by one whose personal religion was bound up with sacramental observances. Each section, therefore, of the present volume is the characteristic expression of a large and rich personality.

There is a striking combination in these discourses, of orthodox belief and revolutionary application. It seems to have been taken for granted that adventuresomeness for a preacher must lie in the direction of kicking over dogmas and proclaiming heresies. The courage of such performances, however, is somewhat dubious. The majority today is on the side of the heretic. The heresies themselves are somewhat threadbare and commonplace. The freshness and audacity of these sermons arises from the fact that the preacher is challenging the contemptuous attitude of his generation by a bold revival of Christian truths which many have regarded as dead and buried.

When Newman led the way back to Catholicism it was in a conservative spirit induced by the rising flood of rationalism. Newman retreated from modernism in all its forms. Dr. Orchard's characteristic is that he makes Catholic Truth the basis of a fierce and revolutionary attack on Society as at present constructed. The titles of some of the sermons are significant. "The Social Interpretation of the Cross," "Mystical Vision and Social Passion," "Christ's Ascension—Man's Emancipation." The combination of orthodox theologian and revolutionist is fascinating, but it is something much more than that. It is, perhaps, the most significant fact of our day. When G. K. Chesterton gave battle, with roars of laughter, to the cultured infidelities of our time and shook the self-assurance of the prophets of negation, it was a sign of the

times not to be passed over lightly. But the movement which began then has, in Dr. Orchard, reached a stage of greater daring and is making a more carefully planned attack.

It is the wealth of philosophic thought that makes this re-presentation of Christianity as the revolutionary faith so damaging to the world of to-day. We have heard a rather sentimental Christ preach the Brotherhood of Man. We have listened while orators mouthed phrases about the Carpenter of Nazareth. But here the whole wealth of philosophy is enlisted on the side of Christian doctrine. This "obscurantist" creed is set forth with such depth and subtlety of thought, such penetrating criticisms of modern movements, that it reveals the rationalist himself as illogical, and the charge of obscurantism becomes too absurd for use.

Dr. Orchard's personal experience has equipped him for his task in a remarkable manner. He has been brought into touch with all the chief cults of our times. He has himself more than dabbled in heresies. His kite has flown for every wind that blows. He knows, as none other, the geography of the world's thought, and can find his way about in the intricate maze of our various cults with a mastery at which one can only wonder. He knows the heretics better than they know themselves and can instruct them in their own history better than their own savants. Hence, these sermons, while mainly social in emphasis, deal with such subjects as Mysticism, Faith-Healing, and "Higher Thought."

Dr. Orchard's attitude towards the movements referred to is sympathetic. He comprehends them. His criticism of them is that they are sectarian. The little phase of truth they have caught would be truer and richer if related to the whole. That is the fact with which we started this article. It is the one to which we recur. Here is a vision of Christian truth so rich, so comprehensive, that we may all find our place in it.

If the preacher of these sermons is symptomatic, then we shall see before long a revival of what all men have reckoned dead—a resurrection of Christian Faith as wonderful as any of the many renaissances by which the vitality of the Christian Religion has astonished an unbelieving world.

RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

- The Safest Mind Cure and other Sermons.**—By Rev. W. E. Orchard, D.D. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 6s. net.
- Patriotism and the Super State** by J. L. Stocks, **Germany in Revolution** by L. E. Matthan. The Swarthmore International Handbooks. Swarthmore Press, 2s. 6d. net each.
- The Church and the People.**—An open letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, by M. R. Webb, D.L. National Labour Press, 2s. net.
- Force in Peace and War**, by Benjamin Davies, F.Inst.P. Swarthmore Press, 2s. 6d. net.
- The Workers' International**, by R. W. Postgate. Swarthmore International Handbooks, 2s. 6d. net.

The Fear of Communism.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

The look on most people's faces when one begins to talk about Communism usually reminds me of the two children who found their way obstructed by a lion, and when the matter has been discussed for a little while, of the same children after having discovered that the lion, to be sure, is a dear old Teddy Bear!

And as to discover Teddy is to love and cherish him, so to reach the heart of Communism is to discover something to be cherished, a reality, indeed, which changes the very aspect of the word, makes it the symbol of all that is sweetest, tenderest, and sublimest in experience.

Besides, is it not the case that the great search of the present time is for a means of producing what Matthew Arnold called "Sweetness and light"? But so far from succeeding in that search we cannot even preserve the little sweetness that we have, much less bring back our lost heritage! Not all change, not all "going ahead" is progress, as many, alas! are beginning to find out, realising that there was something in our life so late as 30 years ago which has been lost to disadvantage. I refer to a certain leisureliness which made possible an appreciation of culture, of art, music, and literature, the cultivation of friendliness and friendship. Modern competitive industrialism has destroyed all that, and a hundred valuable things besides. Who reads poetry to-day? The fever of the workshop drives men from the leisured hearth to the cinema. Marx has ousted Plato, and the magazine, Shakespeare. Institutions which exist for culture, intellectual and spiritual delight, are almost extinct. And, what is more, those who feel the need of such things most have least time for them—the demands of Press and platform are paramount! When civilisation is at stake, Art and Culture must take a back place!

But how to get back, or forward, to the time when we shall have the leisure and the inclination to enjoy true culture, to the time when politics can be left to look after themselves, as literature is compelled to do to-day, and we have eyes and time for Life, for the creation and appreciation of beautiful ideas, noble sentiments, strong friendships?

Yes, how? You capitalists and supporters of capitalism, will you tell us? Of course you cannot, for it is you who have brought us to where we are, and you can only lead us further into the darkness. With all your unheard-of crops of Acts of Parliament, Successful Wars, Sedition Mongers, paralyzing premiers, of promotions, profits, and preferential politicians, you cannot bring back that one little bit of sweetness and light that was, and that you have destroyed! No, you cannot, and the sooner you acknowledge it the better. And your very impotence is the necessity for Communism!

That is the bare fact. Yes, you'll have to consider Communism at last, so the sooner the better! Already I see that lion-in-the-path look upon your face. But cheer up! And remember that the beginning of freedom is the throwing off of burdens;

and all burdens, in the last analysis, are ideas. I know what you are thinking of—your capital! Throw it away! Of course you can't do that—not now—but you will later, when you are clearer and change your ideas! You are afraid of work? No, you say, you work very hard now. Good! Then you are afraid of starvation? You imagine that no one will desire to work under Communism, and that the "workers" will just step in and live on your wealth?

Now, really, don't you think that is a little unfair? I believe the workers work now—else what about your profits?—and if they didn't want to work, but to plunder your produce, they would take that course now, for they do not love you very much, and I know from experience that it is not very pleasant to work under modern capitalist conditions. My deductions, therefore, are these: (1) That the "workers" will be more inclined to work under Communism than under Capitalism, because conditions will be pleasanter and more humane; and (2) that instead of eating up your produce they will think a jolly lot more of you than they do now—that is, if you will give up your capital and help to make a beautiful life possible for all. But don't ever say again that the workers will devour you in revenge for your kindness, when they serve you so willingly as the victims of your greed!

The lion, you imagine, is still showing those two front teeth. Naturally, for you have been nursed in fear from childhood. In fact, most of you have been brought up on jungle morality and are chiefly concerned about coming out top dog.

But there'll be no incentive to work under Communism, you insist. But why do men work to-day? If people want to eat puddings and buns, see plays, read books and listen to music, they'll have to produce them. Is there any other incentive to work than desire and aspiration? Or do you mean that people will cease to have desires when they become Communists? Of course people will not be able to become very rich! But what is the use of becoming very rich, unless it is to satisfy some good desire? In so far as riches are necessary to the true enjoyment of life and enable men and women to develop mind, heart, and personality, all men desire them, but under Capitalism it is not possible for all to have them—hence the necessity for Communism.

Besides, as a mere matter of fact, great riches are not conducive to good desires; rather do they tend to pervert desire, to place people in unnatural circumstances, give them power over the lives of others such as no one ought to possess. In fact, it is because of perverted desire due to great riches, that we have political and industrial tyranny, militarism, wars, race hatred and the thousand and one social antagonisms at home and abroad to-day.

Is the lion still in the way? Perhaps we may be able to extract some of his teeth on another occasion or, at any rate, comb out his shaggy mane! Shall we try?

Sinai Lamps.

II.

Some people who were not conscripted are fond of trying to set down any criticism of conscription with the statement that without conscription we would not have won the war. They do not trouble about whether in that case we might not have won the peace. The Law of Moses may be out of date, but it is not so antediluvian as some quite modern people.

In the 16th chapter of Deuteronomy we read that the Israelites were to elect judges and officers in all their gates, that is, there was to be a magistrate and a town clerk in every town. The root idea of the word translated "officer" is "writer" or "scribe." It seems fairly plain that these officers, like the judges, were primarily civilian officials. In the 20th chapter we read that when there was a war on, these officers were to assemble the eligible men and tell them plainly that each one was to go home who had built a house and not dedicated it; or planted a vineyard and not enjoyed its fruit (How long exemption would that mean if he had but just planted it?); or got engaged and not married (And when a man did marry he had a full year's exemption.—Deut. 24). And when all these had gone home, the officers were further to tell the people that each man was his own tribunal with power to exempt himself unconditionally if he felt afraid! And only when those who were nervous had gone home was the army to be mobilised and military officers appointed. That was the Law.

It must be granted that there was no provision for conscientious objections, but probably at that early stage of the world's history there were no conscientious objectors. Though there may of late years have been many truly conscientious objectors who made no profession of being Christians, it is extremely doubtful whether the idea that war in itself is so wrong that under no circumstances might a man join in it, would have occurred to anyone if Christ had not come to this earth and lived and died here and risen again. But certainly the Mosaic law provided many ways of escape from military service which were not thought of in our Conscription Act, and the last plea on which a claim for exemption would be made, seems as if it must have practically abolished conscription altogether.

How was the Military Service Act of Israel carried out?

When the two tribes and a half wished to stay on the East of Jordan Moses sternly rebuked them, and told them that if they deserted their brethren or discouraged them, they might be sure

their sin would find them out. But it does not appear that he threatened them with any human punishment.

Deborah, the patron saint of conscriptionists, vigorously chanted the praises of the voluntary principle before she stopped to fling a curse, and apparently nothing else, at one little town that had kept safe behind its walls. Moreover when Barak answered her white feather with a suggestion that she must come too, she at once accepted the challenge, although she was probably over military age, and certainly Prime Minister, and in Holy Orders, and a woman. There would probably have been much less zeal for conscription in England if all who publicly advocated it had felt obliged to march into the gates of hell themselves.

When the people of Israel asked Samuel for a king, he warned them that it would mean for them conscription of every kind, conscription of wealth, of labour, and military conscription also.

David, when he had turned the Kingdom of Israel into an Empire, planned a national registration with a view to conscription, and this was counted as one of his great sins, comparable with the affair of Bethsheba. Even Joab, the brutal Commander-in-Chief, regarded the idea as abominable.

Solomon succeeded in carrying out a limited measure of conscription, forcibly enlisting thirty thousand men; and though he allowed them all to spend two-thirds of their time on furlough, it was one of the main causes that led to a revolution immediately after his death. There seems a sort of shout of freedom in that short verse in which both the chronicler and the writer of the Kings record that "King Rehoboam sent Adoram, who was over the levy; and all Israel stoned him with stones, that he died."

That seems to have been the last of conscription in the ordinary sense in the Kingdom of Israel.

But through their disobedience to other parts of the Law there seems little doubt that military service was enforced in Israel as it has always been in England since we had a standing army, and never more than to-day. Who can tell how many of the "heroes" who are being demoralised and bringing us into disrepute with all the world, are where they are, because they could get no work at home, or because, being slum-bred, the war had taken away what little capacity they ever had for steady work?

Our next Lamp therefore shall be the Poor Law of Israel.

UP-HILL.

A Vicar Adopts the Declaration.

The Rev. J. Wilcockson, vicar of St. Thomas', Dixon Green, Farnworth, Lancashire, in the November number of his parish magazine, gives the Declaration of Dependence in full in the form of a pastoral letter, adding at the close: "In these days of the reign of the anti-Christ I trust that you will give good heed to this declaration put forward by those willing to give up all to follow the Christ. To all its terms I gladly subscribe, and call upon all who really love the Christ to rally round His Standard."

Does the road wind up-hill all the way?

Yes, to the very end.

Will the day's journey take the whole long day?

From morn to night, my friend.

But is there for the night a resting place?

A roof for when the slow dark hours begin.

May not the darkness hide it from my face?

You cannot miss that inn.

Shall I meet other wayfarers at night?

Those who have gone before.

Then must I knock, or call when just in sight?

They will not keep you standing at that door.

Shall I find comfort, travel-sore and weak?

Of labour you shall find the sum.

Will there be beds for me and all who seek?

Yea, beds for all who come.

—CHRISTINA ROSSETTI.

The Hidden Valley.

CHAPTER III.—REVELATIONS.

When Silas B. Hilkem undertook a job he did it quickly and thoroughly. Early next spring the Colony was ready for the immigrants, and a few weeks later the travel-worn nondescript crowd of bearded men, anxious women, and crying children, had been dumped down at the Millarville Depot. For a few days they wandered up and down the sidewalks of the city making purchases and mingling with the varied throng of busy citizens, farmers, cowboys, and Indians, and looking very lonely and lost.

Luke Wise had to confess that he was somewhat disappointed in their appearance. These greasy faces did not verify his idea of fiery revolutionists, martyrs to the Cause of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Here and there, it is true, he saw those whose bearing indicated a certain resolution and dignity. And he comforted himself, concerning the others, that America would soon assimilate them as it did all other races.

Their purchases made, and somewhat rested after their long journey, the birds of passage disappeared in the direction of their new home.

For several months he heard nothing more of them.

Then one day in the late Fall as he was in the Mayor's Office an individual with a black beard, and wearing an astrachan hat and high boots, came in and shut the door after him carefully.

"Mister Mayor?" he said interrogatively, removing his hat.

He spoke tolerable English.

Dick Sibbald, who was sitting in his shirt-sleeves before the stove, expectorated and remarked "I'm your boy."

The man in the astrachan hat came nearer and said, looking at Wise:—

"I haf to tell you sometings."

"Oh, Wise is all right," said the Official. "If you're from 'The Community' he's interested. Go ahead!"

Thus encouraged, the delegate from the Community, as it was called, grew voluble. The speed and emotion with which he spoke and the imperfect nature of his English made it at first difficult to understand him. But it was not long in doubt to either of the men what his message was. Bit by bit they gathered the facts and fitted them together in their minds.

The Colonists had gone out to their new home with high hopes which the preparations made for their arrival did nothing to damp. But before long the nature of the undertaking into which they had entered dawned on them.

They had been given glowing accounts of the agricultural possibilities of the land. It was, they were told, specially suitable for cereals of all kinds. Accordingly a goodly proportion of their small

capital—the proceeds of the sale of household belongings in the old country, and the accumulated savings of years—had gone to the purchase of seed. The land had been well ploughed and a good crop had ensued. But before it was ripe a withering frost had entirely ruined it. Nor was this the worst, for they had learned, what their listeners knew was true, that only on rare occasions had anyone in that neighbourhood managed to get a crop of wheat to ripen before the cold snap came.

They had, further, been led to believe that it would be easy to obtain labour at high wages, but there were no farms in their vicinity, and where there were any the rate of pay was much lower than that stated.

One of the conditions of the contract was that they should make all their purchases at Hilkem's Stores. This they had done, but had found they were being charged double the price other customers were paying. The money he had laid out in the building of shanties for them before their arrival he was charging 15 per cent. interest on.

In consequence of these circumstances they were now face to face with the long winter without food. Many of the women and children were feeling the pinch already. One woman had died in childbirth. Some of their number had deserted and left the burden of the debt to those remaining.

"Well, my friend," said the Mayor when the narrative was finished, "you've had some rough luck. But there ain't no remedy. It's all accordin' to law—trust Silas B. Hilkem for that. We cairn't do nothin', so'd better go home an' lick into bush-whacking or som'at of the kind."

The man expostulated, argued, and finally burst into tears. But it was no good.

"You go home and lick into bush-whacking" was all the comfort he got. Finally, with dejected mien, he pushed open the green baize door, and the sound of his slow footsteps was heard down the passage.

(To be continued.)

William Morris used to say that no man was good enough to be another man's master. If that were true of individuals, it would, as great authorities have pointed out, be much more true of nations. No nation certainly is as trustworthy as its own best men. But I do not think it is true, unless, indeed, you imply in the word "master" some uncontrolled despotism. Surely there is something wrong in that whole conception of human life which implies that each man should be a masterless, unattached and independent being. It would be almost truer to say that no man is happy until he has a master, or at least a leader to admire and serve and follow.—
GILBERT MURRAY, LL.D., D.LITT., F.B.A.

The Crusade.

MISS WILSON'S ENGAGEMENTS.

Saturday, Nov. 20.—Ynysyhir, Church of Christ, 6 p.m.
 Sunday, Nov. 21.—Briton Ferry, Jerusalem English Baptist Church, 10.30 a.m., 3 p.m. and 6.30 p.m.
 Monday, Nov. 22.—Merthyr Tydfil, Hope Church, evening.
 Tuesday, Nov. 23.—Aberdare, I.L.P.
 Wednesday, Nov. 24.—Aberdare, I.L.P.
 Thursday, Nov. 25.—Abergavenny, I.L.P.

MR. WILFRED WELLOCK'S ENGAGEMENTS.

Saturday, Nov. 20.—Birtley, Co. Durham, I.L.P.
 Sunday, Nov. 21.—Ashington, I.L.P.
 Monday, Nov. 22.—Amble, I.L.P.

IN THE WEST.

It is very difficult for the one who speaks at a meeting to offer any real report, but at least I am justified in saying that at Bristol, Bath and Weston-super-Mare this week a real interest has been taken in the "Revolutionary Christianity" standpoint, and the principles set down in the Declaration of Dependence.

The largest meeting was that held in connection with the I.L.P. in Bristol, and question time taxed all my powers of concentration, but what is so striking is that while there is a constantly recurring suspicion of "Christianity" there is always the same respect for Jesus Christ. We had a particularly good F.O.R. meeting at Bristol. Not a large one, but we seemed to get together, and I hope that work will be done later in connection with the Declaration. I feel that the "Crusader" is deeply indebted to Miss Giles for the work she does for us.

At Bath the meetings were small, and were held by invitation of the Theosophical Society. Some keen members of the F.O.R. came.

At Weston-super-Mare a meeting was held in connection with the Peace Society, and the question of the urgency of an effort against militarism was the chief topic.

On Sunday I addressed the Victoria Brotherhood on the Declaration. It was evident that the point of view was a surprise—and indeed at almost every meeting I am told that the address is one which will give food for much thought. This is something for which we should be thankful, for after all, it is to drive people to thought not to pretend to present some perfect whole—which should be our object. On an "off night" I attended a Middle Class Union meeting. It is fear, fear, fear, every time which drives us all to our various follies.

WILFRED WELLOCK IN DURHAM.

My second tour in Durham started yesterday, Sunday, with a meeting in the afternoon at Fence Houses, a mining village, and another at Sunderland in the evening. Everywhere in the Durham villages the workers speak of the difficulty of getting miners to indoor meetings, and on Sunday afternoons it is a custom of many miners to have a sleep—a fact which has surely some bearing on the recent dispute!

The I.L.P. Branch at Fence Houses is newly formed, and the meeting on Sunday was the first of its kind and in the nature of an experiment. The subject announced was "Revolutionary Christianity," and about fifty people attended. The chairman, Mr. Storey, was vivacious, enthusiastic for our point of view, and gave us a good start. From first to last the interest was keen, and a singular feature of the meeting was that two gentlemen who interrupted me in the early part of my address on certain remarks about the decay of the British Empire, insisted at the close on a vote of thanks being passed, the one moving it and the other seconding.

The meeting at Sunderland was the "usual" Sunday evening gathering, but for a town like Sunderland surprisingly small. From first to last the attention and interest were keen, and we had a prolonged discussion. At many other places, besides Sunderland, there is great need of the missionary spirit. Let us hope that the New I.L.P. Policy, when that has been adopted, will be the means of creating that spirit.

W.W.

CRUSADER CENTRES OF ACTION.

BIRMINGHAM—

Mrs. J. H. Dearne, 332 Moat Road., Warley, Langley, Birmingham.

BRITON FERRY—

Mr. D. Gibbon, Jesmond House, Waters St., Briton Ferry, Glam.

DUDLEY—

Mr. J. Downing, 86 Park Rd., Netherton, Nr. Dudley.
 Mr. W. E. Leedham, Canal Side, Netherton, Nr. Dudley.
 Mr. S. R. Tilley, 4 Hampton St., Netherton, Nr. Dudley.

DUMFRIES—

Mr. G. Douglas, 95 Queensberry Street, Dumfries.

FLEETWOOD—

Mr. A. L. Scholfield, "Sandholme," Abercrombie Road, Fleetwood, Lanes.

GLASGOW—

Mr. R. Barclay Murdoch, 48 Cumberland Street S., Glasgow.

GREENOCK—

Mrs. Blake, 18 Eldon Street, Greenock.

HEREFORD—

Mr. Edmund Jones, St. Omer, Whitehorse St., Hereford.

HORBURY—

Mr. A. Halstead, Austerland Villas, Middlestown, near Wakefield.

KETTERING—

Mr. J. C. Dempsey, Rothwell, Kettering.

LEICESTER—

Rev. Seaward Beddow, 108 London Road, Leicester.

LONDON—

Mr. G. Bickers, 133 Geere Road, Stratford, E. 15.
 Mr. G. P. Coverdale, 38 Glengall Road, S.E. 15.
 Miss E. Fall, 69 Morley Road, Stratford, E. 15.
 Miss E. Martin, 18 Avon Road, Walthamstow, E. 17.
 Mr. C. H. Offley, 43 Eastbourne Road, Tooting, S.W. 17.
 Rev. R. W. Sorensen, 31 Palmerston Road, Walthamstow, E. 17.

NELSON—

Mr. R. Bland, 203 Barkerhouse Rd., Nelson, Lancs.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—

Rev. J. C. Spokes, Cambridge House, Rowlands Hill, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

NEWPORT—

Mr. Trevor C. Griffiths, 40 Oakfield Road, Newport, Mon.

PENRITH—

Mr. F. Lester, Forest Mount, Penrith, Cumberland.

PERRANWELL—

Rev. F. Lee, Chycoose, Perranwell Station, Cornwall.

READING—

Mr. J. T. Hull, 89 Grange Avenue, Reading.

SCUNTHORPE—

Mr. C. Allcock, Rose Cottage, Ashby Rd., Old Brumby, Scunthorpe, Lincs.

SWADLINCOTE—

Mr. F. R. Mountford, 72 Wilmot Rd., Swadlincote, Burton-on-Trent.

SWINDON—

Mr. F. J. King, 181 Kingshill, Swindon.

These Crusader Centres of Action, as has been explained, are being organised with the object of enabling us at short notice to get into touch with various parts of the country, and, as occasion may demand, supply extra "Crusader" copies for special purposes. Volunteers are badly needed in the districts not yet represented and we should be glad to hear from readers who will act as our agents in their own localities.

THE WAR OFFICE AND OUR BOYS.

We read in the Press that the War Office is now granting 5s. per head for the Cadet battalions with an extra 1s. per head to the Territorial Association to which the unit is affiliated. Now to the King's Royal Rifles alone there are affiliated ninety-two Church Lads' Brigade battalions!

No wonder a minister groans as he sees a troop of boys with rifles go to a neighbouring church each Sunday. No wonder that we Explorers want more of our friends to give the "Explorer" to their young relatives and set the Guilds going.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE FUND.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Amount previously acknowledged	293	8	1	Mrs. Northern	5	0	
Anon.	1	10	0	Mr. E. C. Oakes and 3 friends.....	1	7	6
Mrs. Barratt.....	7	6		Mrs. M. V. Russell	1	6	0
C. of E.	10	0		Mr. A. Salmon.....	1	0	0
Mr. B. Davies	2	2	0	Miss Shipway	10	0	
Miss L. M. Deane	5	0		Miss E. K. Sinclair	4	6	
Mr. J. Greenhalgh	12	6		Mrs. Tritton	1	0	0
Do. (collected by)..	2	6		Mr. T. P. Veitch...	3	0	
Mrs. Harvey	2	0	0	Per Mr. W. Wellock	10	0	
Rev. E. Harvey ...	5	0		Miss K. Willison...	2	0	0
Mr. W. Hewitt	5	0		Mr. R. T. Wood...	1	0	0
Miss C. Mennell...	10	0					

BURGHLEY HALL FELLOWSHIP.

Dear Sir,—Last year you were good enough to insert a letter from me in the "Crusader," in which I appealed to your readers for help in our Sale of Work. A generous response was the result. May I ask that a similar favour may again be extended.

On Tuesday, December 21, we are holding a Sale of Work in Burghley Hall, and we rely upon the success of this to help us through a difficult period. The very boldness with which the doctrines of revolutionary Christianity has been taught both during and since the war has militated against our popularity, and although we have secured an important influence in the democratic movement in this part of East London, and have received the most generous help in service and money from our members, until such time as we can secure premises of our own, some outside support must be secured to enable us to carry on the work to which we feel we have been called. May I therefore appeal to your readers for their support in making this bazaar a success and to enable us to start the New Year's work with a balance in hand. Gifts of money, fancy goods, garments, books or Christmas food (cakes, jams, etc.) will be most gratefully received by Mrs. Woodruff, 9 Copeland Road, Walthamstow, E.17, or by yours in sincerity,

J. CLIFFORD ROWE.

31 Dangan Road, Wanstead, E.11.
November 8, 1920.

POSITION WANTED, any suitable capacity; Draughtsman 11 years' experience, principally electrical; good correspondent; propaganda secretary of most active I.L.P. branch in London.—J.H.D., 33 Chelsham Road, S.W.4.

WHAT WAR MEANS.—A Series of Lunch Hour Addresses on this subject will be given at Devonshire House, 136 Bishops-gate, E.C.2., from 1.20 to 1.50 p.m., on Mondays, November 15 to December 20 inclusive. November 22: "What War Means in Religion," by Carl Heath.

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY ORDER OF SERVICE, Mortimer Hall, 93 Mortimer Street, W. (near Queen's Hall). A course of PUBLIC LECTURES on "Universal Brotherhood" every Tuesday at 8 p.m. November 23: Speaker, Major H. BARNES, M.P.; solo pianist, Isobel Gray. Admission free.

A LECTURE by
BISHOP GORE, D.D.,
ON
What I think of National Guilds,

AT THE SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE,
SOUTH PLACE, MOORGATE STREET, E.C.,
on Wednesday, November 24, at 8 p.m.

Tickets 2/- and 1/- at door, and from National
Guilds League, 39 Cursitor Street, E.C.

S.O.S.

In accepting the stall at the Green, White and Gold Fair of the Women's Freedom League, we confidently rely upon our friends to

STOCK OUR STALL.

We are, therefore, sending out this very urgent call.

Will every Crusader feel a personal responsibility for sending at least one gift—socks, stockings, gloves, or any useful personal or household requisite.

The demand for home-made cakes, sweets, jams, and pickles always far exceeds the supply. New and second-hand books are also asked for.

The Fair is a great opportunity for getting delightful and unusual Christmas presents.

A GOOD IDEA.

Friends unable to send goods have sent us sums amounting to £1 towards furnishing the stall.

The Sale will be held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on November 26th and 27th, opening each day at 3 p.m.

Please send all non-perishable goods to this office **NOW** and up to November 22nd, and—

COME AND BUY.

OUR LETTER BOX.

Some individual or individuals, following the example of our Imperialists and Capitalists, betook themselves, on Monday morning last, to breaking into other people's property. Unfortunately, our Letter Box suffered. We are still in ignorance as to how many thousands of pounds we have thereby lost or what priceless manuscripts will now fail to reach us! Will correspondents who have communicated with us but receive no reply please take notice. Also we should be glad to receive the numbers of any cheques or postal orders sent.

TWEEDS.—Any length cut. Suitings, Costumes, Overcoatings, Ladies Coats. Patterns sent on application.—R. A. Anderson, 21 St. Andrew Street, Galashiels.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

CRUSADER STALL

AT THE

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE
Green, White & Gold Fair,
Nov. 26 and 27.

**CAXTON HALL,
WESTMINSTER.**

Admission (including Tax): Friday, 3 p.m., 2/6;
after 5 p.m., 1/3; All Day Saturday, 1/3.

COME & BUY YOUR CHRISTMAS PRESENTS.

SIDELIGHTS.

How Capitalism Exploits the Prince of Wales.

[The writer of this article originally went to India as a missionary. His experiences there taught him that the economic exploitation and the political subjection of the Indian people by the British Government made the preaching of the Christian message by Englishmen hypocritical, unless they did all in their power to remove these injustices. Consequently, Mr. Andrews has taken a leading part in the Indian agitation, and has visited South Africa and the Fiji Islands on behalf of the Indians there. His reports upon the scandalous conditions under which they were employed were chiefly responsible for obtaining substantial improvements. Mr. Andrews has now resigned his position on the staff of the London Missionary Society, and is devoting all his time to championing the cause of the Indian workers.]

I wish to call immediate attention to the peculiarly mean way in which the Prince of Wales is being utilised by capitalist politicians in order to buttress up an extremely profitable, but degrading system for supplying cheap Indian labour to the Colonies—the main profits from which swell the dividends of the British shareholders in Sydney and London.

The Prince has called at two Crown Colonies hitherto, at both of which Indian indentured labour has, in the past, been exploited with disastrous moral results to the Indians themselves, and not infrequently with fabulous money profits to the sugar companies concerned. The iniquitous system of the indentured "Coolie traffic" has now been stopped, but immense subsidised efforts are being made in London and elsewhere to bring about some form of renewal of Indian labour recruiting for these Colonies. No stone is being left unturned; and, with a capitalist Government strongly entrenched at Westminster, there is always the possibility of succeeding.

It is peculiarly odious, however, to find the Prince of Wales used as a mouthpiece. In Fiji, there was no opportunity allowed him of meeting the self-respecting Indians who have been disgusted at the racial treatment meted out to them, making them inferior to the Fijians and Polynesians, compelling them on all occasions for months together to go about the streets with a ticket of leave. The prince has been furnished with an altogether one-sided view of what had taken place. He declared (and good care was taken by Reuter to cable his words immediately all over the world) that he was glad to find that there was no racial question involved in the recent Indian disturbances. A glance at the Statute Book of the Fiji Government for the year 1920 would have shown him what a monstrous lie was being put into his mouth.

Furthermore, we have just had a second cablegram sent all over the civilised world concerning the condition of Indian labourers in Trinidad. Their treatment has been most carefully and impartially examined by a Commissioner sent from Canada in 1916. This very able inquirer bore out by his investigations most of what I had already discovered in Fiji concerning the indenture system there—though it should be clearly understood that the evils in Trinidad were not so acute as those in Fiji. Yet the Prince of Wales, on landing at Port of Spain, Trinidad, had put into his mouth what amounts to an advertisement for further Indian labour recruiting.

"The Renown," we read, "anchored in the roadstead this morning (September 17) and the Prince of Wales had an enthusiastic reception from a large crowd when he landed. Reply ing to an address by the Governor at Parliament House, the Prince referred to the fact that Trinidad provided new opportunities for the progress and well-being of a large immigrant population from India, which he hoped to visit ere long."

There is not a word here condemning the iniquities of the indenture system under which this large immigrant population came out, or congratulating the Colony on getting rid of it; there is no word about the wretched conditions under which the Indians here lived, such as Mr. Dobbs, the Commissioner from Canada, has described; but, instead of this, an obvious attempt has been made to whitewash the past and prepare the way for fresh immigration of Indian Labour in the future.

The Futility of Force.

Writing in the "Workers'-Dreadnought" (Nov. 13, 1920) the Rev. Gilbert T. Sadler, M.A., answers the question "How are

we to secure the land and factories for popular use and control except by force?" He says:—

I reply, by a series of spiritual, non-violent methods:—

(1) Education. Plan the New Order reasonably, and teach it to all. The New Order will have no State, which is based on force, but be a Co-operative Commonwealth of free groups or guilds of work, with pensions for all at an early date. Each guild will manage its own affairs and pensions. Prices will be controlled by representatives of the public (consumers) and the Guild, in each case. The force-method is a stupid hurry-method. It is putting the roof on before you have laid the foundations—to be "Irish." In other words it won't work.

(2) The General Strike: not a local or sectional strike, or one of the "Triple Alliance," but one of all who seek a just and jolly new England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland—and World! The strike is not force. It is a refusal to work for wages for landlords and companies. There are here 66,000 Limited Companies, with a paid-up capital of £3,210,000,000. We can't buy them out. We want to turn each into a group of workers, and co-ordinate them into guilds, with prices fixed from time to time. We can strike to work no longer for freeholders and shareholders. (I say this, though it hits myself.) We want brotherly groups, not competing interests of idle or active shareholders and workers. We want one Commonwealth Bank, not the banks now living by interest, which is unearned.

(3) Pension off the freeholders and shareholders. Let us be harsh to no one: but not compensate them, for the old system of rent and interest and profits, though not all evil, was, and is for the most part, unjust exploitation.

Now, you say the rich will not come into such a New Order without using force. Try it and see! Seek a spiritual revival on these lines. The Russian Revolution of March, 1917, was not by force. The soldiers also "struck work." They refused to act for Czarism any more. But when Lenin and his friends seized the Government and used force to seize lands and bank balances and to disarm all others, endless wars arose, and the Capitalist States of France and Britain backed up the local capitalism and landlordism in Russia. There is no end to the pagan futile force-method. It has been war for three years—and so the misery (due to the great war and blockade) could not there be repaired in Russia.

"White Fox" on the Trail of the Militarist.

In the November number of "The Trail" "White Fox" writes with regard to the militarism of the Scout movement. He says:—

"No man can serve two masters. . ."

I suggest to you that you cannot work towards world unity and brotherhood through, and by, bloodshed.

You cannot say "We work for the brotherhood of man" and with the same breath "We fight for our Empire above all else."

To do so must either show a dishonest mental outlook or an unbalanced mentality. You cannot have it both ways. You cannot sit on the fence. Either Jesus the Carpenter was right and you follow Him towards a united fellowship of the world, or you must work against that fellowship. I suggest that the policy (or want of policy) in the directive management of the Scout movement tries to stand on two stools: one labelled "World Brotherhood," the other labelled "Our Empire First!" I suggest that this is an unstable position.

Wanted—A Prophet!

The Rev. Professor Cairns, D.D., said the other day that the calamity of the Labour and industrial movement was that it had no great religious prophet. We only reply that if the vacancy is there it is not the fault of the Labour movement. Religious prophets should come from the Church. But they have not come. They have remained aloof. Compared with the Founder of the Faith they stand in a bad light. What does the Church believe about Capitalism? Will any responsible ecclesiastic declare his belief in it or explain his silence on it? Will any Church professor or other authority show to us wherein our ideals for a Co-operative Commonwealth are un-Christian or unmoral? Will no Church look on the "harassed and neglected" poor of our day and lead them out of their darkness into light?—"Forward" (Glasgow).

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(Registered as a Newspaper)

Twopence.



The Outlook.

THE theatrical display of precaution on behalf of the Houses of Parliament and Downing Street can deceive only those who desire to be deceived. The erection of a barricade, suggesting the advance in force on Downing Street of a Sinn Fein contingent, would, one might think, cover those responsible with ridicule. But Mr. Lloyd George knows his public and is well aware of its fondness for ghost stories, blood-curdling hints, and all the paraphernalia of the terror-monger. That Sinn Fein may carry on in this country the system of reprisals which it has, unhappily, adopted in Ireland is not at all incredible, but it is just as incredible that any such designs would be frustrated by the measures taken by our melodramatic Government.

FOR every reason we deplore the shooting of the British officers whose bodies were carried in procession a few days ago through London. Nothing can do so much harm to the cause it was meant to assist, and no excuse of provocation can cover such an act. But there is something particularly repugnant in the tendency to exploit Death for political purposes. The procession referred to

was nothing else than an anti-Sinn Fein Demonstration. All the eloquence of Marc Anthony declaring that he came but "to bury Cæsar" would not remove the unpleasant impression that the funeral in question was an attempt to counteract the political influence of the procession which followed MacSwiney's body.

AT last our commercial and industrial interests are beginning to feel the depression that has been so long prophesied. In this connection we cannot do better than make our own certain remarks which appeared in last Sunday's "Observer":—

"The acute depression in British industry has begun to force itself upon the most casual eye. Those who are nearest to 'the pulse of the machine' appear to be the most deeply concerned as to the range and duration of the crisis. The most optimistic authorities do not conceal from themselves that there is a bad time coming. The kind of trouble once expected as the first fruits of a European war has still to be reaped as its aftermath—with such mitigation only as genuine wisdom can contrive. We have watched in the affairs of others the destruction of corporate wealth working itself out in the prostration of corporate life. Any who thought we lay beyond the orbit of that danger have grossly deceived themselves. Even if we could miraculously spare the thousands of millions of our own war expenditure, we should still have to share the strain of our neighbours' impoverishment. There is no cordon sanitaire against economic debility. However obstinately the nations remain disparate in will, they cannot escape the physical reality of interdependence. Their jealous souls are housed in a common body. The low vitality of Continental Europe is registering itself in every department of British business, and the outlook now confronting us ought to purge every political mind of pettiness and prepossession."

We endorse Mr. Garvin's belated wisdom, but we have a shrewd suspicion that, though he may use the same terms as ourselves, we might not unfairly address him in the words of a certain comic song—"I don't mean what you mean."



Possessions

It seems taken for granted by a certain school of thinkers that the possessive instinct is to be condemned without any recommendation to mercy. Bertrand Russell's "Social

Reconstruction" is based on this assumption, and the same idea inspired the title of Mr. Tawney's recently published book, "Our Acquisitive Society."

Such wholesale condemnation is surely too hasty. A motive which forms so large a part of human nature as does the desire to acquire possessions, must mean something more than mere vulgar greed.

It is characteristic of the sanity of Jesus that His treatment of this subject is positive and constructive. He pronounces no unconditional condemnation of the possessive instinct, but endeavours to direct it to more fruitful channels. "Lay up for yourselves treasures in Heaven," He says. And His question to the profiteers shows that He realised that, though their passion was a warped one, it was not altogether bad. Addressing them in the terms of their own commercialism He asks: "What does it profit a man if he gain the whole world?"

It is not the possessive instinct that is wrong but our conception of what constitutes possession. Our idea of wealth is too legal and not sufficiently personal. Our property should be an extension of our bodies. I want my house, my tools, my land to be related to my inner self as my limbs are. To be really mine they must have grown into me and I into them. In such manner also would I own my friends. They should form my larger self—the inalienable extension of my own personality.

One of the real values of the property instinct is its demand for permanence of possession. Only that belongs to me which is a part of me and therefore mine for ever or until I voluntarily relinquish possession. And that is a demand we should all have the faith and courage to make regarding the whole Universe. There was a time when the sight of a sunset fading in the West could cause me acute suffering. The thought of such beauty being doomed to pass for ever from my sight could scarcely be borne. I want the courage to refuse to say goodbye to any gleam of beauty or love that I meet with. It is—if I did but realise it—eternally mine, and neither life nor death can separate me from it. I cannot rest in any other faith. In the final ingathering of the glory of life I believe I shall miss the least of the stars that have shone upon my path and be restless until it is restored to me. Property to-day is all too casual, temporary and external. Its insecurity causes us to seize it with feverish haste and hug it with a feverish passion. Because we have no faith that what is given us is given for ever, we rush to absorb all its value in the

immediate present, like a dog gulping a meal lest another dog should steal it. This unbelief in the security of our possessions is the cause of our greed and lust.

Only with possession in the deepest and truest sense of the word comes a due sense of responsibility. Because we own property in a merely legal and temporary form we play with it, recklessly squandering the wealth of forests and mines regardless of any object other than our own immediate profit. It is not property but the absence of property that is the matter with the mass of men. I want every man to feel that the mountains and the seas, the wealth of the mines and the golden glory of the corn fields are a part of himself. I want every child to feel that the fields in which he plays belong to him and are a permanent part of his life and of himself.

Communism is not the destruction of property it is the realisation of what property means. It will give us, I am convinced, a new relationship to the world in which we live and to the wealth created by our fellows for our use and enjoyment. The sense of personal identification which the inhabitant of a cathedral city has with the building that glorifies his city is much nearer the real spirit of possession than anything experienced by the capitalist in regard to the jerry-built villas which he buys and sells—at a profit.

I look forward to the day when the sense of property will be deepened and enriched beyond present imagining, when we shall know that the very stars are ours, and when all the sons and daughters of Earth shall be our possession. In that day Communism will extend its sphere to the very throne of God and a united Humanity shall cry—"OUR Father!"

THE TRAMP.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

MRS. SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON will open her series of meetings this evening (Friday), when she speaks at the Friends' Meeting House, Hampstead, at 8 p.m. Other London public meetings are:—

Sunday, Dec. 5, at 3.30: Southgate Rd., The Brotherhood Church; at 8: Leytonstone, Burghley Hall, High Road.

Monday, Dec. 6, at 6.15: The Minerva Café, 144 High Holborn; at 8 p.m.: Walthamstow, Truro Road Free Christian Church (with Rev. R. W. Sorensen).

Wednesday, Dec. 8, at 7.45: The LARGE MEMORIAL HALL, MISS MARGARET BONDFIELD, The REV. STANLEY B. JAMES and F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE also speak.

Thursday, Dec. 9, at 8 p.m.: Bermondsey, The Town Hall (with Dr. Salter).

Friday, Dec. 10, at 8 p.m.: Tottenham, The Friends' Meeting House.

Sunday, Dec. 12; at 3 p.m.: Camberwell, The Baths; at 8 p.m.: Bow, Kingsley Hall (with Muriel Lester).

BILL DISTRIBUTION AND CLERICAL WORK. In view of these meetings and of the work of the Children's Hospitality Committee we are in very urgent need of help at the offices. Workers are especially asked to come on Friday evenings after 5 p.m. and on Saturday mornings.

ROOMS TO LET. We have to add to our list of rooms to which F.O.R. members and friends would be welcome as tenants two very nicely furnished rooms in West Hampstead at 17s. 6d. per week.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

Two Internationals.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

During the past few days we have had an opportunity to watch and compare the proceedings of two important international conferences—the League of Nations and the International Federation of Trade Unions. I had almost written the “so-called League of Nations,” but I was prevented from so doing by the reflection that in fairness to both bodies I should also have had to write “so-called” before the International Trade Union Congress. For in both cases there were vacant chairs around the conference table, and in both cases those vacant places represented a considerable portion of the so-called “civilised” world. (There the adjective is quite justified).

I had intended devoting equal space to each of these bodies in separate reviews of their work, but somehow the two seem so very much akin in many respects that I find it difficult to separate them. Of course, this will shock some of my good Labour readers, but I ask them to bear with me to the end while I endeavour to show that both the League of Nations Assembly and the International Trade Union Congress contain within them evil influences which prevent them from carrying out their declared intentions. The League of Nations was formed in order to “make war impossible” in the future. The International Trade Union movement has frequently declared itself out for the same purpose; at the London conference last week the representatives of over 24½ millions of Trade Unionists in seventeen countries pledged themselves against war. But when the real testing time comes both bodies fail to act on their declared principles. Why?

In common with the vast majority of members of the Labour movement, I find it impossible to muster up the smallest grain of faith in the League of Nations as at present constituted. On the contrary, I believe its existence to be more of a hindrance than a help to world peace. It has deliberately thrown over every one of the principles which rallied people of good will to its banner at its inception; and it is impossible to read the published accounts of its proceedings without a feeling of despair for a world governed by the spirit displayed by the members of the League. But is the International Labour movement altogether free from this or a very similar spirit?

The League of Nations will not admit Russia or Germany to membership. The reasons are clear in the case of both countries: in the one it is fear of this awful doctrine of Communism and its consequence to the capitalist system, in the other it is the bitterness of racial animosity. Russia and America were not represented at the Trade Union International, and for exactly opposite reasons: Russia would not send delegates because the Congress was too “reactionary”; America refused to be represented because the Congress was too “revolution-

ary”! Is there any fundamental difference between the spirit animating the League of Nations on the one hand, and the Russian and American Trade Unionists on the other? I think not. I am well aware of the fact that there is a big difference between the outlook of the two bodies, but if I am frank with myself I am bound to admit that jealousy, and bitterness and fear among the workers of the world are infinitely more harmful than the same evils among the elderly jingoes and reactionaries of the world. After all, “ye are many, they are few.”

Some excellent speeches were made and drastic resolutions were passed at the Trade Union International. M. Jouhaux, in his fine speech of welcome to the delegates, said their first desire was to “re-establish the idea of international fraternity and solidarity among the workers,” and that nothing short of this, together with the socialisation of the means of production and distribution, would save the world. These sentiments were embodied in the resolutions passed, and a strong anti-war resolution was also passed unanimously. But is the Trade Union International at present a more effective instrument than the League of Nations for securing the peace of the world? It is begging the question to reply that it would be if it were rightly used, for the same reply fits the case of the League of Nations. My own view is that the answer is in the negative.

I should like to persuade myself that the fine speeches and resolutions passed at the Trade Union International reflected the views of the 24,618,000 Trade Unionists whose organisations were represented, but truth compels one to admit that they did not. True, they represented a large and ever-growing volume of opinion in the Trade Union movement in every country, but there is an enormous amount of educational work to be done among Trade Unionists before we can truly say that they are fully alive to all that is implied in such terms as “international fraternity and solidarity.” For proof of this assertion we need only point to the existence of over six million Trade Unionists in our own country. Six million people in Great Britain with a firm grip on the full significance of “international fraternity and solidarity,” demanding the socialisation of the means of production and distribution, and pledged against war!

O! that it were true! There would be no need for the “Crusader”—and I would remove myself and my very much better half and the laddie and my books to some quiet spot where “politics” were barred and one could earn one’s bread and cheese by sawing wood, and spend one’s spare time searching for the eggs laid by The Tramp’s speckled hen!

But the grim fact we have to face is that there was never more urgent need for the message of the “Crusader” to be carried to the workers of the world than there is to-day.

The Crusader

Friday, December 3rd, 1920

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To the Secretary,
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THE CRUSADE.

At the very time when we are feeling acutely the difficulty of maintaining our existence the call to larger work becomes clamorous. We refer to the work which is being done in different parts of the country by our speakers. The accounts which they bring back indicate the existence of a mass of thought and feeling in Churches, Socialist and Labour bodies, Adult Schools, and other quarters, which only needs leadership to become an effective force. There is an unparalleled opportunity of creating a strong, deep movement centring around Jesus Christ and applying His mind to the whole world situation. We want to be able to go out North, South, East, and West kindling the flame of a holy enthusiasm, interpenetrating existing bodies and, through the "Crusader," federating these scattered forces. It is always easier for those engaged in work of this kind to realise its importance than it is for them to bring it before the imagination of others. We can only say that—

We know this work is waiting to be done.

We believe we have been called to do it.

We are unaware of any other group whose province we should be invading or who would assume responsibility for it if we should fail.

We only need the means to augment our forces and increase our activities.

"CRUSADER" STALL.

We wish to thank all friends who so generously helped us with goods and donations to furnish our Stall at the Women's Freedom League Fair. It was a monument of personal effort and self-sacrifice.

After all expenses are paid we have £22 15s. 0d. to add to our funds, and possibly a few pounds more from sales to country members.

The Balance Sheet is as follows:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Donations ...	3	5	0	Expenses ...	2	5	0
Takings at Sale ...	21	15	0½				

Total £25 0 0½

Total £2 5 0

To "Crusader" Fund, £22 15s. 0½d.

We are greatly indebted to one of our subscribers, Miss Cope, for a beautiful oil painting in colour of our frontispiece illustration. The banner, hung above our stall, was most effective and very much admired. It is indeed a work of art, and love.

We are glad to be able to announce that among other writers, Mr. Jerome K. Jerome has promised an article for our Christmas Number, which will be published December 17th. We want to achieve record sales with this issue, and trust a large number of our readers will be able to increase their orders for this week.

FEED THE MACHINES THE TWO-SHIFT SYSTEM.

The cry, "Feed the Guns," has given place now to the demand, "Feed the Machines." These money-making monsters must be kept going at all times, regardless of the health and happiness of the unfortunate human tools who feed them.

In spite of the fact that the clause permitting the employment of women and young persons on the two-shift system was deleted from the Washington Convention Bill by a large majority, the Departmental Committee which is considering the question is doing its best to make the clause operative.

This will mean that women and young girls of 16 years of age work in two shifts, 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. and 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. The overhead expenses of the employers will be considerably reduced and their profits considerably increased. But these patriots who are crying, "Produce, Produce," will pocket profits undeterred, and many of their victims will be forced to forego dreams and aspirations.

How can tired little wage slaves who finish work at 10 p.m. every alternate week take advantage of any school under the Education Act?

And, after waking at 4 a.m. and working from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m., what energy will they have for any form of self-development?

At a conference on this subject last week Dr. Marion Phillips stated a strong case against the two-shift system, viz.: The impossibility of getting regular meals and the resulting ill-health. The disadvantage of working many hours in artificial light. The impossibility of thorough ventilation and cleansing when workshops and factories are continuously occupied.

The additional burden for the mother at home who has to prepare meals at all hours of the day. The general unsettlement and impossibility of any social life.

So far as the seasonal trades are concerned, Dr. Marion Phillips stated that the tendency would be to take advantage of the double shift and compress work into a short period. Double the number of people would be drawn into the trade for a brief season, and would then be thrown out of work for a longer period.

Unless pressure is brought to bear from all quarters the powers that be will have permission to experiment for five years. After that time it will not easily be broken down. To the passing of many resolutions there seems no end, but if all Crusaders would move a resolution of protest in their respective societies and forward a copy to the Home Office and to the Member for their constituency, the cumulative effect added to other efforts would probably tell.

It is up to Crusaders to make an effort to protect the thousands of girls and women, who will otherwise be relentlessly caught in the grip of money-making monsters whose creed is "Feed my Machines."

THE PLOUGHMAN.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

There is an amusing and welcome little article in the "Challenge," asking why Bibles are always bound in black. Yes, why? Go into a shop where religious books are sold, ask to see a Bible, and you will be conducted in a sort of "felt-slippered" manner to a cupboard with glass doors. In awful silence the doors are opened and you are introduced to a pile of Bibles of various sizes, each garbed as for funeral rites. The shopman may smile pleasantly when he is selling you some other book, but never when he holds a Bible in his hand—a glance at the cover forbids all smiling. And he tells you the price as though he were speaking to you at the grave-side. Really it is all very funny. You look round the shop and notice the attractive covers of the other books displayed for sale, and you are inclined to say with this writer in the "Challenge," "Why, oh! why, is the Book of books condemned to the eternal captivity of mourning?"

"Go back to the old, old days," says he. "Watch the monks spending hours and hours of patient toil in illuminating and lettering their Bibles and Missals in scarlet, and blue and gold, on pages of vellum. Nothing was too good for them, and they never lost sight of the fact that gloom is not goodness, and solemnity is not seriousness." We commend these thoughts to that excellent institution, the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The "Church Times" has distinguished itself again and again lately by openly condemning the reprisals which our pagan rulers permit in Ireland. But its protests have drawn down upon the head of the editor the usual laughable shower of angry mud from the heavenly places where dwell those blinded beings, the super-patriots, who firmly believe they defend their country when they attack those who would make her better. The Rev. Arthur M. Bolland writes from the Rectory, Hinderwell. And this is what he says about the very Christian letter signed by the seventeen Bishops, the letter I quoted last week: "Anything more absurd and mischievous than this pronouncement of the seventeen bishops could scarcely be conceived. Seventeen egregious old men sitting in a circle with folded hands and eyes raised to heaven and gently murmuring such fatuous flapdoodle as 'Let there be a truce on both sides.' . . . Let me tell you, sir, that we find it impossible to find words to express our burning contempt for that cold, clammy, jelly-bag sentimentality that is always on the side of the criminals, and particularly so if they happen to be anti-British . . . Your attitude in the present condition of affairs is distinctly seditious . . . But have a care, England is patient, very patient, but there is a limit, and I venture to predict that when stern, tight-lipped Englishmen pour over into Ireland to punish the cold-blooded cowardly assassins it will be to execute justice on the baser criminals of whom these are but tools." As far as I can

gather his meaning from what he says, the good rector of Hinderwell refers to certain unnamed persons at the Vatican in Rome when he speaks of the "baser criminals." The rector is evidently a keen Protestant as well as a keen patriot. He winds up with a perfect stinger: "This letter is intended for your readers, but I rather gather it is not your custom to publish letters you disagree with." However, the editor, seeing that he could not have written anything himself so damaging to the cause of his opponents, has printed the letter.

* * *

Once more I must speak of the weekly article of the Former Berlin Correspondent of the "Christian World." Can nothing persuade this writer to moderate his attitude towards our late enemies? No one else continues to write calling upon the Germans to confess as their own crime what was the crime of us all, for everybody now knows and acknowledges that Allied diplomacy as well as German diplomacy had a very real part in bringing about the war. Why, then, continue for ever and a day the absurd demand that Germany must show signs of repentance before we can forgive her, or speak in a friendly way to her people? The thing is too utterly ridiculous to be kept up. Siegmund Schultze, a pacifist in Germany, has been writing to say just this, and he carries the argument forward by adding: "To have brought about the Peace of Versailles is no less guilty an action than to have caused the war." Surely we all recognise the justice of such a remark, for it states only the terrible truth of the case. All decent men who know anything about the Treaty of Peace are ashamed of it. But the writer in the paper I have before me, having quoted at length Siegmund Schultze's argument, sums up the whole matter in words which seem to me to bury alive every generous impulse. This is his concluding paragraph: "To hold up so sorry an example of German obscurantism is not a pleasant task, especially when some of our most valued leaders and best men are seeking reconciliation, looking for foundations upon which to rebuild the old feelings of friendliness. Our aim is to warn those who may be inclined to think that the time has come at last for extending the hand of fellowship to a people who, on the showing of one of their leaders, are wholly unprepared to accept it." I trust I may be allowed to say I know that many people have been waiting patiently for months hoping against hope that this kind of thing would cease to appear in the columns of our influential contemporary, the "Christian World." It seems to me that it does a great deal of harm, and humiliates all who bear the Christian name, when a writer in a widely circulated religious journal persists for years after the conclusion of peace in warning his readers against entering into friendly relations with the people with whom his country has been at war.

A Crusader Looks at the World.

I.—MANCHESTER.

To arrive in Manchester on a foggy Sunday afternoon, when all its citizens are emerging from fire-side armchairs and post-prandial sleep to a wise interest in the tea-kettle, and to find oneself outside these intimacies and at the mercy of a hotel, is an experience calculated to test the optimism of the cheerfullest. A first impression! The dark, heavy buildings, deserted streets, cold blanket of fog. One began to understand why the Manchester school of dramatists had given their dismal studies of sordid lives; one noted it mentally as one of the places from which no good thing could come. The hotel herded impressions into the background; its comfort was emphasised by the feeling of the darkness and discomfort outside; it had the concentrated security of a watchfire in the midst of the jungle. Light and heat, food and hot baths, spacious rooms and the comfortable trappings of civilisation; the senses were lulled and the darkness forgotten.

It was morning before the city asserted itself again. From the window its roofs loomed or were lost in that eternal fog; one tower stood up between us and the angry, red eye of the sun; then everything was obliterated again. A telephone offered the happiest means of communication with that outside world, and one crouched back in the comfort. The newspapers were a part of that outer region of misery. I found that my fellow-guests turned from them to the illustrated weeklies which reflected life at ten thousand per annum incomes. "The Midland" was constructed to keep out the cold.

Out in the streets again one thought of finding the "sights," of becoming better acquainted with the city, but there is something incredibly difficult in getting around a strange town when it is wrapped in fog. If this be true of most places it is doubly true of Manchester, where the great blocks of commercial buildings looked imposingly like civic architecture. The search for some expression of the communal life of this city became phantasmagoric. The piled Scotch-gothic buildings lured one down street after street, only to discover that their rather meaningless little towers and turrets covered yet another suite of offices, a bank, an insurance block.

Respite: The Art Gallery boasted, not undeservedly, an exhibition of modern pictures, and through its portals one again forgot the hustling, harassed people, and the dark streets. Art shares Arnold's dictum of being a criticism of life. Here from the walls cried out Maresco Pearce's studies of streets—the streets we know in London—grown suddenly gay with colour and moving kaleidoscopic crowds; two or three canvases of Walter Bayes gave his peculiarly personal vision and rhythmic understanding to scenes and figures; a Jagger portrait threw out a vivid personality; and chief of all the joy and beauty of the Russian Ballet was echoed in the vibrant colour of Laura Knight's works. "Echoed" is not the right term, for a work of art has qualities which intensify and clarify the thing which inspires it, and Laura Knight has added to the rhythmic beauty of the Russian Ballet, "not a fourth note but a star." Here is all the joy of

dance, colour, movement, music, interpreted in paint through the medium of the artist's vision: a terrible criticism of that dead life outside and a hint of the right direction for personality. One understood what Bertrand Russell meant in his essay, "A Free Man's Worship," when he stated that in the realm of the mind the artist could work untrammelled by the materialism which at every other turn hems in the human spirit. It is in a work of art that the most intense expression of individuality and the most intense communism can meet. "I shall die unless I do find some mate to whisper to" is the urge which causes the artists to re-express the beauty or emotion which has meant so much to his or her own soul. So with these brilliant and beautiful re-interpretations of one art in the terms of another, Laura Knight speaks to Manchester of the essential things left unrecorded in the ledgers.

One felt sad that these pictures will probably drift into the private collections of connoisseurs. All great and good art should belong to the people, and it is a short-circuiting of the aesthetic joy that the appeal should be limited to those who can pay.

Out in the streets again, the people to whom Laura Knight's vision was an unheeded necessity seemed doubly drab after that peep into the high places of art. The public monuments, the street statues, were so awful as to have aroused the indignity even of the town's own newspapers, for a correspondence was raging concerning their vile-ness. Toward afternoon I escaped to the station and settled into the luxury of the home-going train.

This city is one of the pivotal points of our civilisation: through its business houses vast sums are handled, enormous distribution of the things of our modern needs take place. I had not really penetrated its depths; indeed, my flying visit had been confined to the few "best" streets. But the picture left on my mind of this hub of commercial England gave a complete microcosm of the life of the country. The standard of values which permits us to accept as possible so hideous a phenomenon, the lack of vision which makes ugliness so endurable, the ignorance of life which turns the whole of our civilisations into soot-grimed commercial blocks; these things are ultimately unendurable.

Manchester showed me two ways out. One way, the selfish luxury of the hotel, with its comforts for the few, its diverting of so much of human energy and civilised acquisitiveness to satisfying the personal wants of the fortunate. The other was the artist's way of beauty—the personal consecration of time and talent to a vision, and its expression in terms which will bring it to one's fellows. Either process, or both, may be subconscious; but they are none the less vitally different. Material self-security, or a belief in and consecration to some compelling vision of truth or beauty gleaming high out of the dust of the commonplace, these are the lines of choice. Ruskin would have called them the way of life and the way of death. Perhaps the way of Manchester and the way of beauty would be synonymous.

HORACE SHIPP.

Studies in the Declaration of Dependence.

VIII.—THE DISCIPLINE OF PREPARATION.

Faith in God for the dispossessed must mean faith in themselves and their destiny.—DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE.

Critics sometimes write accusing the "Crusader" of being too partisan. They say that the workers are as much to blame as the Capitalist for the present condition of society. Our friends make the mistake of imagining that when we attribute the world's sufferings to Capitalism we are putting the whole responsibility upon the Capitalist. Capitalism is a system upheld both by the possessing class and by the proletariat. The motive may be different in the two cases, but there can be no doubt that the system has imprinted itself upon the characters of both sections. In the first case it has created the unpleasant and essentially immoral and irreligious plutocratic type—"the hard faced men." In the other case we have all those menial and servile traits against which Nietzsche girds and which he wrongfully attributes to Christianity. The mass of the people are not in revolt against Capitalism; they are only in revolt against the bad luck which has made them the losers in the Capitalistic gamble. They have consented to be duped and betrayed. And when at last light has dawned upon them they have shirked the discipline which might have made their passion an effective revolutionary force.

The crime of the Capitalist system is that it divorces privilege from responsibility. The possession of the means of production is not held to carry with it any special duties to the community. Society does not ask of a rich man whether he made his money through the rack renting of slum property or through printing bibles. It is enough for society that he is rich. This divorce between privilege and social responsibility is equally present in the minds of those who belong to the expropriated. Their demand for a larger share of the world's wealth and a higher status is unaccompanied by any proportionate effort to fit themselves for the position they demand. They can shout or clap at meetings and demand the blood of the tyrants, but the steady spade work of organisation and education proves unattractive. Yet without these it is quite certain that the people will never secure permanent possession of the machinery of wealth-production.

1—There must be organisation—not merely for propaganda purposes, but for the actual work of taking over the control of affairs. We should have the men ready and in training for the more responsible posts. I would like to know that some people are already considering themselves as responsible for the conduct of the banking business during the period of transition and that they have their plans ready. I want to know that the programme of an entirely new education system is in being and that there are those who are perfecting their knowledge of this department with the clear consciousness that they may be called upon to-morrow to put their plans

in execution. How far have we got in preparation for the time when shipping, railways, mining, the textile industries will fall into our hands? To what extent are Co-operative Societies ready for the functions they may, quite suddenly, be called upon to exercise? In how many cases are Trade Unions looking towards and living for the time when disputes concerning wages will be swept off the board, and the order for a New World will be handed to them? The answer to these questions is discouraging in the extreme.

2—But obviously there needs a far higher standard of education than that reached at present. I am not speaking of education in the ordinary sense of the term. I mean education in the principles on which the new Society will be built, and in the history of Labour, and the technique of government. It is easier to get people to give to a collection than to prevail on them to attend a study circle, yet the latter may be a more urgent duty than financial assistance. It is so difficult to realise that we can give the labour of our minds and that intellectual effort is a duty. Ignorance and stupidity become crimes when the issues at stake are considered. The idea that the scientific treatment of religious and social questions is somehow opposed to the simplicity of the Faith and the enthusiasm of the humble is a tragic error. It is the incoherent inarticulate untrained advocate who creates confusion in the minds of the simple.

3—The third requirement should need no emphasis. The moral discipline necessary to fit us for the future is bound up with the two demands already made. To keep ourselves fit in mind and body by clean living, and to learn to co-operate in a spirit of good-will with all within the movement, is a *sine qua non* of carrying out the programme of preparation already outlined.

The question of a revolution by violence simply disappears in the face of these suggestions. A proletariat equipped in this manner and co-operating with the historical movement would be irresistible. No power on earth could prevent its triumph. Back of all these suggestions lies the presupposition of faith in ourselves. It is hard to shake off the belief, so insidiously instilled into our minds, that our present position is due to some innate inferiority! To overthrow that lie is our first duty.

In Ibsen's play, "The Pretenders," two rival claimants to the throne are contrasted. One has a superior legal claim, but is lacking in confidence. The other has a strong sense of destiny, and it is this sense of destiny that makes him master of the situation. We must possess a like faith in our own future. We must believe that we are called to control our own lives and the machinery of production. According to the strength of our faith shall we give ourselves to the discipline of preparation.

A MESSAGE

DR. ORCHARD

What makes the King's Weigh House pulpit so magnetic for all sorts of people in these days is its candour and conviction. You feel that here at least you come upon sincerity, which is a rare thing, not always to be found even in the House of God, and worth going far to seek, and that here also you hear a man who has thought things out to their final reality. "If only that were preached in every church!" exclaimed a woman after Dr. Orchard's sermon on the Sunday following Armistice Day. "There are times," the preacher had told his congregation, "when the prudent man keeps silence. What makes it difficult for him to speak is not that he is afraid, but that he wonders if it is of any use. If he is not a prophet and filled with that devastating fire of the Lord that nothing can stand against, he is terribly afraid of becoming a cynic or degenerating into that most horrible of all creatures, the man who is always complaining, and who would be quite upset if he could see anything hopeful coming over the horizon. I would much rather not say what I have to say to-night. I would much rather not say anything to the public again. I feel that one is almost an accomplice in the condition of things in speaking to the public at all. But the trouble is that nobody thinks it an evil time, and one wonders sometimes if one is sane."

The Lava Cooling.

"The war is over, and we are victorious, victory remains on the side of right, the devastating effects of the war are subsiding, the lava is cooling, the world is settling down, trade is restored to more normal conditions, the Labour extremists are quieter, there is no immediate threat of a strike, and direct action for the moment is forgotten. Even on the moral plane, hate is actually diminishing, even the professors have dared to speak a reconciling word, Germany may be included in the League of Nations. Religion, too, seems to be returning to a more normal state, Church life is reviving, services are better attended, devotion is keener, before another year the great majority of churches in this country may be united, their quarrels composed. How can we take a gloomy outlook? The evil of our times was not realised." (The preacher went on). "The great war had not been fought to an issue. He could understand those who felt that to be so even on military grounds. They knew now that it was nonsense to say that it was a war to end war. That was said just to rope people in. It had not ended war. There were some people who were not even sure that Germany was defeated. France was not sure, and he could understand France. France was afraid that, after all, Germany might recover and plan revenge. Until that open sore on the continent was healed there was no peace for Europe. He could understand those fellow Churchmen of his also—he liked their moral stiffness—who said that there had never been any real repentance, any complete national repudiation on the part of Germany of the crime of invading Belgium, of the breaches of military convention, of the invention of new

weapons of warfare. Ought we to have any dealing with an unrepentant people?"

The Prussian Mind.

"But some of them had deeper fears about the whole business. He supposed it was possible for some of those who hated the war to have the reasons for their protest against it misinterpreted. Some people were really against the war because they loved the type of thing that Germany stood for. On the contrary, there was nothing in all the world that he hated with so bitter a hatred. What he hated was not the thing as it appeared to the world, but the mind that made that sort of thing possible. It was the mind first of all that bound people, body and soul, to all that spur-clicking, sabre-rattling, parade-ground drilling business. The valuation of life by material possessions, the desire to dominate other people, and especially that most monstrous notion that might—the mere possession of power—constituted in a world order like ours the only sort of right to which appeal could be made, all this was hateful. And, moreover, had it been got rid of? Was not this state of mind a world disease? It came to its ripest manifestation in Prussia because there it found most congenial conditions of soil. It ought to be remembered that Prussia had once been overrun and ground to earth; previous to that the Prussians were an easy-going and sentimental race. But after that they said 'Never again!' and the schoolmaster became the soldier. In that nation there was a curious logical intensity. The moment this one thing had been decided, everything else was put on one side. It was a type of mind which could be extraordinarily liberal in matters of religion, and under that liberalism could carefully conceal a determination to cut out of the message of Jesus Christ, not only everything miraculous and supernatural, but everything which demanded an ethic that looked in the slightest degree unreasonable or crossed the national purpose. That was a state of mind which might commence quite innocently. It might commence with the idea that right must take might for its partner if it was to be maintained. But it had never been discovered where that argument might lead. That was precisely the thing that disfigured what had come to be called Bolshevism. With the sort of government on its economic side that they had in Russia at present he was in strong agreement. Ethically, he thought it far superior to our kind. But there again the doctrine of violence had come in, the idea that these things could not be attained and maintained except by force."

Might and Right.

"So the great issue of the war remained, and would return. It was not an obscure issue. We could all see the practical effect of the war policy. The use of force to resist force left the issue undetermined. In this world, if might and right were joined together, no one could tell where the one

AN EVIL TIME.

OF THE WAR.

ended and the other began. The use of force to defend the right brought inevitable complications. You were bound to come down to the level of your enemies and adopt their weapons. And you discovered that you had loaned something from hell and the devil wanted repayment with compound interest. The suggestion that force was neutral was academic. Of course force was neutral. The question was whether you had any right to use force upon a human creature. The idea that all force could be sacramentally used appeared to One Who was as high a sacramentalist as He could be the worst sort of blasphemy. Our Lord Jesus Christ put on the altar bread and wine, not dynamite and poison gas. Then, again, we had discovered that war inevitably brought the worst sort of men to its support. The crusades, with what chivalry and religious dedication they began, and in what utter evil they ended! The preacher spoke impartially because he did not belong to either of the political parties concerned, and had not been able to see very much difference between them, but he knew that the issue of this war was to sweep out of our political life men who were at any rate the soul of honour, and to put in their place men who seemed nothing but hard and callous and self-careful. It was the war which had given a great chance once again to the commercialising of the British Empire. It had created also that shameful and shuddering tragedy of Ireland. There, on the one hand, were the murders, and on the other hand, there were the reprisals, and these were murders too. Who would have thought, after all that heated discussion about reprisals a few years ago, that the subject would come up again as between two countries under the same Government? And so the force-obsession worked itself out. His assistant minister could tell them that in a preaching tour in Scotland he found that the young men would have nothing to do with his message; they regarded the idea of a Christian settlement of social disorder as sentimental nonsense, and believed that the only way to put things right was by violence and the shedding of blood."

The Next War.

"The late war had been described by Col. Repington—perhaps by a slip of the pen—as the **FIRST** world war. He did not know whether that meant that there was to be a second. But every war after this would be a world war. The closer relationship of nations one to another, their economic interdependence, made it necessary that every nation that wanted to be in the economic system after the war must be in the war itself. Even the League of Nations might have exactly the same result. What if it should be a case, not of one nation taking the ridiculous stand of refusing to submit its claims to arbitration, but exactly half the League? In the last great war nearly all the civilised nations were on one side, two only on the other. There was no guarantee that that would be so next time. What if England and America were on opposite sides! It was not only conceivable, but some people were

directly working for it. Supposing that next time it was a war between East and West, the East having learned our methods and copied our munitions? Poison gas had come to stay, and he doubted whether the League of Nations would stop its use. And there was a worse weapon, peculiarly of our own forging, that of the blockade. If the day should come when the nations resented England's place in the world, he could conceive them applying the blockade to this island, and we should starve within a few months. Then in the next war there was the question of the conscientious objector. He once asked General Smuts: 'What about the conscientious objector?' and the General replied, 'Don't, for heaven's sake, raise that problem.' The conscientious objector was going to be much more dangerous next time. Or perhaps there would be no conscientious objectors; the Church and ethical leaders might by their attitude have succeeded in knocking out the conscience and leaving in the objection. What we might see was the protest of individualism against society. We might see numbers of men claiming to belong to an international society and refusing to lift their hands against their comrades."

The Way of Escape.

"Men and women," Dr. Orchard concluded, "what are we to do? There was only one thing—to work for repentance and religion. And that repentance would have to be fairly thorough-going. It was, of course, nothing but national hypocrisy to believe that Germany was solely to blame for the war. But it was hypocrisy also to say that the financiers and ruling classes only were to blame for it. War came from pride and hate and fear. At the beginning of the war there was a letter in the 'Westminster Gazette'—written by a member of his own church, who had since died—urging that women in thousands should cross the North Sea and make themselves a camp between the two approaching forces, and there remain. It was not so mad that a sober paper like the 'Westminster Gazette' refused to put it in. War might have to be stopped by some dramatic action such as that. At all events, peace would have been infinitely different if we had any conception of forgiveness which was an understanding of how God operated. In Westminster Abbey we have buried 'the man who won the war.' But who was the man who made the war? It was you. It was me. It was because of the life we are willing to live, the ideas to which we paid tribute, the society which we acquiesced in. It may be that even yet the Lord will be gracious to a world lying visibly under His interdict. But we must get out of our present unbelief, and believe that Jesus Christ was the Eternal and Almighty God, and that in Him is the power to set the world free. Humanity stands at the cross roads. A little further on, maybe, is the Cross, and beyond it the resurrection. The other way is the way of compromise and leads at length to destruction. Let us pray."

Talks on Communism.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

Unfortunately, after I had delivered the bomb-shell described in my last article, my host became restless, and apparently disinclined to continue the discussion, for which I was sorry, as our talk had been confined to the negative side of the question at issue and broken off at the very point where the benefits of Communism might be seen. Moreover, I had to leave early next morning. Consequently I resolved to write my friend a letter, which I did after two or three days. It ran as follows:—

Dear friend,—I trust you will pardon this intrusion but I fear the talk we had the other evening may have had the effect of throwing your mind into a state of unnecessary alarm and unrest, a condition that a fuller discussion, and a description of the forces that the adoption of Communism would bring into play would, I feel sure, have allayed.

The point of view I would like to place before you is suggested by this question: Is it not the case that present day society is governed by a false or materialist conception of values? It is a startling thought, but perfectly true, that the supreme virtue in modern society is the possession of riches; and it is no less true that the chief evils of our time are due to that fact. All those activities which create soul, mind, personality are to-day at a discount, and even our education is becoming more and more "commercial," a means of enabling men and women to come out top dogs. Indeed, I am sure you will agree that the entire tendency of the present time is to convert life into a cock-pit, to develop the acquisitive instincts and the crassest forms of selfishness and materialism, and to destroy the social instincts, fellowship, and even the desire for those gentler arts and pursuits whence real soul culture comes. To be rich, the top dog, is the chief thing; all else is secondary or negligible. Even "conversion" is recommended by the churches as the road to success and fortune. Under the formula: "God careth for His own," the worst evils of modern commercialism and imperialism are condoned by the followers of Him who said: "Take no thought for the morrow what ye shall eat or what ye shall put on." And it may surprise you to know that my experience as a public speaker, who goes before all kinds of audiences, is that the most difficult people to speak to upon spiritual things, particularly spiritual relationships in social and industrial life, are churches. I am sorry it is possible and necessary for me to make such a statement, but the truth must be told. The one doctrine that is anathema in the churches is that of brotherhood.

As I see things, our great fight to-day is against materialism, the doctrine of "getting on," the passion for riches and power, which is at the root of the spreading social war, and which, unfortunately, the church is one of the chief means of encouraging. From that materialism, the socially suicidal policy of each man seeking to become rich and powerful, even at the price of an army of crushed humanity, we must find a way of escape. Where

2.—A CHANCE FOR THE HUMAN SOUL.

lies that way? I maintain that it can only be found in Christian Communism. In the first place we must close the avenue to great riches and put an end to the present policy of spiritual destruction; afterwards a quite new way of life and a new set of values will be revealed to men.

In our recent conversation I referred to the fact that there were no rich in Heaven. I did this deliberately, hoping to suggest thereby a solution to our social problem. If riches are non-existent in Heaven it means that virtue or value will be found in possessions of a different order. What can those possessions be? Obviously, they must be spiritual in nature and, if we reflect a moment, connected with personality. Prevented from accumulating riches, and thus of receiving merit for anti-social conduct, men will seek merit through the creation of spiritual power. Thus we may say that the effect of adopting Communism would be to open up new tracks of experience, to give men a vision which would lead to the creation of a finer civilisation; the Golden Age of Art, to the culture, on an unprecedented scale, of human personality. Not the man with the biggest pocket would then be the model of virtue, the object of veneration and emulation, but the man with the biggest soul, with the broadest sympathies, the noblest mind, the greatest power of creating and appreciating truth and beauty.

In other words, the adoption of Communism is a profound spiritual necessity, and the only means of diverting the enormous energy which at present is being devoted to the creation of social power, the means of exercising dominion over one's fellows, of fostering pride, idleness, luxurious living, class distinctions and class antagonisms, and endless social war wherein is destroyed all the finest instincts and aspirations of the human soul. The paramount need of our age is to overcome this destructive materialism and give the souls of men a chance. Behind all the social unrest, all the working-class agitation of the present time, is a powerful spiritual impulse. It is the soul of humanity that is crying out in the social upheaval of the present time, notwithstanding that society's discontent is expressed in terms of £ s. d. Yet even in this latter respect humanity is right, for apart from a revolution in our economic system, real spiritual development, a rational life for all, cannot result.

By reason of the vision that the adoption of Communism would cause to burst upon society, beauty, for the first time since the dawn of capitalism, would come into its own, and would at once begin to manifest itself in every department of our life, as it did during the middle ages. We should improve upon the ideas of our forefathers, but we should win back their spirit and give it a new interpretation. Modern science, hitched to the art-instinct and the cause of human welfare, would create a new race and a new world. That, at any rate, is the conviction of yours, etc.

Bookland. A Revolutionary Preacher.

To read eight sermons at one sitting is a performance which indicates either that the reader has an almost morbid taste for that form of composition or that the sermons are of a specially attractive type. The first supposition is certainly not true of the present writer. It must be therefore that Dr. Stanley Mellor's book, "Jesus Christ and Social Change" (Swarthmore Press, 3/6 net), consisting of pulpit discourses delivered at Hope Street Church, Liverpool, presents features not often found in sermons. That statement is correct. Dr. Mellor voices without ambiguity the revolutionary spirit of Christianity, and after an evening by the fireside spent in the company of his book, I felt stimulated, enriched in thought, and re-assured in my faith. It was an evening well spent.

What struck me most about these sermons was the passionate devotion they expressed to Jesus Christ as the creative centre of the new world order. I imagine that Dr. Mellor is one of those who have re-discovered the Person of Jesus. Many others, including Mr. Bernard Shaw, have, of late years, made this re-discovery. It is the most hopeful thing we can say about our times. The chaos of the world has thrown out in high relief the simplicity and profundity of the Nazarene. The flames of war have lit up His face with a new and startling significance.

The Christ whom Dr. Mellor has envisaged is the Judge as well as the Deliverer of Society. "I am utterly at a loss," he says, "to understand how anyone can preach Christ without at the same time preaching the destruction of an order of society which, quite apart from Christ, is riddled by criticism from every point of view of beauty, ultimate value, justice, righteousness, and all the higher faculties and possibilities of man's soul."

The chief value, perhaps, of an appeal such as this volume makes is that it is calculated to reach and influence those on whose attitude the whole character of the coming changes depends. If the possessing class can be won over to the point of view expressed here, then we shall witness a revolution by consent. If it remains obdurate then it is difficult to see any alternative to confusion, suffering and bloodshed.

Says Dr. Mellor:—

Now supposing you belong to a social class benefiting by and satisfied with, shall we say, the competitive method of industry and the private ownership of the means to livelihood, and supposing you are confronted with an historical situation like this present one—two courses, and two only are open to you. Either there must be loyal, full, rational co-operation with the powers of change guided by faith and ideal principles, or there must be resistance to change, an attempt to buttress up and maintain at all costs the existing social order, though it be tottering and doomed. And such resistance becomes almost inevitably motivated, not by any wise conservatism, but only by fear, affrighted self-interest, and the terror of losing a cherished privilege or possession."

In another passage, the preacher quite definitely addresses himself to the privileged.

Now, quite frankly, one makes in such a situation as ours an appeal for wisdom and goodwill; and whilst that appeal is general to every man and woman, I have no delusions myself as to the quarter to which it should be primarily ad-

dressed. It should be made to those classes in our social body to which the older order gave opportunities and privileges, and to the mass of middle-class conservatism, which is motivated by fear and self-regarding instinct alone. Theirs is the final responsibility; and if ever the invitation to utter social disaster is made it will come from them. If we are destroyed at all, which I do not anticipate, it will not be by conspiracies and anarchism, and all the rest of it, but by opportunism, the self-regarding instinct of resistance to social change, and blind unthinking conservatism.

It is clear that when Dr. Mellor speaks of love and goodwill, it is no mere amiability of which he is thinking. In an address on the parable of The Good Samaritan, he says:—

I cannot understand why we fail to realise that the thing Jesus was talking about in this parable, when He spoke of mercy, is a passionate redemptive force, working like a raging fire in the hearts of those who truly feel it, so that if the power of sympathy, the power of mercy, once broke loose in this world if we ever could find the sense to give the everlasting mercy a fair chance, there would be such a tumbling down and rolling in the dust of our earthly potencies, imperialisms and worldly institutions with all the lies, injustices, and cruelties in which they imprison us, as would make even the Apocalypse a mild document, and such an opening of closed eyes as might finally justify the Cross itself.

One wonders, reading words like these, why preachers do not realise the possibilities of the sermon as a method of popular appeal. Human nature likes to be preached to. It welcomes the sermon in its newspaper, on the stage, from the platform. Why does it show such a marked dislike for it when it is delivered from the pulpit? Is it the professionalism, the unreality, the lack of sincere thought on the part of the official preacher that make his utterances so distasteful?

Dr. Mellor is one of those who are contributing to what certainly should be one of the characteristics of the future, a revival of the power, usefulness and popularity of the sermon.

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The Sinn Fein Policy.

During the long period of over 700 years that England has governed Ireland—there has been no time when a majority of the Irish people have accepted British rule as right. There have been, of course, long periods of acquiescence, but the strong desire of the Irish people for freedom has again and again manifested itself. Insurrections have been suppressed—Parliamentary agitations have failed—and to-day the old struggle between the nations continues.

The present intensity of the struggle is due to the adoption by the Irish people of the policy of Sinn Fein and the determination of the British Government to destroy that movement by military force.

That the policy of Sinn Fein was not one of rebellion and that methods of violence were only resorted to after two years of repression is not generally known or recognised in England. Sinn Feiners believed in the right of Ireland to Independence and that just as personal freedom is necessary to individual development so national freedom is essential to the full development of national life and culture. Their plan was first to win by persuasion and propaganda a clear majority of the Irish people to their views and then, at the first opportunity to elect men—who, instead of going to Westminster to ask for Home Rule—would sit in Ireland and form an Irish Parliament which would be obeyed by the Irish people and would ask for recognition by the nations of the world.

The emphasis placed on self-determination by the political leaders of Great Britain and by President Wilson on the one hand and the intense national feeling in Ireland after the execution of the leaders of Easter week, 1916, on the other—provided an opportunity which Sinn Fein promptly seized and by December, 1918, they were able to secure the election of over 70 members (out of 103) pledged to form an Irish Parliament. Had the English people not been blinded by years of war—had they really believed in the war aims enunciated by their leaders—they would have recognised this election in Ireland as a legitimate act of self-determination and the British Government would have entered into negotiations with the Irish leaders for a treaty of peace. Had they done so I have not the slightest doubt the relations between Great Britain and Ireland would be now those of a steadily increasing friendship instead of the bitterness and hate which is growing more intense every day in Ireland.

To the militarist and imperialist mind—the spectacle of a small nation quietly taking over its own government—electing its own parliament—preparing to set up its own police and law courts and create its own law and order without first overthrowing by military force the Empire which held it in subjection is a danger of the first magnitude and must be resisted with all the force of the Empire even if it means five years more war.

To the anti-militarist—to the man who believes that might is not necessarily right—there is surely nothing morally wrong in the policy of Sinn Fein and to meet such a policy with violence and coercion is both foolish and wicked. The two main years of Republican propaganda in Ireland were 1917 and 1918. With the exception of Inspector Mills who was injured while taking part in a baton charge in Dublin and who died afterwards, no policeman was killed in Ireland during either 1917 or 1918, even though during both years the full force of political repression and coercion was being felt in Ireland. Political meetings were suppressed, leaders imprisoned (several died in prison), private houses raided and in nearly every case these arrests and raids were carried out by the Royal Irish Constabulary. During 1918 over 1,000 Irish men or women were sentenced for political offences or deported without trial and during 1917 and 1918 there were four cases in which coroners' courts legally constituted under British law returned verdicts of murder against members of the British police or military, but the verdicts were ignored by the Government and in two cases the men charged in the verdicts were believed to have been promoted soon afterwards.

Early in 1919, "Dail Eireann" (the Irish Parliament) was set up, and almost immediately, was declared illegal by the British Government, and since then most of its prominent members have been either in prison or "on the run." In spite of this, it has steadily increased its power in Ireland, and has been formally recognised by 29 out of 33 County Councils as the lawful Irish Parliament.

At the last local elections (held under British law with Proportional representation) 81 per cent. of those elected were pledged to recognise the Republic, and about 7 per cent. were in favour of Home Rule inside the Empire, the remainder being Unionists. Republican Courts meet all over 28 counties, and the Republic has certainly secured the 'consent' of the governed to an amazing degree.

Unfortunately in 1919 also commenced what the English press calls "the work of the murder gang." In other words, Irish Volunteers commenced to attack barracks of armed police, and also in some places individual policemen were killed. As a result over 100 British police have been killed, and a probably larger number of Irish Volunteers killed also. In spite of the excuse of provocation which may be urged, I totally and unreservedly condemn this policy. In addition to being, in my opinion, morally wrong in itself, it has weakened the moral strength of the Irish Republic, and has given an excuse and a kind of justification for English military policy in Ireland.

Some day, let us hope, the majority of people in England will realise that violence and reprisals only lead to violence and reprisals, and they will insist on a policy of trust and friendship towards Ireland, which will as surely lead to trust and friendship in return.

The Hidden Valley.

CHAPTER V.—MARIE.

The Communists of Bitter Creek, since there was nothing else to do, took the advice so roughly given. The younger and stronger men among them betook themselves to bush whacking. Not many miles from the settlement great woods of larch and spruce stretched themselves along the sides of the foothills. Here they were able to procure unlimited supplies of timber, which they cut down, piled on their sleighs and sold in the city for firewood. It was a poorly paid industry, since it took three days to procure a load, bring it into town for sale and return again to Bitter Creek, but in a country where coal is difficult to secure there was no lack of demand. In this way they managed to keep body and soul together. Meanwhile Luke Wise's projected visit of inspection and the exposure of Hilkem, which he had promised if he should be able to verify the story he had heard, was delayed. Matters of an important business nature kept him in town. Occasionally he came across teamsters from Bitter Creek in charge of sleigh loads of wood, but as their English was of the meagrest kind, the information he was able to extract was similarly vague.

One day he saw an empty sleigh proceeding down Main Street on the return journey to the Creek. An old man, white bearded and tall, was in charge, while, on the rear runner sat a woman, who looked as though she must be his daughter. Like her father, she was tall, and even the small glimpse of her face which her winter wraps afforded, told Luke that she was handsome. He stopped the sleigh, and having introduced himself, made the usual inquiries. The old man shook his head and pointed to the woman. Luke therefore applied to her. To his surprise she spoke English fluently, and in a voice rich in emotional qualities. To his questions she gave ready, if discouraging, answers. Yes, it was true they had been able to earn a bare livelihood by the sale of the timber, but the number of those who could undertake the strenuous labour of the woods had decreased. Some had fallen ill. Others, whom she implied were unaccustomed to roughing it, had become exhausted and refused any longer to do the work. Dissension was rife in the community. Those who worked grumbled at the large number of the inefficient they were supposed to support.

Wise determined to delay his journey to Bitter Creek no longer. Leaving a message at the office, he took his seat on the rear part of the sleigh, deciding to spend the night at the settlement and return the next day. It soon became obvious to him that Marie, as he found she was called, was no ordinary woman. Her peasant costume and the situation in which he found her could not hide from him that hers was a nature of exceptional intellectual and spiritual qualities. She was still in the early twenties, but already she had seen more of the tragedy of life than thousands who have reached the allotted age of man. She told him of the persecutions to which she and those with whom she was associated in Russia had been subjected. She her-

self had suffered brief exile in Siberia, and that experience had left its brand upon soul and face alike.

The state of matters, when he was able to see it for himself, fully bore out his gloomiest forebodings. Incredible disorder prevailed in the affairs of the Communists. Organisation there appeared to be none. Apathy, discontent, hunger, were written on every face. Some, it was evident, had been drinking. The women looked like living corpses. The children cried incessantly, their poor little pinched faces seeming scarcely to have been washed since they had arrived. The whole place was in a filthy condition.

Wise's heart sank within him as he went from house to house. He cursed Hilkem. He cursed himself. And then he cursed the settlers. Despair took possession of him. It was not only that this experiment had failed. The failure of the Bitter Creek Community was a blow at his idealism as a whole. All that had fed his dreams, all that had inspired his life seemed foolishness. He heard always Hilkem's mocking laugh—the laugh of the man who is able to give evidence that the devil rules the world. He even began to wonder whether after all, in a world so monstrously made, Hilkem was not the wise man. But then he remembered Marie. By no materialistic sophistries whatever could he bring himself to acknowledge that she was a failure. When he thought of that strange woman and placed her side by side with Hilkem, he knew that his faith was not irretrievably defeated.

He sought her out and found her busy setting the evening meal. Her father sat by the stove, pouring over a volume of Bakunin. Immersed in the philosophy of that writer, he paid no heed to the visitor. A pathetic figure, thought Wise, sitting amidst the ruins of his hopes, clinging to the gospel of anarchy and revolutionary science, gloating over the good tidings, "There is no God."

From him the guest turned to watch Marie, coming and going among the shadows of the little shack. An atmosphere of calm strength emanated from her.

The appearance of this woman with her spiritual enthusiasms amid the crude commercialism of that new country, her foreign appearance, her tragic life story gave her, in the eyes of the young man watching her, a romantic significance. She represented another world—a world where ideas rather than things counted. Strange fancies flitted through Luke Wise's mind—she seemed the goddess of the New Order, the type and symbol of the world that was to be. It could not be said that he was in love with her. That would imply a larger measure of confidence on his part than he at that time possessed. It was rather a reverent wonder that he felt, and an exceeding thankfulness that she had, thus mysteriously, entered his life.

(To be continued).

The Art of the Child.

Apatole France recently recalled a conversation he had with a friend as they sat chatting on one of the boulevards of Paris. Passing to and fro were men and women of all nationalities. The French sage expressed a wish that those might be transported to an island, "What a race of people we should rear, what art we should produce."

One recalled those words as one entered the hall of joyous colour in the avenue of the British Institute where the exhibition of drawings and woodcuts by Viennese children is held. It is safe to say that nothing to equal this exhibition has been seen in this country. Technique, form, expression are marvellous. Here are panels which no art student would be ashamed to call his own. Prof. Ciza's class for three hours on Saturdays and two hours on Sundays is open to all children, both rich and poor, free of charge. The professor even prefers the child of the Proletariat whose mind and imagination are unspoiled by influence of theatre and cinema and other such experiences. No technique is taught, and the whole work is a triumph of the conception of self determination now beginning to exert itself in every department of life. Here children, instead of drawing milk-jugs and jam jars are learning to exercise their power of observation, and are betraying emotions one would little expect to find them capable of. In one group "the naughty children," the middle figure shows a mother, the picture of grief—the spirit of mischief shining forth from the face of a child, who has worked another child into a veritable rage. Or again, there are a series of wonderful pictures by a boy of 14 years who must, one feels, have lived in squalid surroundings, where the realities of life were not love, joy and beauty, but anger, fear and sordidness. One picture, entitled, "Unhappy Love," shows two individuals sitting on the grass, every line expressive of woe

and a general sense of limppness. Most of the figures in the set are criminal types, face brutal in the extreme, showing a power of expression which beggars description.

With only the light of the sun and knowing nothing of the beauty of the Tyrol, with the drab dress to which until recently we have been accustomed, it would be well nigh impossible to reproduce "The Harvest Procession," in England. The arrangement of the figures, the background and the glorious colouring amaze one as the product of a child of 14. One recalls Wells, when he says in his "Outline of History," "All the world over there must have been myriads of potential first-class investigators, splendid artists, creative minds, who never caught a gleam of inspiration. A world with something like a secure and international peace, and something like international justice will fish for capacity with the fine net of universal education." One has caught a glimpse of this world. But Professor Ciza's best pupils are abroad, and material is so expensive that it is difficult to keep the school going.

One came from the British Institute into the grey fog, not dense enough to deaden the glow of gorgeous brocades in the shops of Knightsbridge. Boarding a 'bus, scraps of conversation reached me "Did you know she has had £1,000 a year left her?" "It is always those who do not need it who get it, but £1,000 a year will not go far with her."

Oh, careless apathetic millions! Oh, mad civilisation, crashing to its doom! But amid the groaning and travail one hears the shouts and the laughter of children. Children whose art will permeate every department of life, living in a world where the struggle for daily bread has been replaced by joy and an abundant life.

"The long inheritance of the age waits."

Sinai Lamps.

III.

If we look in the 22nd and 23rd chapters of Exodus, the 19th and 25th of Leviticus, and in Deuteronomy from the 28th verse of the 14th chapter to the 18th of the 15th, and from the 15th verse of the 23rd chapter to the 15th of the 26th, we shall find, among other matters, the Poor Law of Israel as declared by Moses. The first thing that strikes one is that it is entirely free from the taint of pauperism; there is nothing in it that could rouse the cry of "Curse your charity"; it is not based on the assumption that the poor in the lump or in part is bad; it is founded on the command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," combined with the ever present idea that all Israel was one family. In fact a great student of the law of Moses was only expressing its principle as applied to the new dispensation when he said, "As we have opportunity let us work that which is good towards all men, and especially unto them which are of the household of faith."

We have already seen how the gleanings of the fields, of the vineyards and olive gardens, were to be left for the poor, together with any sheaf which might be forgotten in carting, and the whole crop of a corner of each cultivator's allotment; how a tithe was to be paid as a local poor rate once every three years; and we may add that once in seven years the fields were not to be cultivated nor the orchards pruned, but whatever grew of itself was to be free to the poor. The particular classes mentioned are fatherless children and widows, who would not have strength to till the ground; and alien immigrants and Levites who had no share in the land. The latter may be considered as corresponding to our poorer clergy and ministers and clergy, whose hard times did not begin with war prices. It is probable that the afflicted in body or mind, and any childless old people, would also share in the regular provision for the poor. There was no need of old age pensions on a large scale, the family and land arrangements making it possible for sons to support their parents without wronging their children.

The case of the able-bodied man who got into low water was entirely different. He was not to be allowed to become a permanent burden upon the rest, but was to be ungrudgingly set on his feet again before he got down and out. If in desperation he had sold himself as a slave to a wealthy alien, he was to be redeemed by his nearest relations. But if he had sold himself to a

fellow-Israelite, he was to serve for six years, yet all the time to be treated as one of the family, and afterwards dismissed with all he needed to give him a good start in life. Only by his express wish might he be kept in perpetual bondage. Moreover, if any slave ran away from his master he was to be welcomed and well-treated in the place where he had taken refuge, and on no account to be given up to slavery again.

Only when a man was incapable of looking after himself had any Israelite any business to find himself not free, for as has been pointed out, the rest of the community were bound by the law to supply him with what he needed to keep his head above water. His self-respect was to be saved by calling the help so given a loan, but no interest was to be taken, and if security were given it must not be anything which was necessary to the daily life of the man or his family.

A widow's clothes were never to be taken in pawn at all. And a Statute of Limitations made it often extremely doubtful whether a lender would ever see his money again by direct return. For all that there was to be no grudging on the part of the haves towards the have-nots. There was only one sort of debt that the Law specially commanded to be paid, and that was the wages of a hired servant; and again there is no limitation to Israelites, but it is recognised that a hired man must be poor enough to need his money promptly, whatever might be his race. Summing the matter up, we see that the object of the Poor Law of Israel was to prevent the creation of a submerged class, and as far as Israelites themselves were concerned, of a dependent class either. "There shall be no poor with thee," is the promise of Deut. 15, 4 (R.V.) if they would "diligently listen to this commandment which I command thee this day."

In fact, when one studies the Poor Law of Israel, one is impressed with this:—That when Christ said, "Give to him that asketh of thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away," He was literally filling full the old law by applying it in all its provisions, and not only in some, to all our neighbours irrespective of race or creed. And Paul was simply following in his Master's footsteps and enlarging Israel to mean all who are "blessed with faithful Abraham" when he wrote, "Owe no man anything but to love one another, for love is the fulfilling of the law."

ADMISSION FREE.

SIDELIGHTS.

Bertrand Russell on the Materialistic Conception of History.

In the Glasgow "Forward" (Nov. 27, 1920), there is an interesting account of an article by Bertrand Russell in the "New Republic" (U.S.A.) dealing with the Materialistic Conception of History. Bertrand Russell says:—

"The most obvious non-economic factor, and the one the neglect of which has led Socialists most astray, is nationalism. Of course, a nation, once formed, has economic interests which largely determine its politics, but it is not, as a rule, economic motives that decide what group of human beings shall form a nation. Trieste, before the war, considered itself Italian, although its whole prosperity as a port depended upon its belonging to Austria. No economic motive can account for the opposition between Ulster and the rest of Ireland. In Eastern Europe, the Balkanisation produced by self-determination has been obviously disastrous from an economic point of view, and was demanded for reasons which were in essence sentimental. Throughout the war, wage-earners, with only a few exceptions, allowed themselves to be governed by nationalist feeling, and ignored the traditional Communist exhortation: "Workers of the world, unite!" According to Marxian orthodoxy they were misled by cunning Capitalists, who made their profit out of the slaughter. But to anyone capable of observing psychological facts, it is obvious that this is largely a myth. Immense numbers of Capitalists were ruined by the war; those who were young were just as liable to be killed as the proletarians were. No doubt commercial rivalry between England and Germany had a great deal to do with causing the war, but rivalry is a different thing from profit-seeking. Probably by combination, English and German Capitalists could have made more than they did out of rivalry, but the rivalry was instinctive, and its economic form was accidental. The Capitalists were in the grip of nationalist instinct as much as their proletarian 'dupes.' In both classes some have gained by the war, but the universal will to war was not produced by the hope of gain. It was produced by a different set of instincts, one which Marxian psychology fails to recognise adequately.

"The Marxian assumes that a man's 'herd,' from the point of view of herd-instinct, is his class, and that he will combine with those whose economic class-interest is the same as his. This is only very partially true in fact. Religion has been the most decisive factor in determining a man's herd throughout long periods of the world's history. Even now, a Catholic workingman will vote for a Catholic Capitalist rather than for an unbelieving Socialist. In America, the divisions in local elections are mainly on religious lines. This is, no doubt, convenient for the Capitalists, and tends to make them religious men, but the Capitalists alone could not produce the result. The result is produced by the fact that many workingmen prefer the advancement of their creed to the improvement of their livelihood. However deplorable such a state of mind may be, it is not necessarily due to Capitalist lies."

The Holy Alliance and the League of Nations.

How illuminating is this reference in "the Life of Metetrnich" to the Holy Alliance! The quotation, which is given in the current issue of "Common Sense" needs no change of wording to apply to the League of Nations now sitting at Geneva:—

Those who at the time of the assembling of the Congress of Vienna had thoroughly understood the nature and objects of this Congress could hardly have been mistaken about its course whatever their opinion about its results might be.

The grand phrases of "Reconstruction of Social Order," "Regeneration of the Political System of Europe," a "Lasting Peace founded on a just division of strength," etc., were uttered to tranquillise the people and give an air of dignity and grandeur to this solemn assembly; but the real purpose of the Congress was to divide among the conquerors the spoils taken from the vanquished. The comprehension of this truth enables us to see that the discussions of the Congress would be difficult, painful, and even stormy. But to understand how far they have been so and why the hopes of so many men—enlightened but more or

less ignorant of Cabinet secrets—have been cruelly disappointed, one must know the designs which the Principal Powers had, in presenting themselves on this great battlefield and the development which particular circumstances and personal relations have given to these designs.

A Curious Coincidence.

On Monday, November 22, a long letter, signed H. S. Barnes, appeared in the "Times" on Mesopotamia. He wrote "as an old Indian Foreign Secretary." There was no hint in the letter that he had any other clients or interests to serve than those of the British public and of our Indian Empire. The writer must surely have known that Mr. Lloyd George has definitely attributed our occupation of Mesopotamia to the existence of oil there in large quantities. But Sir H. S. Barnes took a very high and mighty line. No such sordid considerations had ever entered into the Persian or Mesopotamian policy of the British or Indian Governments. Our real purpose has always been "the maintenance of a strong, united and independent Persia."

Next day, November 23, a correspondent signing himself "Malabar Hill," pointed out that Sir Hugh Barnes is a director of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, of the Burmah Oil Company, of the D'Arcy Exploration Company, etc., etc.—"Common Sense," Nov. 27, 1920.

Restricting Production.

Writing in the "Financial Times," Nov. 25, 1920, R. H. Tingley declares that America "views with equanimity the efforts of the Rubber Growers' Association of London to remedy the situation by curtailing production, and is prepared to assist the movement in every way possible."

After that it is not surprising to read in the "Sunday Times" (Nov. 21, 1920):—

"There is but one remedy. When the supply of an article is greatly in excess of the demand the obvious course is to cease production until the surplus is absorbed. Up to the present the industry has merely decided to produce less. But more heroic measures are necessary. Anything short of a complete stoppage of output will be merely tinkering with a situation of extreme gravity."

Irish Reprisals—and Mr. Lloyd George.

Mr. Lloyd George's personal position among Nonconformists has been very much weakened of late by his review of the Black-and-Tans, and his patronage of the reprisals policy in Ireland. His old friends remember how he lashed the Free Churches into indignation against the same "methods of barbarism" when they were practised against the Boers (whose farms were burnt in reprisal for guerilla warfare), and again, in the winter of 1914-15, when a similar policy was adopted to put down "rebellion" in Belgium by the German military commanders.

Rev. James Barr.

Great interest has been aroused in the West of Scotland by the anonymous attacks being levelled in the Capitalist Press at the Rev. James Barr, B.D., for his membership of the I.L.P. and his open advocacy of its principles.

The Truth Will Out.

"We must have a C3 population at this moment in order to save our finances."—Lord Hugh Cecil, Tory Coalition M.P., in House of Commons, 15th November, 1920. Hansard, p. 1598.

Don't miss the CHRISTMAS ISSUE of
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The Outlook.

AS we write the rumour grows in strength that the Christmas season is to be signalised by a truce between conflicting parties in Ireland. The wish is probably father to the thought; but even so, it is not without significance that the wish for peace should, to that extent, have become articulate. It can scarcely be doubted that the conscience of the country at large is not easy about Ireland, and that the vast majority of people would welcome the news that the Government was abandoning its present attitude. We must not be too hopeful. The remembrance of the long drawn out negotiations with Russia, not yet concluded, should be a warning against undue optimism. Public opinion strongly demanded peace with Russia, but the Government, while bowing to the storm, and making divers promises managed, on one pretext after another, to postpone a definite and conclusive understanding with the Soviet Republic. A far deeper feeling and a much more determined opposition will be required before the essential character of our policy in Ireland is changed.

THE word "Crisis" is apt to have the same effect as the cry "Wolf!" We are so frequently informed that a crisis is impending that we have ceased to pay attention to this threadbare journalistic warning. But the facts and figures of the financial and industrial world speak for themselves, and need no minor prophets of Fleet Street to point out their seriousness. There are features about the present situation that warrant us in saying that this is not merely a crisis but the crisis. We have reached the end of a period in the world's economic and social history. The enormous debts borne by the various governments of Europe, the condition of abject poverty and industrial chaos reached on the Continent as a result of the blockade policy, the utter inadequacy of philanthropy and the palliative schemes suggested by the Government to meet the unemployment problem, the intransigence of capitalists with regard to the excess profits tax—all point to a tremendous clash of conflicting interests. Men's passions will be stirred to their deepest. The morale of the people will be tested with the utmost severity. In the agony of the coming months we shall either rediscover the potency of faith or perish. Christianity never had a greater chance.

* * *

THE proposal to ignore the findings of the Labour Convention which pronounced against the two-shift system is typical of the manner in which a powerful Government can over-ride the decisions of the Washington Convention. The institution of a body set up by the League of Nations to regulate industrial conditions throughout the world was hailed as one of the least doubtful benefits of the war. But the manner in which the Home Office has dealt with the proposal of that body to abolish the two-shift system turns the Convention into a farce.

* * *

THE latest convert to the Soviet form of Government, we are informed, is Armenia, which has revolted against the Government set up by the authority of the Entente. Thus everywhere does the rule of the Militarists produce the very result they desire to avoid!



An Advent Sermon.

Rarely has the subject to which the season of Advent recalls our minds been more appropriate than at the present time. The clouds that envelope the world are glowing

already with a suggestive redness in anticipation of the coming of the Son of Man.

We might do worse under the circumstances than consider the canons of His judgment. These differ so fundamentally from those employed in the courts of this world that unless we understand them we shall be unable to follow the course of justice or to prepare ourselves for His Apocalypse.

Among these canons stands prominently the principle that from those to whom most is given most will be expected.

The recollection of this fact would do much to subdue the boastfulness of the white race and might even make it anxious to foreswear its priority over other peoples.

Has it not been asserted, again and yet again, that some innate superiority characterises the White Man as compared with his black or yellow brother? It is certainly true that he has had exceptional opportunities. It was to him that the Message from that Half-way House bewixt East and West—the Carpenter's Shop at Nazareth—came first and most directly. For nineteen centuries he has had open to him the avenues of Christian knowledge and inspiration. For the whole of that period the traditions of the Faith have been in his keeping. While other peoples have continued to worship their Mumbo-Jumbos the religion which revealed God in human form has been available to him.

Science has been his servant as it has been the servant of no other race. Like a magician it has stood by his throne, able and willing to obey the most outrageous of his demands. The means of performing miracles has been thus placed in his hands. With the same power by which he has destroyed a civilisation he could have built a new one. He had only to dream and, waking, wave his wand, and lo! his dreams would have risen about him, substantial and real as the solid earth. God trusted him with the unlimited powers of science.

He has been given some of the fairest and most fruitful regions of the Earth. In Nature's cupboards were stored, awaiting his needs, coal, iron, silver, gold. His soil could have fed mankind and saved it forever from famine, and his science could have saved it from disease. He has been the plutocrat among the peoples. Practically unlimited wealth was at his disposal.

These are not the pleadings of the counsel for the prosecution. They are our own boasts—the things

our own preachers and teachers have taught us to say, the themes that inspired our poets to sing of the White Man's Burden, and our journalists to write of the blessings of the White Man's rule.

It is not my intention to deny the exceptional character of our opportunities. I wish I could. I wish I could plead before the judgment bar that we had received but one poor talent. That is impossible. On our own showing we have been able, during the last few centuries, to determine the destiny of mankind. We must accept the terrible responsibilities of that fact. The abuse of our trust can mean nothing less than the disappearance of the white race as a dominant people. Our heritage will be taken from us and given to another.

The same principle applied to the ruling class must lead to equally alarming conclusions. The assertion was made some while ago by a member of that class that Labour was unfit to govern. In a certain sense that statement may be accepted as true. Labour is ignorant, irresponsible, servile. But whose fault is that? The people who now complain that the workers are not ready to assume the responsibilities of a great empire have had the lives of the common people in their hands for many a long year. It was in their power to grant or deny the means of a real education. It was for them to train the untrained by granting them, judiciously, a share in the control of industry. It lay within the jurisdiction of the critics to grant leisure and the chance of a clean, wholesome life. They have boasted of their authority, they have claimed superior ability, they have possessed enormously greater material means. In the terms of their own boasting they are judged. Ye who were placed as guardians over your fellows to lead them into freedom and equality of responsibility with yourselves, see what ye have made—by your own confession—of those whose lives and characters you have moulded.

But most severely tested of all by this principle of divine judgment stands the Church. I subscribe to her loftiest claims. When she declares that with her alone is the whole truth, when she points to the life-giving sacraments in her keeping, and turn proudly to the Book, born of her own first rapturous union with God, and ever since her jealous guarded possession, I bow in acquiescence. She is the heir of all the promises made to Israel. To her was given miraculous power. There is not a boast of her proudest priest to which I do not subscribe. That is why it seems to me that the judgment of the world will fall first and heaviest upon her. I do not know what is going to happen to her—I dare not explore that terrible future, but I know that the judgment will be in proportion to her own confessed privileges.

The Church of Jesus Christ cannot be passed over in the day of judgment as though it were no more than a political constitution, a humanitarian society, an ethical fellowship, a religious coterie. It is the Church, and therefore the clouds that pass innocuous over the kingdoms and organisations of man shall break in torrential wrath over the Temple that has become, in the words of the Judge Himself, "a den of thieves."

THE TRAMP.

The Crowning Infamy of Capitalism.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

*"Oh, God! that bread should be so dear,
And flesh and blood so cheap!"*

—"Song of the Shirt."

I sometimes wonder whether most of us who are Socialists can plead "Not guilty" to the charge implied in Shaw's declaration that he is a Socialist for the purely selfish reason that the sight of ill-fed and ill-clad human beings is so utterly repugnant to him that he can never be comfortable while such a state of affairs exists. It would be very difficult for me to say how far this selfishness applies to myself at the present time. It is certainly a fact that the situation in the industrial world is preying on my mind to such an extent that I cannot sit by my fire or eat a decent meal or put on warm clothing without being haunted by the thought of the hundreds of thousands of my fellows who are without the barest essentials of existence. The latest available figures, published in October, show that there were then 358,115 persons on the unemployed registers of the Labour Exchanges in the country, including 162,000 ex-service men. Since those figures were published there has been a truly appalling increase week by week, and the number is now probably somewhere about half a million.

This unemployment evil is surely the crowning infamy of Capitalism. That at the present moment, while those of my readers who have the means are planning for Christmas festivities and searching the shop windows for presents and games and goodies for the kiddies, there are at least half a million people in the country who are either absolutely penniless or depending on private or public charity for miserable doles of food for themselves and their families is, I think, a bigger crime than any other evil which Capitalism has to its discredit, worse even than war itself. It is impossible to exaggerate the monstrous inhumanity of a social system which is responsible for such a condition of affairs.

Here in Birmingham, for instance, we have 24,000 people unable to obtain work, over 8,000 of whom fought in the war for "freedom." Many thousands of them are skilled artisans, engineers, metal-workers, even carpenters and painters and other building trade operatives are walking the streets. Among them are many of my comrades in the Labour movement. My heart is full as I write. I am daily meeting dozens of my friends who have long ago spent their last farthing and are now existing from day to day on what little can be scraped together from those who are still at work. Not a day passes without another batch of cases coming to my notice. Last week I called on an unemployed friend whose weekly income for the last three weeks was 7/6. To-day a man came to see me at the office of our local Labour paper. He was an ex-officer, the son of a one-time prosperous solicitor. Just before the war he had thrown up legal work and launched out on the stormy sea of free-lance journalism. The

war came before he could make good. He felt compelled to take his place in the trenches in the early days of the war; he secured a commission and served over three years, until he was sent home a nervous wreck. Before he was sent home he had got himself into trouble for speaking the truth about the war. A lecture he delivered in a certain Y.M.C.A. hut was reported to his superiors, and though no official action was taken at the time, he has since found it impossible to secure certain grants which he declared himself entitled to. He wanted me to give him a job in any capacity on the paper. A public school man, with the highest credentials, well read and bearing the obvious stamp of real culture on his haggard face, he was prepared to sweep the office or write an article. He had been giving lectures in the famous Bull Ring of Birmingham, and going round with the hat to the miserable crowd which can always be gathered on that historic spot. This had kept him supplied with a bed and a crust

But it is useless to continue his story. I had to tell him that in common with most Labour journals our paper was living from hand to mouth, that we were actually in urgent needs of funds to meet our bills at the year-end, and that we simply couldn't spare even a ten-shilling note on extra expenditure. He gathered up his papers and left me with a brave attempt at a smile, "I am only one of many thousands. But I didn't expect to be doing this as a reward for my response to the country's call in '14. It's the wife and youngsters that worry me"

Last night I was talking to a good Socialist comrade who has been out of work for several months. He is a Ruskin College man, has expert technical knowledge of the moulding industry, is a born teacher and organiser and prepared to do anything that will bring him enough to provide food and shelter for his wife and himself. But he is just one of the 24,000; there seems to be no hope for him anywhere. Early in the New Year there will be a baby My wife enquired of the prospective mother how she was going to manage. "I don't know," was the hopeless reply. "If—gets work soon I may be able to have a doctor. If not I shall have to do without. I suppose we shall pull through somehow." It is damnably wicked.

* * * * *

On my way to the office I pass through one of the best shopping centres in the city. Motor cars and carriages line each side of the road, the shop windows are full of the most expensive luxuries in the shape of food and clothing; heavily be-furred "ladies" (the wife of my Socialist friend is, of course, only a "woman"), with well-fed and well-clothed children pass to and fro, arms laden with packages. The price of a party frock for a "lady," would see my friend's wife through her confinement; the price of a fur coat would keep both of them for a couple of months.

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The Inevitable Price.

The Advent Season warns us that there is no escape from the World's Judge. Rulers and People may combine to crucify Him, but not only does He rise from the dead, but comes again, to judge His judges.

Every voice of prophetic warning that is silenced repeats its message in the thunder of the events which it foretold. If the Lighthouse is destroyed the rocks themselves must bear witness. If the voice of the syren is unheard the crashing of the ship's timbers will convey the same truth.

The world, at the present time, seems determined not to listen to its prophets. It imagines that by ignoring the messenger it can nullify the purport of his message. But that is a "vain imagination." The Judge must be faced, the last farthing paid.

To maintain those organisations, papers, ministries which are trying to tell the truth is a costly undertaking. The continuance of the "Crusader's" work, for instance, can be secured only by sacrifices on a large scale. But the way in which to approach the matter is to ask, what will it cost to allow such warning voices to be silenced? The problem is not, what it will cost to keep the "Crusader" going, but what we must, in the long run, pay if such witnesses are allowed to perish. Pay for the Truth we must—either now or at some, perhaps not far distant, judgment day.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

MRS. SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON. The closing meetings of Mrs. Skeffington's London visit are as follows:—

Thursday, Dec. 9, at 8 p.m.: Bermondsey Town Hall, with Dr. Salter, Stepney, Brook Street Schools, with the Mayor, Major Attlee.

Friday, Dec. 10, at 8 p.m.: Tottenham, The Friends' Meeting House, 594 High Road.

Sunday, Dec. 12, at 3 p.m.: Camberwell, The Baths, with Rev. R. W. Sorensen; at 8 p.m.: Bow, Kingsley Hall, with Mr. Lansbury.

HOMES FOR 150 AUSTRIAN BOYS. We are glad to say that the response to our appeal is very encouraging and we are hopeful that all the boys will be placed by the middle of the month. This does not mean we are no longer in need of homes. It does mean that, if the applications come in at the present rate, the homes may be found. By opening your own home to us, will you see this is done?

EMERGENCY HOMES FOR A FEW DAYS. May we appeal to all who, though unable to take a child for any length of time, would give one some sort of a "shake down" in case of emergency. IT IS IMPERATIVE that we should get a full list of such homes to which we can turn should there be any sort of gap for some of the children between the time when the camp closes on the 16th, and the placing of the children in their more permanent homes. IF YOU FORGET TO SEND IN YOUR NAME A CHILD MAY FIND ITSELF STRANDED WITHOUT SHELTER JUST THROUGH THOUGHTLESSNESS.

WE ARE HOPELESSLY OVERWORKED. We must have all the voluntary help that can be given, both in clerical work at the office any day and most evenings, and IN THE MEETING OF CHILDREN AT THE STATION to take them across London. Will all who can be called upon to help in this work, write without delay?

C. PAUL GLIDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

"The Herald Angels—are Dumb."

They stand, shivering, at the street corners; too dispirited to talk, they look at each other in grim silence. They are of the hosts of the unemployed; comrades in distress. Now and again one breaks away and walks at a terrific pace, goaded into action of some kind. They are a hopeless, disillusioned, but dignified crowd. They do not desire charity. They demand work.

A pathetic case was reported recently. After a long spell of unemployment a man obtained a job. To procure food until they could right themselves his wife stole some things and sold them. The man was fined 20s.

That is British justice! We drive people to distraction, often to the verge of insanity. Parents may be haunted night after night by the moans of starving children. Husbands may grow grim and bitter as they watch the health and strength of their wives gradually being undermined. But there is no remedy. We recognise no responsibility.

Not only do we recognise no responsibility. We go further. If an unfortunate dares to draw attention to his plight, dire retribution speedily overtakes him. A case is reported only to-day of a well-educated man who had no work and nowhere to go. He threw a stone through a window.

Why in the world couldn't he resign himself to starve quickly? Why obtrude his necessity and disturb the comfortably circumstanced?

Our remedy was "a month's hard labour."

Christmas is approaching! The season of Peace and Goodwill. Many of our unemployed have spent several Christmasses in the trenches. They were the heroes making the land fit to live in. And now the land made fit is casting them aside and ignoring their just claims.

A father and two small boys were gazing intently into a window displaying beautiful and expensive toys. One of the children remarked "he knew which he wanted Father Christmas to bring." I did not catch the father's reply; but the expectant beaming face of the youngster was transformed into the thoughtful careworn face of a man as he remarked wonderingly, "Does he sometimes not come then?"

What abominable hypocrites, we are, as a Nation, to keep Christmas at all! To smugly talk about Peace and Goodwill. Surely it were better to make no pretence unless we can enter into the spirit of the season.

"Hark, the Herald Angels sing!" or should it be Listen! but the Herald Angels are dumb as they see the message of their King ignored.

THE PLOUGHMAN.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

"Our Strained Society" is the general subject of a series of lectures now being given by the Rev. G. E. Darlaston, at Stationers' Hall. The opening lecture was on "The Waning of Authority," and the lecturer seems to have made his audience face up to things a bit. He told them to probe deep. If they wanted to understand the present unrest, it was not enough to put it down to post-war reaction and cherish the idea that we need only sit still and wait patiently for Time to set things straight. A deep and crucial cause of our distresses was the waning of moral authority in many phases of modern life—in industry, commerce and politics. This was not caused by the war, but by great changes of thought and outlook, of which the war was another result. The biological theory of the survival of the fittest, and progress by strife, had been uncritically taken over as a working theory for the life of mankind and society. Force and self-assertion had thus been accepted in place of the moral law, and were expressed in the imperialistic spirit, arrogant, hard, and blind to moral principle.

I firmly believe that Mr. Darlaston put his finger on the spot when he emphasised "great changes of thought and social outlook" as being the root cause of the terrible position the modern world is in just now. For "practical" purposes, the civilisation to which we belong, politely dismissed the great, guiding ideals of life, namely, Goodness, Truth and Beauty, and based itself on principles of narrow range. Individuals here and there still held on to the other view, but civilisation, as a system, discharged it as being in the way of "getting on." Progress was its watchword, and now, like a wild Jehu, it has progressed us all into the ditch! And what is Mr. Darlaston's remedy? There was no remedy, he said, save by getting back to "conscience" in politics and in the individual and social life. It interests me to see Conscience being mentioned again with respect, and, indeed, called upon to deliver us! Conscience! Then did the conscientious objector, after all, stand for a great principle? I seem to remember that the Churches, almost to a man, derided him and hated him and delivered him over to bonds and imprisonment. And now lo! and behold! it is leaking out that this rejected thing, Conscience, is just what we want, and what we have not got. And we are told, moreover, that all our troubles arise through not having it! This interests me a lot.

To show the need of introducing Conscience into modern politics I quote from a paragraph in the "Christian World." "It begins to look as if one result of the war would be not disarmament but another race in armaments between different competitors. It is obvious that our Admiralty are

getting ready for imposing a big new building programme on us. We are told that America and Japan will both have navies bigger than the British Navy in two or three years if we do not wake up, that all our ships are now obsolescent, that we do not possess a single ship that embodies all the lessons taught by the battle of Jutland, and so forth. On the other hand we have people who say that the day of the big battleship is over, and that the submarine and the mine are the weapons of the future. All the old signs premonitory to a demand for more money are present, and it will need all our vigilance if we are to prevent ourselves from entering once more on a race which, like the old race in armaments, will end in war."

* * *

What a pleasant prospect! I should think the supporters of Force (at least those in the Churches) will surely now begin to see what the "Crusader" has been telling its readers from the first, namely, that Force is a vicious circle which Force can never break. The "Christian World" points out that we cannot afford this mad expenditure on armaments. Yes, perfectly true. But do not let us fool ourselves once again by imagining that the argument of self-interest will lead us to peace. It will not. The only thing that will lead us to peace is a new spirit. And I am quite sure that that new spirit will not arise out of the fear that we are going to be smashed up again—and next time worse than ever. The new mind will come by seeing a new vision. It can come in no other way.

* * *

Lord Hugh Cecil has been speaking in a Wesleyan pulpit. His subject was the present religious outlook. He told his hearers that the trouble with much religious belief to-day was that it had no relation to moral conduct. And why did not people come to Church? The man in the street was not interested in Christianity and in the spiritual truths the Church professed to speak about. That was why he was absent from Church. Said Lord Hugh, I have been to a race meeting and seen an enormous crowd there, but no one gave them a kindly smile of welcome. The Jockey Club did not stand at the entrance and say, "We are so glad to see you, and we hope you will come again!" But they come, they come in shoals. They are interested in racing. "What is the remedy?" asked Lord Hugh. "What are we to do?" And then he went on to say we needed a John the Baptist to come back to us. A preacher who would tell us again that we could not play fast and loose with the moral order of the universe. Said he, "We want to restore to the minds of men the conception of the austerity of the world, the conviction that there is a fixed standard of right and wrong. Ministers must insist on the fact that if we choose evil, evil we shall have."

The Church and the Class War.

A series of lectures is being delivered in one of the Glasgow churches on the subject of the "Church and Labour." It is a subject which is occupying the attention of the churches very much, as they see the young and virile elements of the Labour movement standing apart from organised Christianity. Their present series of lectures is no doubt an attempt to convince a highly sceptical Labour movement that the Church is deeply sympathetic with the aspirations of the workers.

The lecturer on Sunday last, Dr. Norman MacLean, admitted the churches' negligence in the past. He said, "If the Church had spoken out to the brain worker and the exploiter of Labour when cities such as Glasgow were built, when mining villages which are a disgrace to civilisation were built, when four millions of the race went ever shivering through life on the verge of hunger, then the Church would to-day be in a better position to speak to the organised forces of Labour; as they insisted on rights at the sacrifice of duties. To all classes, masters and servants, capitalists and workers, the Church could have but one message—One is your Master even Christ, and ye all are brethren."

If that is the position of the Church, then there is not a great deal of difference between its position to-day and its position in the olden times which Dr. McLean condemned. It seems to take for granted the permanent division of society into masters and servants. It assumes that a few men are born to rule, and the great mass are born to obey. It would like to see the rulers a trifle more humane. It would like to see oppressed masses mindful of their

duties to their superiors as well as insistent of their rights. It would try to soften the antagonisms between rulers and ruled by reminding them that they are all "brethren," which is about as satisfactory as reminding them that they are all vertebrates.

If this is the authentic voice of the Scottish Church to-day, then it is little wonder that the Labour movement views it with suspicion. A church which believes that all men are brethren in Christ and yet has no protest to make against the small group of brethren who are robbing and dominating the great mass, is a singularly futile institution.

The struggle of class against class is the dominant factor in our society to-day, and "he who is not with us is against us."

Take the attitude of the Church towards current problems. When the war with Soviet Russia over Poland was imminent and the whole Labour movement was roused to violent protest, the Church was absolutely silent, although we know that if war had been declared the average clergyman would have raved like a recruiting sergeant. The starvation of Europe as a result of the merciless capitalist Peace has evoked no protest from the Church as a whole—only a few subscriptions to a "Save the Children Fund." The sabotaging of Irish nationality by armed hooligans of the Imperialist state has been allowed to pass without comment. During the miners' strike, innumerable sermons were delivered on the situation, nine-tenths of them hostile to the cause of the workers endeavouring to bring their wages level with the increased cost of living.

—"The Worker."

Nonconformity's Failure.

The "Nation" has been indicting British Nonconformity. Referring to the campaign against reprisals the writer says:—

"Leading scientists and humanists have both rallied to the banner of civilisation with hardly any effort to group them round it. There has been one exception—the leaders of Nonconformity."

The attitude of the Free Churches towards the war comes in for strong comment:—

"Say that it was beyond the power of the Churches to prevent the war. None of them ever tried; but let that pass. At least—at the very least—this one branch of the Christian Church which was practised in public life, and accustomed to boast the moralising part she played in it, might have rallied to the secular statesman, a Tory and a Churchman, who stretched out a feeble hand between the living and

the dead if perchance he might stay the slaughter, and arrest the wreck of a Continent. Barely a mitigating word then came from the lips of British Nonconformity. A very few faithful lips were opened; but Mr. George, at his famous breakfast, rallied most of their ministers and leaders to the knock-out blow. Their silence gave two more years of drum-beating to useless, senseless slaughter, to be crowned by a Punic Peace. Again the Nonconformist Churches were dumb or almost dumb. The noble work of the Quakers did indeed keep the light of Christian charity a burning flame in Central Europe. But where was the political Nonconformist? A friend of mine attended a meeting in the South of England to propose the reception of some starving Austrian children. It was attended by several Nonconformist ministers. All but one opposed the idea"

Studies in the Declaration of Dependence.

IX.—THE SPIRITUAL BASIS OF COMMUNISM.

The signing of this Declaration of the WILL OF GOD will mean the glad acceptance of the prospect of a Communal order of Society, and the active working for its realisation.—Declaration of Dependence.

In this, the last of the present series, we address ourselves more particularly to those who belong to the possessing and privileged class.

The old question, "What shall I do to be saved?" though it has at the present time a different meaning to that which it formerly carried, is as poignant and urgent as ever. It means, as asked to-day, "How can I be delivered from the present world order? By what means can I cease to be identified with it? My circumstances, my surroundings are such as to put one in a false relationship with my fellows and this false relationship is killing every Christian instinct, it is stifling my soul. Tell me how, living in the present world order, I can cease to be a part of it."

I think we shall have to recognise that the case is desperate, and desperate remedies may be necessary. "All that a man hath will he give for his life." Rather than imperil the spark of divine fire within us we may find that something like a surgical operation must be performed. "If thine eye offend thee pluck it out. It is better to enter into life blind rather than having two eyes to be cast into Hell." And not only may the individual case be desperate but certainly the condition of society is so. Unless some drastic step be taken by those to whom a vision of better things has come we may give over hope of saving the world.

Therefore it would seem as though we must be prepared for the most thorough-going separation of ourselves from the Present Order. The command to "Sell all thou hast and give to the poor" may not, in all cases, be the wisest course, but there can be no doubt that we must be ready even for that. Bernard Shaw once said, "The Kingdom of Heaven will not come until we are ready to die if it doesn't come." That doesn't mean that we are to commit suicide rather than continue to live in the present world, and, likewise, the spiritual preparedness for absolute poverty does not mean that we must in every case literally obey the commandment given to the rich young ruler, but it does mean that neither fear nor love of possessions and special privileges must be the motive that prompts us to retain our wealth. Heart searching sincerity is necessary here. The excuse that the conditions of the modern world make any such sacrifice inadvisable is very easy. It is not difficult to persuade ourselves that we are willing to make the final surrender when we are pre-determined that the command given by Jesus in the case quoted does not apply to us. It is questionable whether we are able sincerely to make the ultimate sacrifice spiritually unless we accept clearly the contingency of having to carry it into effect practically. Only the experience of looking the life of poverty in the face as our lot can teach us whether we are honestly prepared to accept it.

This is the first step without which no other can be taken. The willingness to take any course to which the will of God may point is the condition of finding out what His will is. Our difficulty in discovering what to do is due to moral not intellectual causes. If we were more sincerely willing to do whatever was right we should have less trouble in finding out what is right.

Circumstances differ so much in different cases that it is almost impossible to suggest lines of action which all can follow. It is only the most general directions that can be given. The first object to be attained is that of placing oneself alongside of the dispossessed. Can we so far escape our class limitations as to form real, unaffected friendships with those of "lower" social levels? Similarity of temperament, the possession of similar tastes in educational matters, the bond of a common faith can sometimes prove strong enough to overcome class differences. I lay stress on this personal relationship between members of different classes, because there are many who disinterestedly identify themselves with the Labour Movement who are quite unable to identify themselves with Labour men and women.

Of course, identification with the Labour Movement (using the term in a wide sense), is important. The merely personal relationship is not enough. Friendship with exceptional individuals is one thing and entrance into the comradeship of the class movement is another thing. This association with those of another class than our own will have its inevitable effect upon our economic arrangements. Some have commenced by sharing the actual economic circumstances of the poor, hoping thereby to reach their inner life and win their friendship and understand their aspirations as a class. But the method suggested here is the reverse. Commence with social and intellectual fellowship. In a hundred different ways the desire for a closer intimacy will lead to economic adaptations. We shall find ourselves creating communistic conditions. Our means, our homes will be more and more at the disposal of our less fortunate friends, their homes and circle of acquaintances will be more and more open to us.

Working thus from friendship to economic Communism, from the interior to the exterior of our lives we shall avoid anything artificial and self-conscious. The result will be natural and simple, a growth rather than a forced product of social theory.

Of course, the difficulty of achieving such social identification of ourselves with members of the working class is immense, and it exists on both sides. Suspicion has to be overcome, patronage guarded against. On the one hand there will be reserve, distrust. On the other hand prejudices must be fought and persistent habits of thought overcome.

The spiritual and social basis of economic Communism must come first. But, economic relationships being established, they will re-act upon the soul and lead to a closer intimacy, a more sacred fellowship.

The Seeing Eye.

By ROBERT HARTLEY.

"Now I can speak definitely, my dear Watson. These footprints which you have examined along with me, are those of a heavy, ill-shod, bow-legged man. Such a man we must find, for he undoubtedly is concerned in this crime." With apologies to Sherlock's shade.

How artlessly simple mystery becomes as the trained mind unravels it, attends to the obvious facts and from them deduces hidden factors, builds up theories, and at last completely portrays the circumstances, motives, impulses—the weft and warp—of which mysteries are made.

But I do not purpose to speak of mystery any further, nor of special sight in the Holmesian sense, but plainly of average, everyday sight, opinion, point-of-view.

It would be amusing to turn over the remarks made by workmen of their master, of their mates, but for their inherent foolishness, due to lack of thought, understanding, consideration. The superficial view is the crudest, least real view. The average man does not show his heart, or intention, or every impulse on his cheek. In fact he often acts quite contrary to intention or design, apparently to apologise to his own diffidence or to mislead the simple inquisitor. Even when the man acts sincerely, he can be wronged by the superficial observer.

Just consider the workmate who is obliged to return home through sudden sickness. He is abused and vilified by many of his mates and his foreman, because they do not pause to consider hidden factors, because they leap to immediate conclusions. If the attempt were made to understand the case, it is certain the remarks would be modified, more charitable and sympathetic.

The critics know the sick man drinks, smokes, keeps late hours, lives irrationally, perhaps viciously, for these things are published for all to see. But the thought of influences and circumstances, screened from workmates and ordinary associates, yet vividly real and intimate to the sufferer, rarely seems to concern the average critic.

The bad in us shouts, and all the world hears; the good whispers, apologises, come tip-a-toe lest we be startled. It is not necessary to listen intently to thunder, but one must strain sometimes to catch the thin, urging voice of salvation's emissary. The average critic would think shame of his bad spirit towards misfortune if he realised we were childish, and heedless as a child, ill-informed of things that truly matter. Gossip is responsible for tremendous issues occasionally—it finds impassés every day—and it is always devoid of true insight and understanding. Gossip, we know, makes no claim to understanding, displays no consideration, hence it is the weed of speech and must go the way of all weeds.

Here I must avoid platitude, lest I bore you. And yet I must remind you that it is a reflection against a man that he be ultra-sensitive about himself and his own cause, while purblind and insensitive about his fellow's.

Why are men apparently unaware that other souls are tried in life's way much as they themselves are? Is it that they suspect imposture on the part of a workmate? Is it that living insincerely themselves they give universality to insincerity? This will not do. If it were partially true it would upbraid us too much. If we can act only on the plane we see, then let the sight be schooled, directed, even let glasses be got. Imagine a whole world that squinted!

Let us come home a little more intimately. Suppose one puts a touch more love, or consideration, or understanding, into the observations one makes of one's fellows; what then? Well, is it not likely that observations tempered by love, kinship and understanding will rigidly delete many flaws, warts, vices, unseemliness and give point to the humanity, spirituality and real manliness to be found in every humble son of God? Of course it is; for the seeing eye, which is the loving eye, sees the flower an instant quicker than it observes the soil it springs from. The loving eye sees the son, not the prodigal. The Christian eye sees the trembling, mis-directed, wayward spirit, not the error, not the horrifying sin, the duplicity, the crime.

What a difference it makes to the view when one sees with the heart! Is it not a mercy that the race of men are governed by heart as much as by brain, by corpuscles as well as cells? This may appear sentimental, but it is not more so than is necessary for the desired effect, and that is to gain a different verdict upon the so-called errors of human creatures than is usually found.

Man is not vicious, and it is a misrepresentation to say he is. Man is always a son, and sons never are vicious. That which appears to be vice in the human creature is simply some parasitic growth, which has fastened like a mollusc to a convenient object. Certain it is, however, that these parasites can undermine man's frame and bring him to shame, as readily as the vegetable parasites—ivy, dodder, mistletoe, etc.—can rot the heart of oak—if he yields to their poisonous, insidious influence.

Look at man then in that light, the radiance of which reveals the vices attributed to him as unnatural and parasitic, and you at once become immensely attracted to him, and readier than ever to bestir yourself to explode the conditions which nurture his unnatural and parasitic foes.

Look at him again and you see him as Lady Henry Lawrence saw her husband—as a being whose "mind is like a house in which the commonest vessels are of gold."

Or, again, get the picture which Grace Rhys has attempted to paint of God, seeing His creature in true perspective. "How delightful to be God and have all the best side of people turned to one. It is He that sees all the beauty there is in the wretches of the earth."

I wonder ardently where is the shop of the optician who supplied those ladies with glasses.

Japan and America.

"The World To-morrow" (New York), in its November issue, has a significant series of articles dealing with what it describes as "the growing anti-Japanese feeling in America," a feeling which, it declares, cannot be exaggerated.

Robert Whitaker, a Baptist minister of Los Gatos, California, who at present is touring the States in the interests of social welfare and goodwill, writes of the anti-Japanese agitation in California. "This agitation," he says, "is a

part of the general increase of the suspicions and antipathies begotten by the Great War. You can no more conduct a war without hatred and fear than you can run an automobile without oil and gasoline. California shared with the rest of the nation the campaign of hatred and fear toward Germany. Germany as an objective has ceased to interest the Californians now. They were never as near to Germany as were the people of the eastern states, and therefore it was easier for them to change the objective of the education they had received. And this in brief is what has happened. California's Germany just now is Japan. The imperialism of Japan is not less autocratic than was the imperialism of Germany, and the menace of Japan, so far as California's interest is concerned, seems, to many of our timid people especially, much more imminent. Why should it be reckoned strange, therefore, that the sort of thing which all our moral leaders as well as our political guides have been cultivating in the American people has flourished in the case of California in an attitude of exaggerated distrust and enmity toward the rising imperial power of the East?"

The importance of the economic factor is touched on in the following paragraph:—

"The churches in California will deprecate all talk of war with Japan; the press will speak softly about it. There are many idealists who will pray over it and talk piously in the hope of thereby preventing it. But the causes which are making for trouble between the United States and Japan are not to be prayed or preached out of the way unless our praying and preaching go a good deal deeper than words. And our preaching has to do with a good deal more than pious sentiments. If we continue our present economic system there is no reason whatever to believe that conflict with Japan will grow less acute. She is increasing the area of her exploitation of the world. We are increasing the area of our exploitation of the world. She wants the markets of the East and so far as she can get them the markets of the West. We want the markets of the whole world. Racial feeling will undoubtedly contribute to intensify the opposition. Our inheritance of hatred and suspicion from the Great War will make it easy for us to feel unneighbourly toward Japan. The itch for profit of the land speculator will serve as the contributing cause to the disturbance of our relations with a people as thrifty and as capable as the Japanese who are able to take more off the land when they get it and to live on less. These are all items of no small importance.

"The real menace is a world situation which builds up enormous fortunes in every one of the great dominant nations, fortunes which can only be continued and increased by a further exploitation of the markets of the world; and therefore the master class in the master nations are continually, whether conscious of the matter or not, in the attitude of rivals armed to the teeth and ready at any instant to draw the sword or gun and to begin war's bloody business all over again. Only as we build a brotherhood society on the basis of the workers' control of the world's work shall we have any assurance of permanent peace between America and Japan."

It is obvious that if this antagonism is allowed to develop it will involve other countries besides the United States and Japan. There are clear indications, for instance, that, in the event of a war between these two powerful rivals, Great Britain

would find herself drawn into the fray on the side of Japan. The whole of the Orient, in all probability, would be up in arms, and another world-war, more terrible even than the last, would deal the final blow to human hopes and ideals.

The forces to which we might appeal for peace do not offer very encouraging prospect of success.

It is impossible, for instance, to think of the League of Nations interfering with effect. In another article in the same number of the "World To-morrow" that we have quoted from already, we read:—

"The worst feature of the League controversy is the fact that the fair appearance of the League so easily misleads men of high character to give it support instead of facing the reality that only a spiritual and economic revolution will save mankind and make possible a genuine association of free peoples. To effect that revolution without chaos and widespread civil war is so hard a task as to require the energy of all men of intelligence and good will. We have passed the time, if ever we had reached it, when we can be saved by any treaty or by any form of international machinery which does not cut into the heart of our present social order. There is no easy way of salvation, but only the difficult task of the creation of an economic and social order in which it is no longer to the immense profit of imperialists to exploit the earth, its resources, and its inhabitants. The wars that still curse Central Europe and the Near East show how impotent or worse is the machinery of the League of Nations for effecting this end. They deceive themselves who hope against hope. League or no League, a continuance of capitalist imperialism will within a generation lead to a new world war incomparably more terrible than the one we have survived. Even now the storm clouds are beginning to gather. In the face of these facts it will be a genuine tragedy if idealists continue to believe they can heal the world's wounds with so deceitful a panacea as the League of the imperialists embodied in the Carthaginian peace of Versailles."

Nor does Labour appear to be a more likely mediator. The question of Asiatic labour is one that in Australia, the States, and British Columbia arouses the fiercest controversy in the industrial world. The internationalism of Labour cannot be trusted in any matter in which this issue is raised. Apparently it is a race between the Kingdom of God and the enemies of Peace in America and Japan.

No true society exists without common faith and common purpose, politics are their application, religion gives their principle. Where this common faith is not, the mere will of the majority means permanent instability and the oppression of the rest. Without God you can coerce, but you cannot persuade; you may be tyrants in your turn, but you cannot be educators or apostles. What we want, what the people want, what the age is crying for—that it may find an issue from this slough of selfishness and doubt and negation—is a faith, a faith in which our souls, ceasing to wander in search of individual ends, may march together in the consciousness of one origin, one law, one goal.

All humanity repeats under different formulas and in different degrees the word of the Lord's Prayer of Christendom: Thy kingdom come on earth as it is in heaven.—MAZZINI.

Talks on Communism.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

Is Communism natural to man? In other words, is social service an adequate motive of conduct? Socialists say yes, but most Christians say no, insisting that man must receive power and dominion as a reward for his efforts. Surely contradiction never reached a higher degree of sharpness! The only people who are seeking to destroy the materialist foundation of modern life, the Socialists, are everywhere condemned by the churches as irreligious materialists—by the very people, in fact, who declare that men will not work for spiritual ends, but only for wealth and power! Truly, to-day, the pagans are the Christians, and the Christians the pagans.

One of the chief tragedies of our time is that so few seem to understand the place that the present age occupies in the evolutionary process, realise that the growing social unrest is at root a demand for life to be put on a spiritual basis. We need a life which combines the spirit of the pre-capitalist era (symbolised in monasticism, Lollardy and the Friars), with its love of life and its wonderful artistic and spiritual development, and the science and invention of modern industrialism. That industrialism has prepared the way for an unprecedented spiritual development, and the object of the moment is to clear away capitalism and make such development possible.

The ultimate test of every social theory is its power to enhance human well-being; which is only another way of saying that as the human soul develops, becomes conscious of its growing powers and needs, the external world must be modified so as to serve those needs. All questions of social theory are questions of human nature. The social problem is the problem of the human soul, and the creation of an ideal social order is nothing more than the creation of a natural habitation for the spirit of man. Thought and creative effort develop the soul, bring into being new powers, new aspirations, new visions, which must have play, opportunity of expression and fulfilment. The effort to secure that opportunity we call social agitation, the social agitator being the man who seeks to create the conditions for the further development of the soul, the increasing of life.

It thus transpires that in every age there is a clash between two conceptions of human nature, between the idealists and the defenders of "things as they are." Each side condemns the other for working against nature. "You are Utopian, man is not an angel!" says the one; "You are a sceptic and an infidel, for you will not permit man to be other than a beast!" cries the other. Thus to-day we are told, on the one hand that it is natural to be selfish, to accumulate riches, even by ways that are paved with the blood and bones of our unfortunate fellows, and on the other than it is natural to be kind and hospitable, to serve one's fellows and live spiritually. The latter would prevent the accumulation of riches, guarantee the physical existence of every individual who was willing to serve the com-

3.—THE TEST OF NATURE.

munity, and thus open up a way to true culture, to a life of unlimited spiritual development for all.

The simple truth is, as the fact of evolution proves, that human nature is illimitable, capable of infinite growth and decline. We may sacrifice our souls for the possession of material power, or we may sacrifice wealth and win our souls. In other words, we may either play down or up to human nature. It is natural to be selfish, but it is more natural to be unselfish, for the law of unselfishness, which is love, or social service, is the law of spiritual development, the condition of the more abundant life.

The real pagans in life are those who would hold man down to his past, and the real Christians those who believe that the breath and image of God are embedded in human nature and are the source of that divine urge which makes man ever restless, dissatisfied with his past, conscious of and zealous to attain new realms of life. Every man is greater than his past, more than the product of his deeds; he is all that he hopes and aspires to be. And this desire and power to become is the most vital and valuable part of our being, that which converts life into a romance, a real adventure. To wed oneself to the past, to law, custom and convention, is to become in the deepest sense a slave, a mere machine.

The supreme condemnation of modern society is that it is organised so as to destroy initiative, almost all opportunity for spiritual development, and to compel men to be materialists. Unless a man possesses a superabundance of spiritual strength he must enter the arena of industrial life and lose his soul in a sordid struggle for wealth, for power, ease and luxury.

Against this the Christian Communist protests, declares that such is not life, and sees in a society where the satisfaction of physical needs is guaranteed, the only hope of an existence worthy of enlightened souls. Under such conditions the individual will be able to let his imagination roam over an almost unexplored field of spiritual experience. Freed from physical worries, with unexampled means at his disposal, and living in a world where honour and distinction are the reward solely of worth, creative effort, valiance, love, a man must explore his mind and heart for a mission, a vision, in order to be worthy of himself; and in expressing his desires and working out his visions, he will reap in joy, a richness and abundance of life hitherto undreamt of.

Christ was right when He said: "Take no thought for the morrow what ye shall eat or what ye shall put on," and I will venture to say that life never will be satisfactory until we can do that, for not until then shall we be free to develop spiritually. Communism is the paramount spiritual necessity of the present age, and until it is established—beauty, art, love, fellowship, and all the profoundest spiritual activities, for want of which this old earth is to-day perishing, will be held up to ransom.

Bookland. Irish Economics.

In the October number of "Old Ireland" I came across a review of "Outlines of the Industrial History of Ireland" by John F. Burke, D.Sc. (Fallon Bros., The Schools House, Dublin, 3s. 6d. net), and sent for it. There was nothing very attractive in its appearance. The pages are crammed with figures. The style is not much superior to that of a report. The book is evidently intended for schools and colleges. Its severely judicial tone indicates that it has been produced with an educational rather than the partisan purpose. Yet I seized on it with avidity. Here were the things I wanted to know. This would give me, I said, some idea of the economic relations between England and Ireland in the past. And it is they that need examination. The Home Rule controversy has taught us to think of the Irish problem in political terms. But it has long been evident that these do not state the case in its ultimate forms. This is another occasion for interpreting Imperialism in the language of Capitalism. The real antagonists are not Irish and English, but exploited and exploiters.

This is lucidly stated in the following paragraph of Dr. Burke's Outlines:—

By removing the legislative power from Dublin to London, the Act of Union brought the economic as well as the political interests of Ireland under the control of English ideas. Herein lies the key to the economic history of Ireland after 1800. No longer is it possible for Irish public opinion to mould the destiny of Irish industry or of Irish agriculture; in an imperial House of Commons, numbering 658 members, only under extraordinary circumstances could the Irish representation of 100 secure for Ireland the legislative enactments she required. Moreover, it came to pass that, in the unreformed Parliament, the Irish members were returned by the predominant influence of the landlord class exercised through the pressure they were able to bring to bear on the forty-shilling freeholders. The invasion of Irish members into England thus produced the very same effect upon the invaders as was experienced by the early Anglo-Norman invaders of Ireland; many of the Irish representatives became in practice more English than the English themselves.

The terrible "Famine" which overtook Ireland in 1846 is a startling example of the economic exploitation of the country in the interests of England. It is as well to give the entire passage in which Dr. Burke states the position. After recalling the horrors of that period and the wholly inadequate or harmful measures adopted by the Government to meet the distress he goes on to say:—

To this catastrophe which devastated Ireland between 1846 and 1849 historians have given the term: Famine. Seldom was a term more erroneously applied. The word "famine" is generally accepted as connoting a shortage of food. In Ireland during these disastrous years there was no such deficiency of food as to give rise to the dreadful calamity that occurred. What did happen was the destruction through potato blight of the root crop upon which the bulk of the people lived. But side by side with this, was a plentiful harvest of grain, more than enough to feed the whole population. In 1846 the value of the Irish harvest and cattle was £41,000,000; in 1847 it fell to £38,500,000; for 1848 the yield of the harvest was valued at £45,000,000. But this abundance of food was allowed to go out of the country to pay the rents of absentee landlords. In 1845-6 the official returns record an export from Ireland to Great Britain, of grain exceeding in quantity 3,250,000 quarters. All through 1846 and 1847 wheat, barley, oats, and cattle were exported from Ireland in quantities greater than were

required to support her starving population. During 1848 the grain export alone approached 2,000,000 quarters. In a land producing such quantities of agricultural produce there could have been no natural famine. The shortage consequent upon the failure of the potato crop might conceivably have given rise to much distress; but prompt administrative action, by retaining in Ireland the large grain crop, would quickly have reduced this distress to normal proportions. However, Peel, under the influence of the policy of *laissez faire*, refused to take this step, and his successor, Lord John Russell, never entertained it. They preferred to administer quack remedies such as the unproductive relief works or the degrading relief of the detested poor law system. In this manner the Government of the day created an artificial famine where unforeseen causes had produced a natural shortage. Ireland presented the dread paradox of famine in the midst of plenty. Herein lies the explanation of the verdict, which was given now and again at the inquest on some poor victim who had perished of hunger: "Wilful murder against Lord John Russell."

The "Outlines" have no such philosophic breadth and intellectual penetration as Connolly's "Labour in Irish History" but Dr. Burke's book gives a clear and detailed account of the economic relations which have existed between Ireland and this country from the Conquest to 1850. And at the present acute stage of the controversy a book of this kind should be found useful in the extreme.

It is to be regretted that the story is not carried down further than the middle of last century. Some will regard the matters discussed as irrelevant to-day. It is a common complaint that Irishmen are fond of raking up the unhappy past in order to feed the flames of hate and bitterness to-day. In reply to that two questions suggest themselves. First of all, whether racial memories must not necessarily be longer than those of the individual. The wrongs which history records may not have been repeated in the experience of the present generation, but in the life of a nation a single generation occupies but a small space.

The second question would require as an answer the carrying forward to the present day the story which the writer of this book has brought up to 1850. For it demands to know in what ways we are still suppressing the industrial activities of Ireland for the sake of protecting those of our own country.

WHO MADE FREEDOM?

Men win the liberty they live by. Nor shall the race of men live when liberty is dead. It is God's ordinance. God gave to men and angels liberty—in the full vision of sin and Hell. But he judged the good of freedom greater than the terrific sum of the world's sins, and the devil's. He judged it greater than the evil of external Hell. He said no man shall enter heaven who is not free to choose. So shall no nation fulfill her destiny without—liberty. To fight this natural law is to fight God. Hence the satanic crime of tyranny.—"Old Ireland."

What is Essential?

**Glory to God in the Highest—
On earth peace amongst men who please Him.**

Thus was He to Whom "every knee shall bow," heralded into the world.

The words are so simple and so oft repeated that we miss their profound meaning.

In going up and down the country, the question so often asked and implied is: "What is essential in the Christian Faith?"

The answer must be always:

"Thou shalt call His name Eman-uel—God with us."

"Then what is this you call the Church? Has she not betrayed her alleged Lord in going to slay—in supporting a social order based on competition and domination?"

The Church universal includes all those fallible men and women of like weakness with ourselves, who down the ages have gathered round Jesus Christ. So the Church can err, she can fall, she can sin, she can lead men downwards, she can, like salt, be cast out and trodden under foot of men. The Church, forgiven and redeemed as she is, must never be confused with Jesus Christ, the Redeemer, the sole Authority.

We must, moreover, clear up the confusion between the one invisible Church and the churches or congregations—even the very buildings of stone and timber which people call "a church."

From the beginning there have been churches—in the plural, the Spirit spoke to the seven churches of Asia. To-day there are churches of Europe, America, Asia, Africa. We give them fancy names—Methodists, Wesleyans, Independents, Brethren, Quakers, Congregationalists, Anglicans, Free Catholics, Presbyterians, Romans, Greeks, and the rest. We groan that they should be so disunited in their forms of worship, their creeds, their orders of ministry. We might spare our distress on these heads and concentrate on bringing all churches into the obedience of Christ to the New Commandment. True "Unity" will only come when churches lay down the sword and refuse either to kill or to exploit their fellows.

"By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples—that ye love one another." Love and loyalty to Christ is the test of membership in the Church. We are not required to agree! After all, it will not be our theology or our ecclesiasticism by which we shall be judged, at that awful Judgment Seat of Christ, but by our "deeds done in the body."

Any outward observance of our religion, which concentrates attention away from the teaching of Jesus, brings us into the danger of "offending one of these little ones."

It is the knowledge that to-day we who profess to belong to Jesus Christ are so "offending" which makes us so earnestly seek to be in very truth "born again," and when people argue that some of

us put ethics before dogma we are not troubled, for we see hour by hour the world going to destruction because of the great gulf yawning between our religious professions, our insistence upon creeds, sacraments and outward observances, and the profound simplicity of the spiritual teaching of Jesus Christ.

The people to-day are home-sick for Jesus Christ, and we of the churches are bound to accept their suspicion of our organisations as the penalty for our disloyalty. A clergyman on a tank, a gun in a church, support of lay and ecclesiastical titles, the broad acceptance of the present social order, these and other obvious inconsistencies with the teaching of Jesus Christ sicken many in, and most outside, the churches.

It may be that through our Declaration we shall find such centres of Christian action up and down the land as shall discover to us a unity in social practice with many in many differing congregations which will be more honouring to our Lord than any ecclesiastical uniformity; and in places where such unity is not as yet possible, we must beware how we brand as "schism" any who impelled to common fellowship round Jesus Christ gather into a new "congregation" to express their passion for the Christ of the broken sword, and the girded towel.

It is no betrayal of our invisible Church to recognise that its witness is as yet incomplete, for the world would not be as it is to-day had it not been so.

Something is still wanted—and I would submit that the saints in the past would be the first to urge us to look far beyond them, and to refrain from disputings over present day selections of theological and ecclesiastical controversies which have torn the visible churches and betrayed the peoples.

What is this new—this creative Vision which must revolutionise the individual, the churches and the world to-day?

The Spirit of God is moving in every land—Watch—for ye know not what hour your Lord shall come.

If we cannot recognise the sound of His feet, we may at least perhaps hear once again the Angel's Song.

T.W.W.

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INCLUDE

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The Hidden Valley.

CHAPTER VI.—SIBUKOFF'S DISCIPLE.

Over the meagre meal they talked. Wise gave expression to his doleful cogitations and Marie listened. Her eyes were veiled by the downcast lids, but her ample bosom was agitated. The little triquet on her bare neck heaved like some frail vessel on a stormy sea.

To the young man the experience of pouring out his soul to one who understood was as the opening of sluice gates, or rather it was like one of those moods which come upon us when, escaping from the city and from the consciousness of "all that we are in all men's sight," we stand in one of Nature's sanctuaries of silence while the graciousness of sky and earth gives us boldness to become our best selves.

"Yes," she said, when he had finished talking, "you are like the rest." Her large eyes were unveiled now and flashed at him. "You have no faith. My father—he has no faith; he has only theories. They," with a wave towards the settlement at large, "have no faith; they have only appetites. You have no faith; you have only dreams. I was once as they and you are. I had theories, dreams, desires. I thought they were enough. I said 'People must know; then they will follow us. It is only ignorance that blinds them.' It seemed so simple. I worked with comrades at a secret press. We circulated our literature. We made converts among the intelligensia. The Revolution seemed ready. Then we were arrested. In Siberia I thought and thought. Then I prayed." She rose from her seat and went over to a little book-case and took down a volume. It opened easily at the page she wanted.

"Listen!" she said, "It is Mazzini."

"Our present duty is to found the policy of the 19th century; to reascend, through philosophy to faith; to initiate a new epoch. Upon that initiation does the material realisation of the past epoch depend."

She replaced the volume. Wise could not forbear noticing how her passion seemed to dilate, to fill her whole being. She moved across the room as though supported by some invisible power.

"Do you remember," she continued, re-seating herself and resting her elbows on the table while her hands upheld her mobile face, "Do you remember how the revolutionary movement died in Italy and how it rose again? It died as a political party, it rose as a religious force. I thought of that in Siberia. I learned in those months of exile that our intellectuals who would destroy religion are cutting the ground from under their feet." She cast a hasty glance at her father and went on. "There is no power in their theories to subjugate their individual passions. That is why we have failed and shall fail. We shall succeed only as there arise among us men who believe, who have a creed, whose dogmatism is remorseless. Their faith may not be beautiful. Their creed in all likelihood will be couched in the

jargon of science. They probably will be materialists in name, that is, their spirituality will express itself in material terms. They may be cruel, fanatical, uncompromising, but they will sweep the intelligensia and the sentimentalists on one side as your Cromwell's Ironsides, under similar circumstances, swept before them the half-hearted parliamentarians who preceded them."

"Tell me," said Wise, "did you have no tutor in those things?"

"My own reading," she replied, "and the conversation of comrades, and—and—"

"And whom?" he asked.

She paused as if considering whether she should impart a secret, and then answered abruptly, "A Peasant. It was in his hut I found refuge in my flight from the Siberian Settlement. An old man with long grey beard. A born mystic, something, too, of a prophet. There are many such amongst us. It was not what he said, it was his big, sane, simple, self. He believed in God, and when he talked about God, all our controversies, struggles seemed like the quarrels of foolish children. Knowing him was the beginning. But there was one thing I had that he lacked. He was a quietest. But for me to know was to act, to propagate. Perhaps he is still where I left him—the long silences of the Siberian sky wrapping him round. While here am I, flinging abroad in this new world the seed he so carefully nurtured in solitude.

"I wonder sometimes whether the world he lives in—remote, Oriental, immobile, is on the same planet as this civilisation of yours. Can seed grown in that distant soil flourish here? Can the thought of a Russian peasant organise the industry, the economics of America? That, indeed, would be proof that we are one. Ah, if Sibukoff could see his disciple would he understand?"

Her father rose and closed his book. It was the signal for retirement. Marie pointed to bedding in a corner of the room, and advised Luke to draw it near the stove. She herself entered the inner room, and her father, having seen that Wise was comfortably settled, turned out the lamp and lay down in his bunk.

(To be continued).

"TOM BROWN'S"

Youngest son—George Hughes—writes from Kansas, U.S.A.: "The Crusader . . . is so brave and so clean, and a real credit to religion."

The Crusade.

THE "CRUSADER" IN NORTHUMBERLAND.

An interesting feature of our meetings this week is that they have nearly all been held in places that have scarcely been touched by propaganda since the war. It has been interesting because it has revealed that there are large numbers of people whose minds are disturbed at what is taking place in the world, particularly under British instigation, and the readiness with which our message has been accepted, has exceeded all expectation. Such titles as "Revolutionary Christianity," "The Social Revolution," "The European Situation," "Our Responsibility in Central Europe," have been put on the bills for our meetings, and the astonishing result has invariably been that the people have accepted our interpretation of events and also, apparently, our solution of the social problem. Sometimes we have almost been surprised, remembering what took place during the war, that the people have not stoned us for our outspokenness. Indeed, I would like to impress upon all social and Christian workers the necessity for harnessing themselves to the plough. Now is the time, the people are ready, and if we do not seize the opportunity it may pass away.

We had a fine, compact meeting at Amble, and one felt it to be one of those occasions where numbers do not count. At Newbiggin, too, we had a much larger meeting than I expected to find in so small a place; it was truly encouraging. But at the least place of all, Dinnington Colliery, we had a great surprise. The friends said they had never had such a rally at a meeting of the kind in their history. In this village nearly 100 "Crusaders" were sold. The man with whom I stayed was a miner who entered the pit at the age of 7, and had continued there for 55 years. He possessed a full set of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" (of course, he had picked it up secondhand, but he had it!) and the 20 volume set of the "International Library of Literature." He had a fine mind, and each evening his family, all of whom live in the district, his four sons being all miners, met in the paternal home, and on the two evenings that I was there, we discussed vital topics till midnight.

Let me repeat: there is great hope if only more people would carry the message. W.W.

THE "CRUSADER" IN LINCOLNSHIRE.

The variations in the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere of different counties are most marked. Those counties which are composed for the most part of country towns I find to be in the worst condition, although the big industrial centres, with few exceptions, are exceedingly backward at the present time. So far as my experience goes, labour is most conscious with the exception of a few towns, in mining villages and agricultural districts, perhaps, in the latter case, owing to the fact that the agricultural workers have been the last body of workers to organise themselves.

The great lack of the present time is daring, the old-fashioned missionary spirit, the spirit of the Lollards, of the early Friars, of the Wesleys, of Owen, Morris, and Keir Hardie, and we shall make little headway till we acquire that spirit. My impression is that the people everywhere are in a mood and condition to be influenced, converted to the Gospel of Christian Communism, if only there were sufficient preachers to go out and proclaim it to them. In most places in Lincolnshire Labour propaganda during the present winter, and in some cases since the war, has scarcely been attempted. Out of five meetings that had been arranged for me during the past week, two were cancelled at the last moment. But we went ahead nevertheless, and at Gainsboro', where we had a poorly attended indoor meeting on the Wednesday, it was decided to send round the bellman and hold an open-air meeting in the market place on the following evening.

Our Lincoln friends were hampered by an optionless Saturday evening meeting which was not well attended. A strong feeling was manifest that more energy and enterprise must be given to the cause. At Grantham, on the Sunday, we had a nice gathering, although little advertising had been done, and the enthusiasm was marked and the discussion keen.

The meeting at Scunthorpe having been abandoned I took advantage of my freedom to visit our good comrade, Edwin Hooper, who, as vicar of Northorpe, has carried on a valiant fight for peace and freedom during and since the war. There I listened to the thrilling story of how pacifism emptied a church, and later harvested an almost entirely new congregation. I was inspired by the story I heard, and by the work that is being done, as also by the knowledge that the "Crusader" had been and

still is part of the fighting machinery. Many of us in the big towns little realise the courage that is needed to battle for freedom and social emancipation in these quiet but nevertheless important corners of our land. W.W.

CRUSADER CENTRES OF ACTION.

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Jake Estell, 5 Bertram St., Birtley, Co. Durham.

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Mr. W. E. Leedham, Canal Side, Netherton, Nr. Dudley.
Mr. S. R. Tilley, 4 Hampton St., Netherton, Nr. Dudley.

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Mr. R. Barclay Murdoch, 48 Cumberland Street S., Glasgow.

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Mr. J. T. Hull, 89 Grange Avenue, Reading.

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Mr. C. Allcock, Rose Cottage, Ashby Rd., Old Brumby, Scunthorpe, Lincs.

SWADLINCOTE—

Mr. F. R. Mountford, 72 Wilmot Rd., Swadlincote, Burton-on-Trent.

SWINDON—

Mr. F. J. King, 181 Kingshill, Swindon.

These Crusader Centres of Action, as has been explained, are being organised with the object of enabling us at short notice to get into touch with various parts of the country, and, as occasion may demand, supply extra "Crusader" copies for special purposes. Volunteers are badly needed in the districts not yet represented and we should be glad to hear from readers who will act as our agents in their own localities.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"THAT FOX."

To the Editor of "The Crusader."

Sir,—Will you allow me to tell "Love one another" that I regret distressing her. Yet I must continue to believe that Jesus Christ was an embodiment of that righteous wrath which is seen in the universe, which universe, far from being a nice prettily spoken lady-like universe, voices itself in dispensations of the most terrific harshness and violence. Think of the pain and mental anguish and humiliation and at last death in our own lives. Or of the catastrophes now overwhelming Europe. Are these suave and honeyed expressions? No indeed, words of God they must be, but words fierce and unsparing in rebuke, as were those of Jesus Christ, Who if He were God, must have been of the same nature and ways as God. Love—yes, but the love of consuming fire which burns to burn out badness. "Why pour out your vials of wrath upon your own little boy and not upon the next door little boy?" I asked of a mother the other day. The two boys had thrown stones at a cat. "The next door little boy I don't care about, but my own little boy I love," was the reply.

Oh, but you say we are not as God. Ourselves are our affair not other people. True, yet life is larger than any single axiom and surely we are poor insensitive things if our fires are so dead, that they do not sometimes blaze up against cruelty and hypocrisy. Ashes are valueless, not so too fierce flame. And I am certain that our sins to-day do not arise so much from strong moral passion as from sheer cold. It is vehemence, not lack of it, we need.

"Christ would not have called a man a liar to-day," "Love one another" tells us. I hope He would, I'm sure many of us need it. And He did when He was alive call people not precisely liars but something much stronger—hypocrites. Think of this comparison of the Pharisees to whitened sepulchres, pleasing outside, but inside containing nothing but "dead men's bones." Could any invective be more drastic? For to tell lies to other people is a trivial outside matter compared to one's own sophistries which destroy irrevocably spiritual life itself. We are not then merely telling a lie but lie ourselves all the way through.

I contend therefore that Jesus Christ was not only meek and gentle (note I say "only") but that He had in Him something of the nature of that "Sword on high, that is not in haste to smite nor yet doth linger" and that by His words on due occasions He used that sword to smite all that make-believe and lip devotion and spurious life generally which proved the ruin of the Jewish people as to-day of our own nations and even civilisation.

IZZIL.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND SPIRITUAL FERVOUR.

During question-time after a lecture on the rise of the Labour movement, given by Mr. S. D. Shallard, under the auspices of the Hendon Labour Party, a young man, presumably an artisan, got up and voiced a significant longing. Mr. Shallard had mentioned in enumerating the various bodies which inaugurated the political rights of democracy the Christian Social Union, which, as we all know, was connected with the Anglican Church and included among its members such well-known men as Maurice and Kingsley. "Would you tell us what you consider to have been the value of the Christian Social Union?" was the question asked.

Mr. Shallard rose with great alacrity and replied warmly: "I consider it has been of the greatest value. When one acquires one's principles in connection with what one most reveres and what is most dear to us then it is that those principles abide."

This satisfied the questioner, who again rose to say practically (I can't remember the exact words) "Do we not need some such movement to-day? I long for passion in our cause, so that I can work for it with more enthusiasm, rushing off to meeting after meeting filled with zest and joy. What the Labour movement needs," he ended by saying, "is spiritual fervour."

This, friends, was not a religious meeting, remember, but a Labour meeting.

L. E. T.

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WHAT WAR MEANS.—A series of Lunch Hour Addresses on this subject is being given at Devonshire House, 136 Bishopsgate, E.C., on Mondays from 1.20 to 1.50 p.m. December 13: "What War Means In International Relations," by H. Wilson Harris.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

AN INDIAN STUDENT, vegetarian, wants accommodation in a good comfortable family. Please communicate, giving particulars, with X, c/o "Crusader" Office.

SIDELIGHTS.

Disarmament in Ireland.

The following letter appeared in the "Irish Times" for November 29.

Sir.—Will you allow me to remind your readers of what took place in Ireland in the 1798 Rebellion? The members of the Society of Friends, in 1796, destroyed their arms, and so showed to the Government their peaceable intentions. One Quaker at Ferns, in Wexford, was visited by one of the United Irishmen, or rebels, who said: "Let who may be killed, the Quakers will be spared." The scene was soon a terrible one—houses and corn aflame, the Protestants fleeing, some being wounded. This Quaker at Ferns prepared food for any in need among the Protestants. When the insurgents came hungry, however, to his house he fed them instead. He took no sides. He had a law deeper than any political one. Later, a party of the King's Army came to his door, and one man presented a gun at his breast, when the Friend said, "Desist from murder." The soldier immediately let fall the gun and spared the life of the unarmed man. Through the Rebellion the Quakers suffered very little, because they would not bear arms against any man, whatever his views might be.

In New England, in 1704, when the land belonged to the English, there travelled one Thomas Chalkley, another Quaker. I have been reading his "Journal" in the British Museum. He tells how hundreds were slain by the Indians, but only three Quakers—a woman who went to live at the fort and two men—shot because they took to weapons in fear. Only the unarmed were safe. How cruel the Indians could be is known to all who have read Mary Johnston's novel, "Old Dominion," about Virginia in 1663.

Now, sir, is not the policy of force played out on both sides? Let us own up! Let us be practical men. Is force a success or a failure? Does killing bring a real peace? Has not one war led to another? Alsace was taken by the French in 1648, re-taken by the Germans in 1870, and re-taken now by the French. The people were not consulted.

Reprisals led to reprisals. Let the British do the true thing—withdraw their Army and offer Ireland a plebiscite as to whether she shall be a Republic. If Ulster says "No," leave Ulster out, and let the rest be a Republic, with pledges not to co-operate with any Continental Power in military matters.

We profess to stand for the right of small peoples for self-government. Let us begin near home and fear not. The day for force is over. The war has shown how even the victors suffer. The British Cabinet said that the war was to "defend British interests." Five times on August 3rd, 1914, did Sir Edward Grey so declare. Britain lost £7,000,000,000 and 800,000 lives. That is how war "defended British interests"! Let us all be really practical men, and disarm. It requires some courage—more courage than to arm. Are we up to this? Who will begin? Dare we do it and lead the world into a New Age?—Yours, etc.,

G. T. SADLER, LL.B.

37 Chartfield avenue, Putney London,
November 25th, 1920.

The Conservatism of the Third International.

The Third International seeks genuine revolutionary ends, but it cannot rise above the age-old human psychology in its reception of methods. The isolation of Russia and the conduct of her foes may explain the tests for affiliation laid down at Moscow, but they do not justify them. It is enormously difficult to discover a new technic of revolution, but this much is certain: they are doomed to bitter disappointment who believe that socialist or communist ideals can be secured by universal war (which is apparently presupposed by the Moscow program) and by the reassertion of the old principle of centralised dictatorship. Yet it is these methods which the Third International not only accepts but glorifies and makes of the essence of the Communist faith. Modern warfare comes too near to race suicide and is too obviously destructive of the nobler side of man's nature to let any straight-thinking man hold to it with complacency as the means of our salvation. And when to war

the Third International adds provisions for the dictatorship of Moscow over local activities of all socialist or Communist parties, one can only despair that men learn so little of history. It is this undue centralisation which invited revolution against the dominion of the Roman Empire and the Roman Church; it is this centralisation which crushes out the life of the individual in modern industry. The whole problem of our time is to find a way of maintaining efficiency while promoting decentralisation of power. In other words, we must discover a unity based on fellowship rather than on military discipline. On this score the Third International is not radical at all. It is as conservative as the great emperors and Popes of Rome, or as the modern industrial autocrats.—"The World To-morrow." (U.S.A.)

Captain White.

Capt. White, the son of Sir George White, has been again arrested in Dublin. In a recent issue of "Old Ireland," Captain White wrote:—

The customariness of the present order does not in the least lessen its guilt or the responsibility of individuals to sever guilty connection with it.

Take my own case as a member of a landlord family. I must suffer for my guilt so long as I acquiesce in the legalised robbery by which my family and myself live. I can only mitigate that guilt by pointing out to the tenants the wickedness and folly of permitting our family, or any other, to make a constant drain on the resources of a district. For this drain, appropriated by us, either we make no return or get spurious credit for public spirit by returning some of our stolen tribute to further weaken the genuine public spirit of our tenants.

Lynch Law In Ireland.

The following resolution has been passed by the Church Socialist League:—

"The Executive Committee of the Church Socialist League express their horror at the whole state of affairs now existing in Ireland, resulting in a constant competition in atrocious crime; while earnestly imploring the Sinn Fein leaders to denounce and use their utmost influence to restrain the policy of murder on the part of some of their followers, they condemn in the strongest language any encouragement, veiled or overt, by the Government, of murder and other lawlessness on the part of the forces of the Crown; demand the immediate ending of the present regime; and appeal to the whole Christian Church to take the lead in calling for a truce of God."

Good Business.

"Six chapels in the Dowlais district are on land belonging to Messrs. Guest, Keen and Nettlefolds, Ltd.

"Representatives were invited to meet Mr. H. Seymour Berry, J.P., vice-chairman of the company, and they received the agreeable intimation that the company had decided to offer to the trustees of the chapels the freeholds for the nominal sum of a shilling, on the one condition that the chapels are only to be used for religious purposes.

"We are sure the company will not lose by the gift," says the "Christian World." "It has the good sense to see that the character-making work of churches makes for efficiency and peace in industry."

RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

Jesus Christ and Social Change.—Stanley Mellor, B.A., Ph.D. Swarthmore Press, 3/6 net.

The Meaning of Paul for To-Day.—Prof. C. R. Dodd, M.A. The Christian Revolution Series, Swarthmore Press, 6/6 net.

The Rise and Consummation of the Aeon.—Rev. H. E. Sampson, 6/-; and The Happiest People in the World, 5/-, by the same author. William Rider and Son.

The Crusader

No. 46. Vol. II.

Friday, Dec. 17th, 1920.

(Registered as a Newspaper)

Twopence.

A Ballad of the Birth.

High in Herod's chamber, revelry and feasting;
Purple of oppression and crimson of men's sin;
Golden curtains shutting out the crying of the multitudes,
Gleam of light and sound of music as the viols begin.
But across the skies afar, moves a quietly-glowing star,
And a Child is born in Bethlehem, known to a few.
Jesus, or the Tetrarch?
Mary, or the Queen of Herod?
Kings and queens were living greater than the courtiers knew.

High in the high places, still the strong are feasting.
Soldiery and trumpet blare hold the world at bay;
Out in the darkness the people still are murmuring
Where the world in sorrow wakes, day by dreary day.
But in one man's mind it came, the desire without a name,
And a thought of good was whispered in the ears prepared to hear.
Strength, or the potent good?
Cruelty, or brotherhood?
Love of man for man is born again and casts out fear.

Over all the sad world the menace of the rifles,
Leading hate and breeding hate, answering shame with shame.
Prison cell and gallows and the terror on the roadside
And the smoke that blackens honour, and the quenchless flame.
But the pregnant darkness still holds the dream that none can kill.
One year, or a century yet, but still the die is cast.
Right, or the furious might?
Peace, or oppression's night?
Cell nor gallows, flame nor rifle, nought will silence it at last.

Over all the broken world the victors drain the wine cups;
Brightness of the lamp-glare hides the vision of a star;
Drums drown a child-voice, and the crying of the vanquished;
Graves seem potent, potent too the chain and prison bar.
But the voice, the voice is heard and the trebly potent word
Growing softly, surely, surely, as the spring-grass through the sod.
Love, or the hate that strove
Against the Word of Love?
In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was God.

HORACE SHIPP.



The Feast.

The approach of the Season of Feasting must be my excuse for recalling a singular fact in connection with the One whose birthday is at this time celebrated.

He was strangely careless, on the whole, concerning the perpetuation of His memory. Some of His most notable utterances were spoken by the wayside to obscure people or dropped in casual conversation at the table. He made no provision for the publication of His sayings, and never, so far as we know, set pen to paper. But though He was careless of His words He endeavoured in another way to enshrine His personality and message for the future. As poets write poems, and artists incarnate their thought in stone or pigment, so Jesus, as His masterpiece, and the means by which He might be remembered, instituted a feast.

There is divine genius in the selection of this medium. For one thing, the meal is a universal custom. It is on the level of our common, everyday physical life. It is the centre of our economic existence. And then think of the joyfulness, the fellowship, the freedom associated with the Feast, and say if fitter symbol could be found of that "more abundant life" Jesus came to give! But the chief point to be observed in this connection is that the means by which Our Lord chose to be remembered was a drama in which the worshipper himself takes part. Memories may be perpetuated by books, pictures and symbolic representations. But these can never have the effect of those acts which we ourselves perform. When Jesus asked to be remembered through a meal rather than through a book He was appealing to the well-known educational principle that we remember what we do, better than what we see, or read, or hear. "This do" is better than "this read."

The Feast which occupies the centre of Christian worship is spoken of sometimes as though Jesus did not so much create this institution as adopt it. But I want to show that He impressed His genius on the meal itself, and that, just as an artist will convey his personality through some pictorial representation of the common wayside, so our Lord gave to the meal certain characteristics which make it the medium of His spirit. It is indeed His masterpiece. Here He speaks to us as the architect speaks in the building he has planned or the sculptor in the stone he has hewn.

For instance, the nature of the company is highly significant. This is no domestic circle in the ordinary sense of the term. A family, indeed, it is, but the kinship is spiritual not physical. Sitting side by side are Levi, the man who had sold himself to the Imperial Government, and Simon the zealot.

Imagine a Sinn Feiner and a member of the R.I. sitting down together at the same table in intimate spiritual and economic fellowship and you will be able to realise the significant personnel of the company gathered at the Board that memorable night. Only incarnate Love could have gathered together such guests. Some women have gone down to history as famous hostesses. They have been celebrated for the varied talents they were able to assemble round the same table. But the Divine Host eclipses them all. He brings men from the East and the West, the North and the South to sit down in His Father's Kingdom. In that respect this Feast is a genuine creation. There is no other meal like it. It is "the Federation of Mankind" in both material and spiritual matters. It is nothing short of the nucleus of that New World we are straining to realise these days. It is an incarnation of the Spirit of Christ.

It is even more significant when looked at from the point of view suggested by the words in which is recorded the fact that Jesus "gave thanks" for the bread and wine. This was a mendicants' meal. It, as well as the room in which it was eaten, was the gift of charity. The company met here did not profess to have earned it. Not for money had they preached and healed, but for Love. And, to help them continue their ministry of mercy, men and women, out of gratitude and reverence had contributed to their sustenance. There was no taint of commercialism at this table. Charity reigned supreme. The Host had depended, in faith, on the providence of the Father whose goodness towards all His creatures He was ever proclaiming, and that providence had not failed Him. In unexpected ways, from the cottager and the merchant prince had come the gift of God. Every meal in the life of this community was a miracle of divine grace. Mysteriously, without any appeal to the ordinary mercenary motives without any sordid bargaining, the table was supplied.

Thus was indicated another phase of the Economic life of the Kingdom that the Host was setting up. He was instituting a new kind of meal. "The Last Supper" is the artistic creation of spiritual genius working in the medium of domestic economy. He could say of it, "This is my flesh and blood." He embodied His spirit, His conception of Human Society, His vision of the Kingdom of God. The American poet, Walt Whitman said of his volume of poetry, "Who touches this book touches a man." Much more truly might Jesus say, "Whoso partakes of this Feast eats my flesh and drinks my blood."

All of which has its significance for Christmas—the season of feasts. We have a long way to travel before our meals resemble this gathering in the Upper Room. At present we can but beautify and enrich meals ordered according to the conventions of the present world. We can hide the sordidness and commercialism under a show of wealth and gaiety. But we must do more than that if Christmas is to be a true commemoration of the Son of Man. We must create a new kind of Feast.

THE TRAMP.

Why not Christmas every Day?

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Surely even the most pessimistic among us must catch a gleam of hope as once a year—

"The Christmas bells from hill to hill
Answer each other in the mist."

For in spite of the reality of the truly appalling evidence to the contrary, there must be hope for this sad old world while it can still set aside one small period every year in which to pay tribute to the memory of the Prince of Peace. I am not concerned with mere dogmas and creeds in my thoughts on Christmas. The fact that Christmas Day was originally the Day of Huul, or Yule, the day set apart by the ancient Druids in which to celebrate the victory of the God of Light over the Demon of Darkness, adds to the significance of Christmas. Long before the people of this country heard of Christ they spent every Eve of Yule in going round to their neighbour's houses and making friends of those with whom they had quarrelled during the past year; a bunch of the sacred mistletoe was hung in every house, and a kiss given under its berries was the pledge of forgiveness and reconciliation. When the Christians came it was an easy matter to convert this festival of Goodwill into the celebration of the birth of the Preacher of the Gospel of Goodwill and Peace.

It is enough, then, for me that Christmas is a time of Peace and Goodwill, of forgiveness, of human kindness and forbearance; and I care not what the "superior" persons and the "class-conscious" critics may say about the "sloppy sentiment" of it all—I pin my faith to the Spirit of Christmas. I love that glorious picture of the Spirit of Christmas standing by poor old Scrooge and sprinkling incense from his torch on to the dinners of the poor people as they carry them to the bakers' shops—

"And it was a very uncommon kind of torch, for once or twice when there were angry words between some dinner-carriers who had jostled each other, he shed a few drops of water on them from it, and their good humour was restored directly. For they said it was a shame to quarrel upon Christmas Day. And so it was! God love it, so it was!"

Why, Oh, why not Christmas every day?

* * *

The message of Christmas has come down to us through the ages; from the day when man first turned his face from the clod it has been striving to express itself through the hearts of the children of God. Its great Teachers have given it to the world

in varied phraseology but with its light always shining out as a beacon to a troubled world.

"Never in this world," said the Buddha, "does hatred cease by hatred; hatred ceases by love; this is always its nature."

"Injustice and harshness," said Zoroaster, "are best met with submission and patience, for thereby the hearts of enemies are softened, and they are often converted into friends."

"If the people could be taught to love simplicity and purity," said Laò-Tze, "crime would cease to exist. . . . But if there be a man worthy of death, there is always the Great Executioner, in whose hands are the issues of life and death. . . . And he who undertakes to hew for the Great Architect rarely fails to cut his hands."

And then came the Great Example to show us how the Father would have us live—and, if need be, die.

"Ye have heard that it hath been said, 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,' " said the Carpenter of Nazareth; "but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil. . . . Ye have heard that it hath been said: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you.'"

That is the Message of Christmas.

* * *

"But that is not practical politics!" say the "practical" ones. "We could never afford to take the risks involved in such a mad-brained policy."

Risks! That from the "practical" people who put their trust in armies and navies and poison gas and disease germs and the rest of the paraphernalia of modern "civilisation!" Risks! Try to count the little wooden crosses on the battlefields of Europe; try to plumb the depths of the sorrow of the world to-day—the world that fears the consequences if it were to try the way of Love.

* * *

And what, after all, is this great adventure to which we are called? Simply that we decided to "Keep Christmas" every day. Is this too much to ask? Must "Peace on earth, goodwill to men" be for ever content with an acknowledgment on one day only out of the 365? Surely not!

So here's to—

CHRISTMAS EVERY DAY.

The Crusader

Friday, Dec. 17th, 1920.

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Business Communications
To the Secretary,
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Greeting!

With this, our Christmas issue, we send to all our readers our Greeting—Peace and Goodwill!

Scattered about the world, occupying very diverse social positions, finding ourselves in different branches of the Church, we are yet one family. A great Memory and a great Hope, of which Christmas is the reminder, unite us.

We cannot gather at any actual ingle nook. No Temple built with hands can enclose us. Our sole outward and visible sign of unity is the paper which enables us, week by week, to think and feel and pray together. But the family life to which the "Crusader" bears witness is nevertheless a very real thing. It is especially real at this time of the year. The Evangel of Christmas is our evangel. It is that which we have been proclaiming in season and out of season.

We rejoice in the reinforcement of our faith and ideals given by the traditional observance of the Birth of Him Who came to bring peace to the world. The fact, clouded though it is by the world's betrayal of all for which Christmas stands, that mankind has elected to honour, above every other day, the day of His advent, is full of encouragement for us.

Together we renew our vow of fidelity to Him. From one lonely outpost to another the greeting flies. Right along the line the watchword is passed that unites us—Peace and Goodwill.

A Smaller "Crusader."

Speaking of our Group as a Family Circle, someone, the other day, observed that that Circle was now broken, inasmuch as we could not make two ends meet. The witticism has truth. It is a fact that this Christmas sees us at the end of our resources. For this reason, for the next two or three weeks, the "Crusader" will appear in reduced size. What course we must then take will be decided according to the response which this silent appeal wins.

We have faith that our work is not yet finished, and that in some way we shall be allowed to continue it. At present, however, it is faith without sight.

"CRUSADER" STALL.

We have received further sums in sales and donations amounting to £5 5s. 7d. We have, therefore, added to our funds £28 0s. 7½d. as the result of the sale to date. The result is most gratifying to everyone concerned.

THE LINK.

It is appalling to realise the number of societies existing to-day—societies having largely the same aims and objects and often consisting of practically the same people.

Take an ordinary suburb in which there are perhaps twenty churches, each having a parson who grows grey wondering how to fill his half-empty church, how to make his various sub-organisations live and effective forces, and how to secure enough money to keep things going.

In the same suburb there is probably an active Labour Party, struggling along to make ends meet and to stir up enthusiasm and to educate the workers.

Also, probably, a branch of the Independent Labour Party, priding itself that it is the advanced and really Progressive Party. I.L.P. members take their work seriously and spare no sacrifice which will help the cause.

Then there are also the Men's and Women's Co-operative Guilds—men and women who are putting in good work trying to impress the thoughtless with the fact that the Co-operative Societies do not exist merely for the payment of dividends.

Large numbers of individual men and women belong to all four of the above-mentioned forces. They spread themselves out so thinly, trying to help all round, that their total labours are largely ineffective.

Most of these forces adopt much the same means of raising money. And so it often works out that the business of piling up shillings is made more difficult, and many individuals wear themselves out because of these overlapping activities.

There are parsons in many churches who are having a rotten time because they dare to identify themselves with the cause of the workers.

There are men and women in the other mentioned societies who are rebuked because they endeavour to "bring religion into politics."

Surely we need to link up all those who are working for the same cause.

The "Crusader" could become a real and effective link, consolidating the thought and inspiring workers in all progressive causes.

We hope that Crusaders will get extra copies of our Christmas number and send them to members of local societies and to parsons of the churches in their own district.

THE PLOUGHMAN.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

The old-fashioned Christmas Card gave us plenty of snow. On that card, people were tramping through snow, houses were surrounded by it, robin redbreasts were singing in it, ragged musicians were playing in it, and coaches were stuck in it. And we of this later and more degenerate time have often heard our friends sighing for a beautiful, white Christmas "like they used to have." And now to-day, as I write these lines, the world is lost in snow. But, why is it I do not hear anyone praising the weather? Where are those brave people who were longing for the Christmas weather "they used to have"? However, the "Methodist Times" contributes a good story which I think may cheer us up. Though it certainly won't warm us!

* * *

An American and a Scotsman were discussing the cold experienced in winter in the North of Scotland. "Why, it's nothing at all compared to the cold we have in the States," said the American. "I can recollect one winter when a sheep, jumping from a hillock into a field, became suddenly frozen on the way, and stuck in the air like a mass of ice!" "But, man," exclaimed the Scotsman, "the law of gravity wouldn't allow that." "I know that," replied the tale-pitcher, "but the law of gravity was frozen too!"

* * *

My religious papers contain this veracious tale also; it evidently happened in Sunday School: "She asked the class if anyone knew of any other ark in the Bible. The knowing boy who had been spending his evenings rehearsing Christmas carols made answer: 'Yes, mum; 'Ark the 'erald angels sing.'"

* * *

But, generally speaking, the Christmas numbers of the various religious papers, as far as I have seen them, are singularly heavy and dreary reading. I suppose it could not be otherwise. How could writers who have been for so long supporting war on earth suddenly turn round and talk convincingly about the song of the angels? The world does not believe in that song, and the Churches do not believe in that song. Of course, we should all like peace on earth—but, unfortunately, it would mean scrapping most of our arrangements. I do not want to be cynical—especially on the eve of Christmas—but a little truth-facing is no improper Christmas employment.

* * *

Let me quote from a wisely thoughtful paragraph in the "Challenge"—though I must say the "Challenge" nowadays is not as challenging as it used to be: "The Government can do much to revive European prosperity if it likes; but it can only do so at the price of relaxing, and of persuading others to relax, some of the penalties we hoped to impose on our late enemies and the Bolsheviks. That is a perfectly clear issue, and the people of this country must choose which they will have. Lamentable as it is, one cannot simply, by growing old enough to conduct wars and produce news-

papers, escape the old nursery truth that there is not one child who can both have his cake and eat it." That last seems to me an excellent way of putting it! Civilisation must return to a few of the old nursery truths before it can escape the nemesis of its grown-up wisdom.

* * *

A warm welcome is being given from almost every quarter to the newly-appointed Bishop of Manchester, Canon Temple. And it is interesting and important to note that when he takes his seat in the House of Lords, the Labour Party will have in him a very gifted and able representative of its views, for Canon Temple is a member of the Labour Party. Since the announcement of his appointment to Manchester, the new Bishop has made a statement in which he says: "There is an urgent need for closer connection between Labour and the Church—not only between working people and the Church, but the Labour movement itself." And in support of this position he made the following remark: "The ideals of the Labour movement as repeatedly formulated are concentrated on the ideas of fellowship and brotherhood, which are Christian principles." It is well that this endorsement of Labour's aims should fall from the lips of a Bishop, and one who has a wide reputation as a thinker. I hope it may be noticed by some of our ministers (in all denominations) who still persist in talking of the "mere materialism" of the Labour movement. They should really reconsider. The other day I heard a Free Church minister holding forth very eloquently and self-righteously on this "mere materialism." I did wish the man had taken the trouble to read a little before speaking. It was a most unfortunate utterance, because it was listened to by a number of Labour people. One of them summed it up to me afterwards in these words: "The fool knows nothing!" And I couldn't deny it.

* * *

Mr. Basil Mathews is always saying something to make us think. His mind has scope and delights in taking the wide view. In the "Methodist Times" he gathers up the present situation of the world under three startling headings. "First, the world-wide proclamation of the principle of self-determination PLUS the terrific earthquake of the war itself, has thrown up the vastest upheaval of the human spirit clamouring for freedom that the world has ever witnessed." (He illustrates by Russia, India, Egypt, Persia, Arabia, Ireland, etc.) "Secondly, all these racial movements tend to one common end challenging the present white domination of the world." (He points out, for example, that the programme of the advanced negroes of America is for the liberation not only of their own people, but of all the coloured races.) "Thirdly, there is a sharp cleavage within the white peoples, and especially within the British Empire, as to whether we shall be well advised to go forward resolutely along the path of enforcing the obedience of other races by armed power." Here is something to think over this Christmas.

Our Lady of the Magnificat.

That Mary should break out into song at the news of the angel is not so surprising as that her song should find so small response from us. But the really wonderful thing about the Magnificat is that it should celebrate not so much her own high honour as the deliverance to be wrought for mankind. Prospective motherhood is apt to be self-centred. In Mary's case thankfulness might well have poured itself forth in a strain of exultation, in which there would have been no mention of the salvation all men might find in her Son. But the Jewish girl's heart had already commenced to mother mankind before she was called upon to mother the Son of Man. The tyranny of arrogant might was, even in her girlhood, a shadow upon her life. The hope of One who should unseat the mighty was a bigger thing in her dreams of the future than any suspicion of her own destiny. Hence the annunciation is to her an occasion for a song as full of revolutionary passion as the Marseillaise. The prophetess outsoars the mother. That which makes most women self-centred, made her the singer of hopes as universal as humanity.

That Jesus should be born of a poetess, and that in His veins should run the blood of a singer, is what one might expect. But it was not because Mary was a woman of genius that her son also was a genius. Here the laws of heredity are reversed. It was the mother who inherited from the child. It was the Christ who taught her lips to sing. The dawn of such a life could be heralded in no other way. The only adequate medium for the gospel is poetry. Wherever it is deeply felt the language in which it is expressed breaks into poetry. When it touched the legal mind of Paul the legalism fell away, and his pen wrote its immortal Chant of Charity, and many another throbbing song of praise. If evidence were needed as to the intimate relationship between Christianity and poetry, the Christmas season would be sufficient. Compare the festival which celebrates the birth of Jesus with the State holidays, which find their title in the fact that on them our banks are closed! I do not question the utilitarian value of the latter, but are we so entirely dead to poetic values that we cannot discern the fundamental difference between Christmas and Bank holidays? The State is incapable of creating the sentiment which lingers around this season of the year. Only the Christian Church could do that.

Nor is the poetry of Christmas an accidental product of the genius of Christianity. Tell me what other institution has built epics in stone comparable to the cathedrals of Europe! What theme has awakened strains like those of Dante's *Commedia*? The world of to-day is incapable of these things precisely because it has lost the Faith which once inspired the European mind. We can only desecrate the works of former generations. Westminster Abbey has become a show place, and a mausoleum for national nobodies.

We cannot revive the poetry of life unless we go back to the source from which the poetry of the past was derived. We cannot learn to write like Dante or build like the architects of the middle ages by studying their works. These men derived their strength from a creed we despise, from an institution in which we do not believe, from a Faith which has ceased to interest the world. So long as we employ the Christian legend as a poetic device, and value it for the touch of mediaeval quaintness and beauty it gives to modern drama and song, we shall fail to produce work comparable to that of the past. Christianity is something more than a pretty story. Worship is more than an occasion for pageantry. I do not think we shall get that revival of Catholic richness and beauty for which many of us long, until we have got nearer the Source from which the artistry we admire sprang.

Let us remember that the ages of which I have spoken were ages in which the Faith was established and the Church universally acknowledged. They were the fruitage of times in which men were too busy contending for the truth, too pressed on every side by persecution, too harassed by the pagan condition of the world to write poetry or build cathedrals. I believe that we are to see a revival of the poetry of the Christian life. This ugly civilisation and its utilitarianism will vanish utterly and give place to one in which Christianity and beauty shall walk, once again, hand in hand. Our fear of sensuous forms, our predilection for Puritan bareness will become a thing of the past. But before that can come about we must enter on a period of struggle and poverty and persecution. We must turn from art to that which inspires art. Ceremonial may be forgotten in the thing that makes for ceremonial expression. Though He has inspired countless poets, Jesus did not Himself write a line. Though He has built cathedrals everywhere He did not, during the days of His flesh, put His hand to any more ambitious tasks than fall to the lot of a village carpenter. Though He sets men devising the pomp and splendour of regal ceremony as an expression of their devotion, He Himself walked the dusty highways of His native land with a sorry retinue of peasants and cripples.

The great art in which religion will express itself must begin with the re-discovery of the Jesus of Whom it is written "He hath no form nor comeliness."

NETHERDALE FOR EVER.

This book, by Theodora Wilson Wilson, makes a good Christmas present for boys and girls. It tells of a London magnate who comes to Netherdale, and encloses the woods, commons and fields.

The "grown-ups" offer no resistance, but the children take on the job of winning back freedom to the old village. See advt. page.

A Comment on Christmas.

By G. B. ROBSON.

An occultist once gave me his version of the story of the Wise Men of the East. As I remember it, these men were adepts in the occult who, by their research, had discovered that the Divine Being, Who is the Life-Principle of this planet, was drawing near to it, and was about to enter human life for its redemption, since, without such aid, men were like to fall altogether out of spiritual life. The stars gave them the time of His arrival, and prompted the journey which the gospel describes.

Were they disappointed, I wonder, when they found the Life-Principle in a stable? Did they feel as, it is reported to us, clever men felt when, after being conducted through chamber after chamber of mystery in some Egyptian temple, the last curtain was withdrawn and they saw, not the staggering revelation they had hoped for, but some familiar living thing which made them laugh? Unless, as sometimes might happen, they had some sense of the Divine humour, they felt that they had been "done."

Since the Wise Men offered their gifts, we may think that they entered into the great idea, and were not put out, any more than the Shepherds were, when, after angelic splendours in the announcement, they went to find a baby in the straw.

Generally speaking, however, the world has not appreciated that element of humour in God which makes the weak things of the earth to confound the mighty and the things that are not to put to shame the things that so obviously "are." The homeliness of the Son of God was no small offence to the religious of His time, who felt insulted that He would not take them so seriously as they took themselves, and finally tried to make Him do so with

the cross. But after all, Jesus had the last laugh, and such a man as Saul capitulated to it, because he saw the point. The contemporaries of Jesus were terrified by the way Jesus mixed up God and common things, "as if," as someone has said in another connection, "religion was a pleasant subject."

It is very much like that still. The baby in the manger and the carpenter are very well in a picture, and make a picturesque bit of colour in our religion generally, but we must not make either mean anything in particular. A Carpenter-God, taken seriously, is as well in heaven, well out of the way!

But God does not take Himself quite so seriously as do the hard, prosperous people who think themselves so practical with their strong arms and mailed fists and reprisals and Versailles Treaties, nor as the bitter unprosperous people who desire to be avenged on them, and if it is these kind of people who seem to run the world between them, it is not so much because they take themselves seriously as that we take them so seriously, and if all things were not ours. "Fret not thyself because of evil-doers . . . The Lord shall laugh at them."

Unless we can see what it means that God became a baby and afterwards worked for His living, we get our values all wrong. That, briefly, is what is the matter with the world, but we Christian folk tend to fall into the same error in our own way. If we do not capitulate more or less to current values we are apt to let our opposition become a little acrid and resentful. If we could really see what Christmas means in anything like a large way, we should laugh strife and the strife-makers out of the world.

Carol.

*The Ox said to the Ass, said he, all on a Christmas night :
 "Do you hear the pipe of the shepherds awhistling over the hill?
 That is the angels' music they play for their delight,
 'Glory to God in the highest and peace upon earth, goodwill' . . .
 Nowell, nowell, my masters, God lieth low in stall,
 And the poor, labouring Ox was here before you all."*

*The Ass said to the Ox, said he, all on a Christmas day :
 "Do you hear the golden bridles come clinking out of the East?
 Those are the three wise Mages that ride from far away
 To Bethlehem in Jewry to have their love increased . . .
 Nowell, nowell, my masters, God lieth low in stall,
 And the poor, foolish Ass was here before you all."*

DOROTHY L. SAYERS, in "Catholic Tales."

Jehovah or Christ ?

By JEROME K. JEROME.

Years ago, writing for a religious paper, I shocked my editor by suggesting that one half of the Bible ought to be burnt by the public hangman. But the rise of rationalism slowly, yet surely, continues through Europe. I noticed a while ago, that a correspondent, writing to the "Nation," attributed most of the evil flourishing throughout the world to-day to the pernicious teaching of the Old Testament. There is a passage in the "Inferno" in which Dante describes his pleasurable emotions while watching the tortures of ladies and gentlemen, who in life he had cordially disliked. Dante had been brought up, as most of us in Europe and America are still to this day brought up, to worship the incarnation of cruelty and to call it God. Its proper name is the Devil. Dante had been taught that God, out of his omnipotence had, with diabolical cunning, fashioned a pit of torture, to which the vast majority of mankind were to be everlastingly condemned. It was God's delight, leaning out of his heaven—so Dante had been taught and believed—to feast his ears on human shrieks and groans. Dante, contemplating with enjoyment the agony of his enemies, was only doing his best to follow in the footsteps of his God. Nineteen hundred years after the death of Christ, an official of the Church of England rises in his London pulpit and prays to this same God, that Mr. Lloyd George, in dealing with our defeated enemies, "may not commit the sin of Saul." Now this was the sin of Saul. And that I may not do the God of Saul—and the God, alas! of many of us to this day, an injustice, I quote his commands to Saul from the lips of his own prophet, Samuel: "Now go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass." Saul disobeyed God. Certain people among the Amalekites had shown kindness to the children of Israel when they came up out of Egypt. And Saul, remembering, spared the Kenites.

That was the sin of Saul, remembered to Saul's dishonour by the Church of England to this day. God grant our English rulers may prove themselves more bloody, bold and resolute. The man who in all the Bible, we are told, and I can well believe it, was most after this precious God's own heart was David. There was a man named Shimei, the son of Gera, who had once cursed David. David describes it as a "strong" curse, and it seems to have rankled in his mind, in spite of the fact that no harm to him resulted. Later on Shimei and David, agreeing to bury the past, made friendship. And David swore by the Lord to Shimei that he would not do him any harm. And he didn't. But on his deathbed, looking forward with justifiable confidence to an early meeting with his God,—this God who had taught him war in all its vileness and its horror—David remembered Shimei and his curse. And these are the last dying words of David to his

son Solomon: "Nevertheless hold him (Shimei) not guiltless. His hoar head bring down to the grave with blood." It is reported that the late Queen Victoria, being warned that in Heaven she might possibly be called upon to meet David, replied with spirit and determination: "We will not meet David." I hope that the dear lady has kept her word. David wrote some very excellent poetry. Nero, one gathers, was quite an excellent performer on the violin. But David, taking him all in all and wherever he may be, is no fit company for a Christian woman. Nor is David's God.

Man maketh God in his own image. Out of man's cruelty and cunning the God of the Old Testament was fashioned with forehead of brass and feet of mud. Man looked upon his evil work and said it was good: a God after his own heart; a God without mercy, without bowels of pity; a God of cruelty and of hatred; a God of vengeance; a God of battles. Out of his evil passions man has fashioned this strange God. Man has filled God's heart with his own wickedness. And then turns round, and out of his Idol's evil mouth man justifies his own misdeeds. The Old Testament is the Devil's storehouse. By the help of the Old Testament the Devil has turned this world into a hell. There is no villainy of which man can conceive that he cannot justify from chapter and verse of the Old Testament. The horrors of slavery; the burnings throughout Europe and America of millions of poor, helpless old women accused of witchcraft; the fiendish work of the Inquisition, were gloried in as service rendered unto God. To this day America explains her autos-da-fé, and Europe exults in her massacres of Jews, as obedience unto God.

A well-fed woman that I talked to a little while ago was clamouring for the starvation of German women and children—of the German men also. But about the men nobody seemed to mind. She wanted—to quote her favourite organ, the "Daily Mail"—"fewer little Huns." Having regard to the fact that she had just come out of church, I suggested that this was hardly a Christian sentiment. She looked at me in astonishment. "But we are told," she reminded me, "that it is right: An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." Christ has been tried, but has been found wanting. Man prefers a God more after his own heart. The God of David and of Saul, that is the God for our money. It was in the name of God that Christ was crucified. It is in God's name that we still crucify Him. It is in the name of God that we have turned Europe into a shambles. It is in the name of God that we are still shrieking hatred and vengeance. It is in the name of God that we are sacrificing future generations to our ugly greed. We have chosen our God. With our hearts and with our souls we will worship him: the God of the Churches and the Chapels, the God of the Gutter Press, the God of the Old Testament.

The Christmas Crib.

The Catholic Church has a custom of building anew each Christmas the House of Bethlehem, where, with ox and ass, watched over by S. Joseph and His Blessed Mother, the New-born King is laid in the straw.

Every Christmas at S. Hilary, more or less unskilfully, I have built a Crib, sometimes of straw, sometimes of wood, and sometimes of wattle; at each Midnight Mass throughout the war a few have knelt before it in wonder and adoration at the thought of the Divine Love which will not be satisfied until every house is the home of the Divine Child.

The children loved the Crib from the first and would come and say a prayer and light candles before it, but the fathers and mothers could do no more than come up in a crowd and look and then pass on with the guilty air of being caught gazing at children's toys.

But one evening last year, two nights before Christmas, a message was brought me that I was wanted in the Church. So I went across and found ten or twelve labourers standing round a little house that they had built at the entrance to the Chapel of Our Lady.

The men, who had done this, were yarn workers, builders of walls, thatchers, and carpenters, men apparently of little imagination, and yet who, seeing, Christmas after Christmas, my feeble attempts to build a house for the Babe of Bethlehem, had become inspired with the thought of doing it themselves.

As I stood with them and heard their comments on its building and admired the skill with which the walls were built and the roof thatched, I began to speak to them of how the Divine Child came that this might be done throughout the world and how he longed for the Kingdom of Heaven to come on earth, to make every home a House of Bethlehem enclosed under the one roof of the Catholic Church.

At this Christmas time, men and women of all nations are preparing to sing the Angels' song of peace on earth and goodwill towards men; in every Catholic Church throughout the world they are building Cribs for the Child of Bethlehem; a wealth of love and adoration will be offered to Him, and yet there is still no room or place for Him as He comes in each new-born child.

He must come to a world built up on the same greed and self-interest that turned Him away from the door of the Inn to be born in a stable, dominated by the same fear of Herod who would take the young Child's life.

In Ireland, a mother with a child in her arms is shot by the military;

In Austria, Russia, and Poland, the children are crying for food that their mothers have not to give them;

In our own country, children are born in houses no better than the Stable at Bethlehem.

There is no place of safety or deliverance—no Egypt to which a mother can fly with her child from the cruel tyranny of Imperial ambition and the soul-destroying system of our competitive civilisation.

A man, returned from the war, said to me: "My wife and I would fly to the ends of the world with our two boys to save them from what I have been through, but there is no country where they would be safe."

The Catholic Church is in the world to found a Kingdom where the Child can be safe; she promises this to every child that she receives in baptism when she offers a new order of society, an ark of safety, which is the Kingdom of God.

Another Advent has come heralding the nearness of this Kingdom; Christmas will proclaim to us how we need wait no longer for its coming, that it is here in the presence and power of the Divine Child, for since God has become Man, all things are possible.

It delays only since we fear to begin.

I should never have been sent for to come to Church that evening last year if I had been content to have talked of a far-off Christmas-time when we would all kneel together before a Crib which should be built in the Church. The thing was there; it had been done, not well, for it needed the skill which they could no longer refuse after they had grasped its beauty.

The Catholic Church that builds the Crib, where all may come and worship, must make for itself a home where all men may live the new life of the Children of God.

It must be content to begin in the same silence and secrecy that hid the Holy House at Bethlehem; without the aid of legislature, unassisted by the world of men, a new order of life may grow up round its Altars until the glory of the Christian life of brotherhood can no longer be hidden.

Such a company of men and women in every place where the birth of Jesus is celebrated would attract much in the same way as the Crib first attracted the people of S. Hilary, but they would come back again, and each time they would find it harder to pass by, until all the wealth of the world in its industry and skill would be offered to build the Kingdom of God.

It is a very simple way to deal with so complex a problem as our modern civilisation, but no more simple a way than God's way of dealing with the world when He came as a little Child.

BERNARD WALKER.

Talks on Communism.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

The substitution of Communism for Capitalism, by emphasising and placing merit upon spiritual factors, would produce one of the profoundest revolutions in morals known to history. Just as morals have declined under Capitalism so would they reach a degree of evolution and purity hitherto unknown could we definitely establish society on a communist basis. Naturally a people whose object is to possess material things will have a vastly inferior moral code to a people whose object is the creation and possession of spiritual realities. And a revolution which does not go to the roots of existence and transform character, conduct, and all one's social relationships, is not worth while. The real aim of revolution is to give the soul new liberty, open up fresh avenues of life.

But, of course, without a revolution it is impossible to create throughout your society a consciousness adequate to the civilisation you desire to establish. Until you produce the conditions wherein a new life can be evolved you will not create in the community at large the consciousness and the outlook necessary to a new world. To this end, the few, moved by a powerful vision must create a movement whose demands will be irresistible.

Every age is more or less dominated by a particular conception of well-being, from which its social and industrial systems and the bulk of its morals spring. From modern materialism spring such vicious principles as that of giving the least and the worst one can for the utmost one can exact, commonly described as buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest; such policies as the cornering of necessities, the creation of monopolies, huge trusts whereby the small traders are converted into wage slaves and the community is held up to ransom; such customs as that of giving precedence to property and even animal life over human life—that is, the life of the toilers.

To oppress and disinherit the meek and increase the power of the mighty; to denounce and imprison the peacemakers and extol the preachers and doers of violence; to scoff at the advocates of justice, honesty and mercy and persistently crush the economically weak—such are the recognised morals of current society. Why, we cry out in despair, did men ever trouble to write the Gospels? Our nation will worship a God whom it calls the God of Love, and in His name hand over entire peoples to the tender mercies of a handful of callous profiteers; it will render honour to the "unknown dead" who fought for the freedom of the little nations, and allow a policy of repression to continue which operates over half the world, in Ireland, Egypt, India, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia, Central Europe and Russia; it can read the Gospels Sunday after Sunday and tolerate a policy of protection for millionaires which involves unemployment and starvation for countless thousands in this and other countries, and persecution for those who protest against this policy; worse still it can witness all this

IV.—A NEW MORALITY.

iniquity and go on believing that the British Empire can hold together indefinitely.

To-day honour and riches are convertible terms. One must pursue riches or become a social castaway. Providing your bank balance is satisfactory and your list of company directorships sufficiently long, you may figure well-nigh where you will in the King's Honours List, be at pleasure an M.P., a church warden, a chapel deacon, a J.P., P.C., or a Mason. And your reputation as a public benefactor will be quite safe in the keeping of the newspapers.

If, however, you are unable or disinclined to become rich, and have too much self-respect to imitate or flatter those who gain riches, you must either die at once or become a Christian. Naturally, in the circumstances, if you become a Christian you will become ipso facto a rebel, for it will be your duty to swim against the stream, and even to do such a mad thing as try and persuade the stream to run the other way. To get free of the reigning jungle morality we must abandon the materialist conception of life upon which it rests, which we shall do as soon as we realise that all the finest treasures of life are spiritual, and that the possession of an abundance of material things is a positive oppression, a hindrance to personal spiritual development in a hundred ways as well as a direct cause of limiting the lives of others. The experiences which are capable of yielding the deepest joy, the most abundant life, are those which arise out of spiritual relationship with one's fellows, fellowship which has been engendered by some form of service, creative activity. For the value of true social service is that in addition to creating beautiful and useful things it also creates the soul of him who renders it, gives to him the power to appreciate love, joy and beauty everywhere, in things, in nature, in man. We thus see that a man is what he does and strives after, and that with all his effort to produce beautiful and useful things, the most beautiful thing he has created is his own soul—a soul sensitive to the tenderest and most hidden forces of human nature, capable of appreciating beauty in all its forms, of reading mysteries, of generating and receiving love and joy everywhere. Man cannot appreciate beauty unless he creates it, just as without loving he cannot receive love. In the last analysis the only real wealth is a developed soul.

What we want therefore is a morality and a social order suited to the creation of this wealth, that is to say, cultured human souls. Shall we write down that morality code by code, paragraph by paragraph, and sum it up in an all-embracing truth? Were we to do that do you realise what the result would be? At best we should have produced a crude imitation of the Sermon on the Mount, and formulated a demand for a communist society such as Christ advocated and in His own circle established. The only society in which the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount is capable of being carried out is a communist society, where the meek inherit the earth and the cardinal sin is the laying up of riches.

Judgment by Self-Examination.

The first of a series of Advent addresses on "Judgment" was delivered by Dr. Orchard at King's Weigh House on a recent Thursday evening under the title of "Judgment by Self-Examination."

"What is the purpose of self-examination?" asked Dr. Orchard. It is to know oneself—to know oneself not as one appears to oneself—not as one appears to others, but as one actually is; to know oneself as one appears to God.

The value of self-examination will be readily understood. It criticises our faults—or at least, it gives us some knowledge of our faults. It is quite possible that those who practise self-examination may be no better than others, but it keeps us somewhat humble, or inclines us to humility.

Of course, the greatest of all things self-examination does for us is that it anticipates the judgment of God. The day is coming when we are going to be stripped in the eyes of the world, in our own eyes, before all the holy angels and company of Heaven, of every self-deception and illusion. It will be a very cold performance for some of us, but to the person who has practised self-examination that great day will not have so many surprises.

What is the method of self-examination? The minimum which every person will practise who has

any concern for his devotional life will be a daily examination of conscience. If one makes a practice of washing one's hands immediately before retiring at night, the habit will grow until it is practically impossible to sleep without having washed one's hands. Similarly with the conscience. At some point in evening prayers, you will pass your hand over your conscience to see if anywhere it is sore. This habit will make the conscience extraordinarily tender and acute.

That the true purpose of self-examination may be achieved, it is necessary to have a definite method to work upon, and the first discovery necessary to make is "What is my besetting sin? What is my chief flaw?" If the point is too hard to decide yourself, canvass your friends! Look for the roots of your sin.

Under the agony of such pitilessly relentless searching, the heart might well break, and it would be criminal to suggest self-examination were there no safeguards to offer against despair. But there is the Cross to help you. There is the certainty that the light by which you search is not the light of your own mind only, but the light of God Himself. Remember God is with you in the searching process. Look at the candle you are carrying, and remember it is by that you see the dark!

Is Prayer Dangerous?

At the Islington Borough Council, Mrs. Sharpe, one of the Councillors, troubled at the atmosphere in which the discussions are at times conducted, suggested that the Council meetings should open with prayer. She felt that a Council meeting should be considered as Holy Ground—she craved a "better spirit."

Indeed Mrs. Sharpe had already obtained the agreement of Prebendary Proctor, the Mayor's Chaplain, to open with prayer if invited.

Sir George Elliott seconded the motion, and gave as his reason: "Because to open with prayer could do nobody any harm and it might do somebody some good." (Hear, hear).

The above raises several points.

First, we cannot but congratulate Mrs. Councillor Sharpe on her inspiration that indeed a Council meeting should be "Holy Ground," and in her perception that only by prayer can it be made so.

Yet in all honesty we shall have to confess that the mere opening with prayer by a Chaplain does not necessarily hallow proceedings. We recall that Parliament opens with daily prayer—that battle-ships are dedicated with prayer—that armies are prayed into being. I do not know whether the Peace Council opened with prayer—I think not. Nor do I know whether the League of Nations waits on a Chaplain. I fancy that no Trade Union meetings are opened with prayer nor First, Second nor Third International Conferences.

Now Sir George Elliott voices a very general

public sentiment. Prayer—why not? To "say a prayer" certainly can do no one any harm and it may do some good.

Obviously we have here a confusion between "saying a prayer" and "praying."

He may perhaps agree that to "say a prayer" is not dangerous—but to pray?

Prayer—passionate human desire—linking itself with something greater than itself—prayer of the heathen—prayer of the Christian—prayer of the agnostic—yes—he prays in so far as he passionately desires.

How dangerous prayer is! Can it be that we get that for which we ask? We may do. We know we often do.

We pray for Empire—for victory—for prosperity. We may pray for the whole world—we may get it. That is the danger of prayer—our prayer may be answered.

"He gave them their heart's desire—yet sent leanness into their souls."

There is but one safe prayer for him who prays—the most dangerous prayer in the world. The prayer that will destroy war, overthrow empire and trade monopolies and set free enslaved nations and purify the home and society. It begins with the words "Our Father" and ends with the petition "Deliver us from evil."

The world would tremble and rock to its foundations to-day, did mankind not merely repeat but pray that prayer.

T.W.W.

The Last ?

The last—no—not Weapon. Then perhaps the last Dividend? There might be point in such an idea.

A youth has suggested to me "Why not the Last Man? He by way of being a pessimist.

We are at least on safe ground in talking of the "Last Days," for in such days, perilous times are to come—when men are to be lovers of themselves rather than God. We begin to recognise dimly certain outlines in our landscape.

It is of course useless to chatter about a Last War.

With the scare cry of the old Two-Power standard—with columns of expert discussion on means of naval and military strategy—it would be a pity to waste good paper and ink on so idle a proposition.

The Last Child? Would that fit in at all? It is hopeful—for in the world to-day—no man nor woman dare look a child in the face—or listen to what a child may ask. The Child had better go. We shall all feel more comfortable without the Children.

The Last Church? No—I had not meant that. Yet "The Nation" gives a warning not to be overlooked—specially addressing Nonconformists: "They were a spiritual body, criticising the State. They must have known therefore, that a society based on force and wealth was no more a Christian institution than the society of James I. or Charles II. In a word, they should have realised the great fact which they were in a position to appreciate—that Pagan institutionalism had come back again.

"It came with a flood in 1914. It then claimed the souls and bodies of millions of young Christians, finally denying them all rights of private thinking on the quarrel which these boys neither made nor understood. It simply set up the State and the good of the State. The good of the individual life, the stain that war must leave on the character of the young, were not considered. The young were pushed into the furnace (the Churches assisting), to perish there, or to have the freshness of life crushed out of them. No regard was paid to the natural tenderness and placability of youth, its readiness to accept the sublime doctrine of the forgiveness of injuries. The true teaching of Jesus on these subjects was rarely mentioned, save in derision of the handful who practised it." After a vivid description of the world as it is to-day, the writer continues: "This was the world the Churches of Jesus might have judged and condemned, as their Master judged and condemned its Jewish and Roman prototype. They preferred to help it, to make it pretty and palatable to the average unreflecting man, in a word, to "see it through."

Then perhaps it is the Last State we mean?

We shall at least agree that there is no "State" existing to-day which "fulfils the law of Christ—"it must therefore be but a question of time before they fall—one by one—engulphed in the quicksand of disobedience.

The Last Newspaper?

That is a proposition already out-of-date. There are no newspapers to-day. They have gone, even granted that they ever existed.

We are seeing a little clearer. After what does the world crave to-day? What is it beyond all else that binds it in hideous chains, cramps its soul and paralyses its body?

The Last Lie! We start. Could that be possible? What, no more lies? No more millions deceived to their doom. No more lies in trade, business, politics, art, education. No more lies in the home—between enemies, between friends.

The Truth. What is Truth? "The Truth will make you free!" Who said that?

Truth? But in a world of Truth—Who could win a war? Who could blockade an enemy? Who could deceive a friend? Who could delude the aspiration of a child?

Is this the Holy Crusade that is needed to-day—the Crusade to kill the Last Lie?

With what beautiful clothing the Lie wanders the world. How we cling to her—how we crave comfort from her. We know not until her bonds are upon us what she has done to us.

"Whosoever loveth and maketh a lie—" What is the portion of all liars? How can we understand? Yet of this we are sure that no lie can dwell in the City of Truth.

The Last Prayer? Can it be that the hour will come, when Truth triumphant, the prayer "Thy will be done on earth as it is done in Heaven," will be uttered for the last time?

The thought is too far-reaching for this, the Year of our Lord, 1920—yes—even at Christmastime.

T.W.W.

As I sit at my work at home, which is at Hammer-smith, close to the river, I often hear some of that ruffianism go past the window of which a good deal has been said of late. As I hear the yells and shrieks and all the degradation cast on the glorious tongue of Shakespeare and Milton, as I see the brutal reckless faces and figures go past me, it rouses the recklessness and brutality in me also, and fierce wrath takes possession of me, till I remember, as I hope I mostly do, that it was my good luck only of being born respectable and rich that has put me on this side of the window among delightful books and lively works of art, and not on the other side, in the empty street, the drink-steeped liquor shops, the foul and degraded lodgings. I know by my own feelings and desires what these men want, what would have saved them from these lowest depths of savagery: employment which would foster their self-respect and win the praise and sympathy of their fellows, and dwellings which they could come to with pleasure, surroundings which would soothe and elevate them; reasonable labor, reasonable rest. There is only one thing which can give them this—art.—William Morris.

The Hidden Valley.

CHAPTER VII.—“THE WAR OF WORDS.”

Never had there been such a sensation in Millarville as that created by the next issue of “The Gazette.”

Luke Wise had returned from Bitter Creek strangely exalted by his experience there. The woman magnetised, fascinated him. Her personality seemed to have flooded his. For awhile it was her thoughts and even the tone of her peculiarly emotional voice which lived in his mind. Then as he recovered his self-possession, and reflected on the whole episode, indignation with Hilken returned. He saw him as the gross enemy of this beautiful and gifted woman. In that mood he had written his article. Undeterred by any thought of the consequences to himself he had set down the brutal facts of the case. His practised pen pictured the sufferings of women and children and the cruel callousness of those who had tempted them to their doom. As he wrote the figure of Hilken became symbolic of the commercial spirit that was exploiting the West and making of the entire system of the immigration agencies a tissue of falsehoods.

Never before had the truth been spoken so plainly in Millarville. It was the policy of every editor in the West to represent the country as a smiling garden where winter rigours were scarcely known and where all the fruits of the earth flourished with oriental profusion. Those who read these effusions and knew the facts smiled knowingly, conscious that such things were not meant for home consumption, and applauding the cute newspaper man as a loyal citizen who remembered his obligations to the traders and land speculators of the province.

Even after his recent awakening, Wise had not been entirely cured of his optimistic view of human nature. He imagined that this exposure would provoke a storm of righteous indignation. He could not understand how injustice so gross, so obvious, should not awaken the moral sense of the community. He had not counted on the vested interests of the citizens. They might have laughed if it had been only Hilken who was attacked. But when the writer had gone on to expose the fallacies of the Immigration pamphlets and to publish abroad to the world the climatic shortcomings of their beloved province and thus depreciate their own stock-in-trade it was too much.

Hilken had promised to “smash the ‘Gazette,’ ” but it scarcely needed doing. Wise was doing it himself. However, the Capitalist did not remain idle. There was in the town a certain Larry O’Brien, a drunken and impecunious newspaper man whose journalistic adventures in another part of the country still furnished matter for laughter. Men recalled, as he passed down the street, “the Great Live Meat Refrigerator” fraud, and told again the story of how Larry had imposed on a credulous public. Had he not once published an article in his paper announcing the discovery of a method of pre-

serving cattle in a comatose condition during shipment, thus enabling them to be killed in England, and so making it possible for shippers to transport them without the expense and trouble incidental to the shipment of live stock, and also affording to the English public the luxury of fresh Colonial meat?

It was this man’s clever and unscrupulous pen which Hilken now employed in the establishment of a rival to the “Gazette.” And “The Millarville and District Record,” as the new paper was called, from the first “took on” as most of Hilken’s enterprises did. The indignation which all classes felt towards the too candid editor of the “Gazette” found a voice in the “Record” and O’Brien sailed towards a triumphant success on the crest of this wave of protest.

It was about this time that one afternoon Marie presented herself at Luke Wise’s office. Tumultuous feelings possessed him when he saw her. She had continued to haunt him and the magnetism of her presence was not slow to exercise its sway. He was glad to see that she smiled as she gave him her hand. He was conscious that he had sacrificed his prospects in her cause, and it was perhaps the one consolation by which he comforted himself amid the wreckage of his editorial ambitions that he had put her in his debt. But her first words after their greeting disillusioned him. She was in no mood of gratitude. On the contrary she bitterly resented the action he had taken. “What good,” she asked, “have you done? Ah! you have forgotten what I said. Indignation—Faith—Courage, these are not enough. We must have practical constructive proposals, the wisdom of the serpent as well as the innocence of the dove.” She laughed. Her laugh was pleasant to hear. It restored Wise to the good humour he had lost when she first spoke.

Things had gone from worse to worse in the community. There was now quite a little graveyard where lay the victims of that cruel winter. Many more had deserted, and those who remained were but a handful sustained not so much by their own strength of character as by her undaunted spirit.

“What shall we, what can we do?” he asked. “I am all but ruined. In a few weeks I must close down my press.”

“It is always so,” she said, “‘What shall we do?’ ‘What can we do?’” She laughed again as she repeated his words. “The first thing is to believe in the possibility of the impossible. Then we shall find out what to do.”

Her spirit of raillery and hopefulness was infectious. Wise found himself looking at the problem from a new point of view.

“Let me think,” he said, “and when I have discovered what to do I will write you.”

(To be continued).

CORRESPONDENCE.

AUSTRIA'S NEED.

STARTLING FACTS REGARDING IMMORALITY.

We have received the following letter from Dr. Johann Ude, University professor, Graz. Dr. Ude writes:

As the director of "Oesterreichs Voelkerwacht," I am soliciting your mercy for the poorest of the poor, for the despised outcast prostitutes. Are these forsaken victims of social obscenity condemned to perish? No, we want to rescue them, that they may find the way back to our Saviour's loving heart, back to respectable human society. The forlorn and outcast daughters of our people shall and must be saved. The sweet beams of Bethlehem's star are to shine for them as well, if you will help us, dear fellow-Christians in England!

Homes for rescue are to be set up, that they may recover body and soul. Our evangelical brethren have been performing marvels in that line. The "Salvation Army" is unequalled in her blessed sacrifices towards those very poorest. Till the first of September, 1912, 52,299 prostitutes—girls and women—had passed the rescuing homes of the "Salvation Army." It stands to reason that 43,929 of them were gained for a new life.

"Oesterreichs Voelkerwacht" also needs funds urgently to fight successfully for the moral recovery of Austria, in word and writ, that God's kingdom may come to us once more, and family life may recover. It is "Oesterreichs Voelkerwacht's" civilising task to rescue the poor victims of immorality, still more to protect youth against brutalisation. For ever so many years has "Oesterreichs Voelkerwacht" been fighting hard for man's ennoblement, woman's dignity and maiden's honour.

Do help us therefore, Catholic brethren in England! As you helped us to overcome famine, do assist us now, in holy Xmas time, by throwing in your mite for "Oesterreichs Voelkerwacht," in order to oppose the far greater and more dreadful distress of our people. Do help us out of love for the Infant in the manger, help us! For Austria's moral distress is enormous.

Before its decay Austria had 551 tolerated houses of ill-fame, and 6,797 prostitutes. Vienna gave shelter to about 40,000 prostitutes. In Graz, 45 prostitutes fall to the share of every 1,000 men. About 7,000 prostitutes are carrying on their business in Styria. German-Austria contains approximately 500,000 sexual patients, in spite of its smallness. At least 300,000 of them owe their infection to tolerated public places. In 1918, at Vienna, 1,800 girls from 13 to 15 years were seized and found to be afflicted with venereal disease. In 1919 there were 2,374 women arrested for clandestine prostitution; 804 of them under age, and 373 children. In former Austria, 2,600 persons were annually taken ill with progressive paralysis in consequence of syphilitic infection.

The fourth part of all the inhabitants of Styria are born out of wedlock. In 1912 a number of 1,733 persons had to be convicted for lecherousness, 12,303 persons for acts of public immorality; 42.1 per cent. of all the cases of murder had been caused by sexual immorality. The loss of births occasioned by venereal diseases amounted to about 90,000 children a year in Old-Austria. In 1901, at Vienna, there were still 39.96 births for 1,000 inhabitants; while in 1914, only 16.9 births could be registered for the same number. German-Austria is spending approximately 334 millions of crowns a year for so-called "Preservatives" (contra-ceptive articles). The carefully estimated number of 140,000 prostitutes in Old-Austria constitutes an annual economic loss of 840 millions of crowns. The direct and indirect damage for Old-Austria amounts to 1½ milliards, that is to say: as much as half of all the year's income of the State, the provinces and communities. For Styria alone, 75 millions of crowns.

These figures are shouting forth into the world at large. German-Austria stands on the brink not only of economic but also of moral ruin. Enormous and toilsome is the task of "Oesterreichs Voelkerwacht." Our means are exhausted, but not our zeal to work. In the name of the Infant of Bethlehem, we pray for charitable gifts, we will receive them with heartfelt gratitude; may God reward you! We promise to use your donations conscientiously. For the sake of Infant Jesus's love, do send us at least a single shilling, to enable "Oesterreichs Voelkerwacht" to continue her work in order to realise the Angels' greeting:

Glory to God in the highest!
Peace to men upon earth!

Kind gifts may be addressed: For "Oesterreichs Voelkerwacht," to Steiermaerkische Escomptebank, Graz, Austria.

THE CATHOLIC FRIENDS AND THE F.O.R.

The Secretary of the Catholic Friends sends us the following report of a Conference recently held.

A United Conference of Catholic Friends and members from the Darlington Branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation was held in St. John's School, Stockton-on-Tees, on Saturday, 4th December.

Father Bott (Catholic Friends) was in the chair. Mr. Bishop, who is secretary to the Catholic Friends, welcomed the representatives of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and expressed the hope that the Conference would pave the way of an established friendship and mutual goodwill.

The President of the F.O.R., in replying, said how great a pleasure it was to himself and his colleagues to meet and converse with others of the same mind.

Father Bott then gave a statement of the aims and purpose of the Catholic Friends. "We realised during the war," he said, "that there was a very great deal of religious belief shown by people who were not of our own church. All the great principles which had been lost sight of, were all part of the religion of church people. I found that I had been baptised into the Church. The great purpose of the Acts of the Apostles is to show a new society of Christians. I found that I had left the sectional life and been brought into the corporate life of Christ. So also with the Sacrament of His Body and Blood. I saw the ideal vision of the Common Table of God, and then I looked across to the continent and saw other Catholic Christians flying at each other's throats. The Catholic Church held the solution. It was up to us to re-discover the last significance of Catholicism. The Catholic Church should show forth a world-wide fellowship. So we have been brought up step by step. And our main idea and object at the present time is to appeal to Churchmen, on the grounds of those tenets of Catholicism in which they already profess to believe."

The President of the Darlington F.O.R. in replying to Father Bott, said that he felt that their own views of a universal brotherhood and fellowship were almost identical with those of the Catholic Friends, but that they were unsectarian and aimed at bringing in all people, whether churchmen or not.

The Conference was able to pass a unanimous resolution on Ireland and to arrange for further co-operation.

THE SWARTHMORE PRESS

Netherdale for Ever.

By Theodora Wilson Wilson, 6/-

"A cheery story."—"Times." "A charming book touched with humour and kindness."—"Book Monthly." "The tale is told with any amount of humour."—"Manchester Guardian." "An excellent story for boys and girls."—"Aberdeen Free Press."

The Sayings of Jesus.

With a Foreword by James Alex. Robertson, 5/- & 2/6

"The collection is good, well put together, and useful for reference."—"The Guardian."

The Bible: its Nature and Inspiration.

By Edward Grubb, 4/6 & 2/6.

"It should be in the hands of every Biblical student."—"Glasgow Herald."

The Guidance of Jesus for To-day.

By Cecil John Cadoux, 7/6.

"Those who seek a frank discussion of the teaching of Jesus in its application to present needs will find much to help them."—"Sunday Times."

40 MUSEUM STREET - LONDON, W.C. 1.

THE BLOCKADE OF TRUTH.

The Anglo-American University Library for Central Europe.

Some while ago a striking article appeared in the "Nation" entitled "The Blockade of Truth," pointing out the difficulty which scholars on the Continent have in obtaining literature from this part of the world. An attempt is now being made to supply this defect. The Anglo-American University Library for Central Europe is being organised for this purpose, the trustees being Professor Gilbert Murray, Arnold S. Rowntree, Esq., and Rev. Canon Temple, D.Litt.

1. Origin.

In connection with relief work in Central Europe, the privations and dire need of the university teachers have been repeatedly brought to the attention of workers. Owing to the unfavourable rate of exchange and the high cost of living, the prices of recent English and American books on philosophy, science, literature, etc., have made it impossible for the universities of Central Europe to keep in touch with English and American thought.

As a consequence the scholars in these countries find themselves cut off from access to books printed in English since 1914, which means that intellectual workers are deprived of indispensable tools. Appeals to meet this want are being received in increasing number by English relief workers and university professors.

Public-spirited men in England, on being acquainted with the state of things, immediately realised that here was a phase of relief work which could not be met by the existing agencies, but which offered a unique opportunity of reconciling the intellectual world. There is a hunger of the mind and soul as well as of the body.

2. Purpose.

This is the ultimate object in view in forming an organisation to supply an immediate need. Its importance is obvious. The reconciliation amongst the peoples can only come through the cultivation of mind and spirit, and it is clear that the great teachers of the world, by the free interchange of ideas, must be the leaders in such an endeavour.

3. Plan.

This scheme has been formed to establish in Central Europe, under British-American auspices, one or more libraries of recent books in English, indispensable to university teachers. The work has been organised on a broad, non-political, non-sectarian basis, so as to enlist the widest possible co-operation.

These libraries will supply on loan, as gifts, or by exchange, books, periodicals, reprints of articles in scientific periodicals, and other literature, needed by the faculties of the different universities in Central Europe. They will be under the charge of British and American representatives, and committees of the foreign universities will superintend the local administration.

4. Opportunity.

By thus taking the initiative in extending the hand of fellowship to colleagues in foreign countries, whether former enemy countries or not, where

the exchange conditions hinder a resumption of study and research, British and American scholars are seizing a timely opportunity of helping to heal the wounds of the war.

Donations of literature will be gratefully acknowledged by the Hon. Secretary, Mr. B. M. HEADICAR, to whom all communications may be addressed.

Cheques and money orders should be made payable to the "Anglo-American University Library," and should be sent to Lieut.-Colonel GEORGE SCHUSTER, London School of Economics, Clare Market, London, W.C.2.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE FUND.

	£	s	d.
Amount previously acknowledged...	352	11	5
Anon.	1	0	0
E.M.C.	10	0	
Mrs. Hallett	1	0	0
Mr. J. J. Hayward ...	10	0	
Mr. N. Richardson ...	2	3	
"Two Friends"	13	0	
Mr. R. T. Wood ...	10	0	
	£356	16	8

CHRISTMAS PRESENTS.

1 copy "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," John Maynard Keynes, C.B., very slightly soiled; published at 8s. 6d.	8	0
"Paths of Peace," Book I., Estelle Ross ...	1	6
"Paths of Peace," Book II., Laurence Binyon ...	1	10
"The Sickness of an Acquisitive Society," R. H. Tawney ...	1	2
"Pacifism," Wilfred Wellock ...	1	3
"These things shall be," George Lansbury ...	1	8
"The Secret Agreements," 9 maps, C. R. Buxton ...	6	$\frac{1}{2}$
"A Conflict of Opinion," Arthur Ponsonby ...	6	3
"Militarism in Education," J. Langdon-Davies ...	3	9
"The Peace in the Making," H. Wilson Harris ...	6	$\frac{1}{2}$
"The Christian Ideal," W. E. Wilson, B.D. ...	5	4
"The Unfinished Programme of Democracy," Richard Roberts ...	6	$\frac{1}{2}$
"Netherdale for Ever," Theodora Wilson Wilson ...	6	5
"The Last Weapon," Theodora Wilson Wilson, paper cover ...	2	$\frac{1}{2}$
"The Weapon Unsheathed," Theodora Wilson Wilson, paper cover ...	2	$\frac{1}{2}$
*The two above bound together, cloth boards ...	6	$\frac{1}{2}$
"The Wrestlers," Theodora Wilson Wilson, paper cover ...	3	$\frac{1}{2}$
*Ditto, ditto, cloth boards ...	6	$\frac{1}{2}$
"The Peace Treaty and The Economic Chaos of Europe," Norman Angell ...	2	$\frac{1}{2}$
"The Men Who Dared," Stanley B. James ...	1	2
"Poverty Gulch," Stanley B. James ...	1	2

* Miss Wilson Wilson has given us the privilege of reducing these books for Christmas by 1s. 6d. a copy.

All the above to be obtained from the office post free.

RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

Direct Action, by William Mellor. The New Era Series. Leonard Parsons, Ltd.; 4s. 6d.
The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism, by Bertrand Russell, F.R.S. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.; 6s.

HOUSE, FLAT OR ROOMS WANTED, near Muswell Hill, by teacher and wife. One child.—V.F., 10 Marquis Road, Bowes Park, N.

SIDELIGHTS.

"Civilisation," 1920.

The People's League of Health has issued a statement to the public containing some startling vital statistics culled from official sources. Among the facts given are the following:—

During 1919, 61,715 babies died in the United Kingdom before reaching the age of twelve months.

93,639 children under five years of age died during the same year.

In 1917, one million children were so mentally and physically defective as to be unable to derive reasonable benefit from the education provided by the ratepayers.

In 1918, there were 58,073 deaths from tuberculosis in this country, and in 1919 there were 77,616 fresh cases notified.

The Royal Commission on Venereal Disease estimates that 18 per cent. of the inhabitants of the large towns in England and Wales have been at some time or other infected with syphilis; it is also estimated that there were four hundred thousand casualties in the British fighting forces from the same disease.

The result of medical examination under the Military Service Acts proved that in this country only one man in every ten was normally healthy, and one man in every ten was a physical wreck.

Fourteen million working weeks are lost every year through sickness among insured workers in Great Britain. There are more than half a million houses short, and among those now occupied are innumerable insanitary buildings.

Such is "Civilisation" in 1920!—Birmingham "Town Crier."

Dean Inge on the Moral Choice.

There was a worse state than sinning, for sin implied a moral choice. It was possible to sink below the possibility of choosing. This, he thought, must be what the New Testament in one place called "eternal sin."

Strife must go on till the end of life, and what would now be called the solidarity of the race was a very important factor in the moral life.

Some of the worst sins—treachery, revenge, murder, robbing the poor—were not mere shortcomings. It would be absurd to describe them as failures to attain absolute perfection.

"I do not know whether we still flatter ourselves that we are a progressive nation. In any case, the greater part of the world has had little share in what we call progress.

"And look at what on this theory must be called nature's failures! The whole history of parasitism is enough to condemn the theory that mere survival is success. Perpetual continuance in being is not part of nature's scheme for the race any more than for the individual."—Dean Inge, at Kingsway Hall, Dec. 12, 1920.

A Conversion.

Paul, who was Saul, had a sudden and miraculous conversion, but he goes into the shade beside Robert Blatchford, who, in the "Sunday Chronicle" (December 5, 1920) suddenly cries:—

"Who will make the next war? The fools. Who will wage it? The fools. Who will suffer under it? The innocent and the helpless. . . . You must not be astounded if in the course of ten or fifteen years there is a war between Great Britain and the United States of America."

He goes on to say that women

"should strain every nerve and make every effort to inspire the women of the world with a resolution to make 'the next war' impossible. . . . The propaganda most urgently needed is not propaganda against anti-British libels, but propaganda against the madness and the wickedness of war."

—"Forward" (Glasgow).

Corky on Lenin.

I see him making a speech at a meeting of workers. He uses extremely simple terms; he speaks with a tongue of iron; with

the logic of an axe; but in his rude words I have never heard any vulgar demagogism, nor any banal seeking after the beautiful phrase. He always speaks of the same thing: of the necessity of destroying to the root the social inequalities of men, and the means of accomplishing the task. The ancient truth resounds upon his lips with a sound harsh, implacable: one feels always that he believes unshakably in it: one feels how calm is his faith—the faith of a fanatic, but of a fanatic-scientist, and not of a metaphysician or a mystic.

It seems to me that what is individual interests him hardly at all; he thinks only of parties, of masses, of states. And in dealing with these he has the gift of foresight, the intuitive genius of the experiment-thinker. He possesses that happy clarity of thought which is attained only by means of intensive and constant intellectual labour.—"Workers' Dreadnought," December 11, 1920.

"They Have no Graves."

The men that worked for England,
They have their graves at home;
And bees and birds of England
About the cross can roam.

But they that fought for England,
Followed a falling star,
Alas, alas, for England,
They have their graves afar.

And they that rule in England,
In stately conclave met.
Alas, alas, for England,
They have no grave as yet.

—G. K. Chesterton.

The Land of Liberty.

The release of all the conscientious objectors in American prisons has just been ordered, according to information received by the American Civil Liberties Union, quoted by the Federated Press. There were thirty-three men in prison—"Absolutists"—who had refused to obey any orders from the Civil Authorities.

The Acid Test in Ireland.

I am told that a house in Ireland was lately insured against damage from Sinn Féin at the rate of 2½ per cent. The insurer then proposed to protect his property against damage by agents of the Crown. "The rate for that," was the company's reply, "will be ten per cent."—"Wayfarer," in the "Nation."

Jam and Judgment.

Jezreel's Temple, Kent's great landmark on Chatham Hill, has now been sold to the Co-operative Society, and the modern Tower of Babel, where ransomed Jezreelites were to foregather at the Judgment Day, will now probably be a jam factory.

WHAT WAR MEANS.—A series of Lunch Hour Addresses on this subject is being given at Devonshire House, 136 Bishops-gate, E.C.1, on Mondays from 1.20 to 1.50 p.m. December 20: "What War Means in the Relation of the Sexes," by Mrs. H. M. Swanwick.

STUDY CIRCLE OF PRACTICAL PSYCHOLOGY conducted by MISS VIOLET M. FIRTH every TUESDAY at 8 p.m. in the Minerva Cafe, 144 High Holborn, W.C.1. Admission 2s., set of four tickets 6s., set of ten tickets 10s. Tickets and syllabus obtainable at the door or from Miss Firth, 144 Finchley Road, N.W.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

The Crusader

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Friday, Dec. 24th, 1920.

(Registered as a Newspaper)

Twopence.

A VITAL QUESTION to EVERY READER

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

What is the "Crusader" worth to YOU? That is the vital question I have to put to every reader. And the very existence of the "Crusader" depends upon the answer YOU give.

The "Crusader" has had a gloriously stormy career. Its life has often been in grave danger, and has as often been saved by the prompt assistance of a faithful few who have rallied to its side in its hour of danger.

But the "Crusader" has never been in such grave danger as it is to-day.

At the last meeting of the "Crusader" Group, we were faced with the fact that UNLESS SUBSTANTIAL FINANCIAL HELP IS FORTHCOMING FROM OUR READERS DURING THE NEXT WEEK OR TWO THE "CRUSADER" WILL HAVE TO STOP PUBLICATION.

It was felt by the Group that if every one of our keen readers could be brought full up against the serious nature of the present crisis, and could also be made to realise how much can be accomplished by what I call "financial solidarity," then the "Crusader" would be saved. And I was the person chosen to attempt this very difficult task.

Let me try to explain what I mean by "financial solidarity." Suppose a Trade Union is faced with a crisis which calls for a big sum of money. And suppose the officials of that Union, together with a few outside sympathisers, began to "go round with the hat" among themselves in order to provide the necessary sum. That would be the exact reverse of "financial solidarity."

Now suppose that instead of these few people contributing large sums which even then fail to meet the crisis, every individual member of the Union is called upon to subscribe a small sum which, owing to the large number of members in the Union, is sufficient to produce the amount required without

any great sacrifice on the part of the subscribers. That would be "financial solidarity."

I am sure that you see my point already.

The "Crusader" Group has definitely decided to place the future of the paper entirely in the hands of its readers—EVERY READER.

We do not ask for big sums from every reader, nor do we suggest that every reader should send the same amount.

WHAT WE DO URGE IS THAT EVERY READER WHO WANTS THE PAPER TO CONTINUE SHOULD SEND AS MUCH AS HE OR SHE CAN AFFORD DURING THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

The amount of the sum you send is not the deciding factor. What does matter is that YOU who are reading these lines should send something, or a promise of something, straight away.

If every reader who values the work of the paper would send or guarantee, say, £1, to be paid at once or in instalments, the "Crusader" will be saved. If those who can send or guarantee more than £1 will do so in order to make up for those who cannot afford that amount, the "Crusader" will be saved.

If YOU do not send because you think everybody else will be sending and that your "little bit" will not be missed—then the "Crusader" is lost.

Now that I have placed the position as plainly and as frankly before our readers as space will allow, I must leave the matter in the hands of those who believe that the "Crusader" has a message which is sorely needed in the world to-day.

What is the "Crusader" worth to YOU?

When you have decided on the amount you can afford, send it along at the earliest possible moment to—The Secretary, "Crusader" Office, 23, Bride Lane, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

FIRE!

There is at least one thing to be said for those whose imagination invented the conventional Hell. They were not base enough to picture that region as heated by radiators. Such a horror was beyond

their powers of conceiving. To be slowly baked by a system of remorseless iron pipes is surely the last word in infernal torture. Beside that, Milton's Hell is quite a jolly sort of a place. The Black Country at night is one of the sights of England, but the nether regions of the mediæval church, if it existed, would be a far finer spectacle.

Likewise, there was a sort of devilish picturesqueness in the manner in which it was customary to burn heretics. There is poetry in the very word faggots. It suggests spurts of flames, the spiteful hissing of resinous wood and the forked tongues of eager gusts of fire. Even hate had a touch of beauty in those times. No one has ever pretended that the modern scaffold or electrocution apparatus is beautiful. We are utilitarian even in our methods of committing legal murder.

In all seriousness, the poetry of fire has never, to my knowledge, received the attention it deserves. There is nothing in nature so easily personified. Fancy has no difficulty in endowing with life the wind as it scatters the dead leaves of the woodland, or the breathlessly excited mountain stream, but for suggesting conscious impishness, commend me to the domestic hearth. I speak not now of the glowing depths in which is to be pictured the very land of romance, but of the flames themselves, seizing on wood or peat or coal with ravenous haste. What miracles of transformation they perform! How magically the dull coal begins to glow! With what throbbing energy is the attack made, the forces of destruction raiding, ravaging, till all is consumed!

I recall a certain open fire-place in an old farm kitchen before which many of my boyhood's dreams were dreamt. There, in a high-backed oaken seat, the farmer—may he rest in peace!—sat with his long clay pipe, while other members of the household, as their tasks were finished, drew instinctively to the same spot. It was our parliament-house where the affairs of our state were settled, the budget discussed, and all the problems of our domestic economy threshed out. To the hearth drew also our infrequent guests—a neighbouring farmer, the wayfarer begging cider and bread and cheese, the postman, not unwilling to act as carrier of verbal as well as of written news. That hearth was the centre of all the life lived within those four walls. The household gravitated to the fire-place, drawn thither by its combination of utility and beauty. The attraction of the last-named quality was not, I am

persuaded, insignificant. We could not have gathered so naturally around a stove.

The hearth was something more than the social centre of our small community. There is something mysterious about fire. It comes apparently from nowhere. Its movements are erratic. Obviously it is a wild spirit, harnessed, for the time being, in the service of man. The imagination of early days was busy concocting legends in explanation of its origin. The story of Prometheus bears witness to the value men placed upon this gift. The age-long suffering of a god was not too great a price to pay for it, they said. Prometheus, in real life, was probably some skin-clad tribesman, a trifle quicker than his fellows to see the possibilities of the spark struck by the flints from one another, yet was the poet not far wrong in declaring him a god. Nay, the legend may have even a broader basis of historical fact. Judging by the fate of those in later ages, who have "cast fire upon the earth," it would not surprise us to learn that he was killed by the "authorities" of his day as a trafficker with evil spirits.

The combination of social service and divine mystery are both found in the tribal altar. That altar was the hearth of the tribe. There both the domestic and religious life of the community found its centre. There is a much closer connection than is commonly imagined between the domestic fire and the altar. That connection is one of the most significant things in the history of religion. Little remains to remind us of it to-day save the small red lamp that burns before the altar as a sign that the consecrated host is present. But it should never be forgotten that the social and religious were once so intimately associated that the holy place of the tribal life was also the centre of domestic life and economy. Only when the tribe grew too big to prepare its food at the same fire, did the priest alone, as representative of the community, dedicate a small portion to the god. Our religion has little to do now with the preparation of food, and, similarly, our eating and drinking has lost all connection with the altar. God has punished us, on the one hand, by emptying our churches, and, on the other hand, by sending among us the advocates of "unfired food."

Perhaps there will be given to us another Prometheus who, risking his life, will bring fire from heaven. In that case we must see to it that the two uses of the divine element are never again divorced. The flames that light the altar must be the centre of our social life. The communal hearth must become once more an altar.

THE TRAMP.

THE DECLARATION AT REGENT'S PARK CHÂPEL.

At the invitation of Rev. F. C. Spurr, Rev. Stanley B. James will speak on the "Declaration" on the evening of January 6th. Rev. F. G. Fincham will open the debate. Further particulars next week. Crusaders are asked to keep the date open.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

The eye is quick to draw lessons. Sometimes a glance will convey volumes of meaning to the mind sealed with seven seals against the entrance of printed or spoken arguments. The reduced size of the "Crusader" this week will appeal to your eye. It is deliberately meant to do so. Some of our readers—even some of the most appreciative of them—have up to now taken it quite easily when those responsible for the paper have appealed urgently for increased support to meet the steady loss incurred every week in printing. The object lesson comes now. It is a visible warning that unless——! But I go no further, for I believe the editor is talking about all this in another column. Suffice it to say here that the loss is not so great that it cannot be met, and easily met, if all those who value the message of such a paper as the "Crusader" at the present time in this country, will club together. A little from each will be much from all. And the trick will be done! Now who is going to give this brave little paper a Christmas Present, or a Gift for a Happy New Year?

I see the "Baptist Times" deals with an article which appeared in the "Daily Chronicle" under the title, "Why the Churches Have Failed." Written by an Ex-Military Service-Commissioner, it charged the Churches with serious neglect of their duty during the war. And what, according to the Commissioner, was their duty? To bear one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ. What precisely he means by this is the comforting of the people under the terrible pressure of the Military Service Acts. He says:—"So acutely were the conditions felt that many women broke down mentally under the strain of things. These conditions reacted on the children, and chaos displaced order. It appeared to me that, apart from any Christian obligations, here was a set of conditions that gave any institution that desired to enshrine itself in the hearts of the nation an opportunity unprecedented in the modern world. Women in desperation, men harassed by dreads of the uncertainties of their domestic affairs, children ungarded with all their misgivings and strange outlook on a mad world . . . ideal conditions emotionally and in substance for watchful concern, for comfort, for little acts of service." The "Baptist Times" replies by saying that although the Churches might have done more than they did, they nevertheless did do a great deal of this very work and so, in a very high degree, fulfilled the law of Christ.

But I do not see any suggestion, either in the article of the Commissioner or in the rejoinder to it, that the Churches were guilty of serious neglect of their duty when they failed to try to stop the war and bring about a mind of peace in the nations. Surely it was just there that the great failure took place. And surely it is to this very point that we are led when we inquire into the present paralysis of the Churches. Dr. J. C. Carlile, in discussing

the accusing article of the Commissioner, frankly deplores the fact that "men without vision are in the position of leadership." He asserts that "half the troubles in the Church come from a ministry without vision, totally inadequate to provide spiritual guidance, or, indeed, any kind of guidance." They are hard words, and, coming from Dr. Carlile, should make us think. But let a man with vision rise up, and we all know what sort of reception he will get!

* * *

I note that the "Church Times," referring to the prevailing low state of trade, puts heavy blame on the ca' canny worker who will not produce. But, turning to the "Christian World," I am greatly instructed to find the following interesting statement on the same question:—"It seems strange when all the world is short of goods that we should not be able to make them, and that our people should be idle. One of the chief reasons is that manufacturers are so uncertain of what is going to happen . . . They are hesitating to manufacture for stock. The result is that many thousands of our workpeople are idle." So it evidently is not entirely the fault of the workman that production is low. I seem to have noticed the same argument in Socialist papers.

PAX VOBISCUM.

*O Ethne! Queen, the Mystic Voice is calling
From the Far Land beyond the Western Sea,
And Orb and Ring our Soul and Body thralling
Shall herald Ireland's Hour of Destiny,
And through the Coming Ages as they roll along
The Glorious Tidings of Great Joy shall be—
"Peace and Goodwill"! Rejoice! and sing the
Triumph Song;
Redeemed by Love, illumed by Truth, YOU
SHALL BE FREE.*

*O Mighty Peace that passeth understanding,
Let God arise! Let England heed the Word!
And in our hearts the Victory commanding,
For evermore let us "Put up the Sword"!
And when our Children's Voices answer in refrain—
"How blest are they that seek the Way of Peace"—
The New-born Life of Love shall be our glad
domain,
And Britain's Isles from War and Strife shall find
release.*

—A.R.S., Christmas, 1920.

THE MONDAY EVENING MEETINGS held at the Minerva Café will be discontinued until Monday, January 10th, 5.30 p.m., when Mr. A. Cordell will speak. Please make a note of the date.

The Crusader

Friday, Dec. 24th, 1920.

Editorial Communications
To the Editor,
Business Communications
To the Secretary,
23, BRIDE LANE, FLEET ST.,
LONDON, E.C.4.

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2/9 per quarter.

EDITORIAL.

I have just received an invitation from Field Marshal Earl Haig, K.T., G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., to become a life member of the Society of Miniature Rifle Clubs, at a minimum fee of £1 1s., and I may give more if I like.

In considering this invitation I find that "Previous to the Great War the Society of Miniature Rifle Clubs was instrumental in forming over 5,000 rifle clubs. The great majority of their members, when called upon to join the army after the outbreak of war, had a practical knowledge of shooting. This proved of inestimable value to both the country and the army.

"A large majority of the clubs which fell into abeyance during the war are now being revived, and many members are again taking up the patriotic sport of miniature rifle shooting.

"The further cost is estimated at about £5,500."

Do I wish a guinea of mine, or more, to support this "patriotic sport"? I wonder how many skilled shots belonged to each of the 5,000 rifle clubs pre-war. I wonder how many of them are alive now—how many crippled, how many insane, how many homeless. I wonder how many are still fit, trained, ready, for what the future hides?

What does the future hide? At least, Earl Haig seems to think it hides something for which we shall still need patriotic rifle clubs.

£5,500! I read the other day that it is the militarists who are awake and the pacifists who are always late.

We of the "Crusader" crave not to be too late; but we cannot move forward faster than supply allows.

I am glad to say we are preparing shortly to tackle, in a very personal and practical way, war and the preparation for war, for assuredly the world to-day is asking of us bread, not the sword; fish, not battleships. Those who believed in war still believe in it—still seek to collect £5,500 for their rifle clubs.

It behoves us to face, even more seriously than we have ever yet done, our duty to mankind to help them to throw off this war-horror which blocks every attempt to bring about a fairer world.

Let us all be prepared, next week, when a special form is issued with the "Crusader," to forecast our 1921 incomes, and definitely set aside to our utmost limit a sum for the furtherance of all for which the "Crusader" stands—pioneer work on behalf of a Christian Social Order—a world without armies and navies and airfleets—without boys and men trained even to patriotic sport—a world fit for a child to see.

Civilisation has Murdered Ten Million Men.

"To his unborn son he leaves a deadly but almost forgotten fact which every nation on God's earth will some day surely realise:

"CIVILISATION HAS MURDERED TEN MILLION MEN. Let the men of the future look to it that mankind's Gethsemane shall not come again. To attune the spirit of man to the Spirit of Christ is as much the mission of the writers and poets as of the Churches."

The above is quoted from an article in the Bookman Gallery on Arthur Beverley Baxter, written by Louis J. McQuilland.

And what part shall women play in this great process? Surely to the cry, "Not a Man! Not a Gun! Not a Sou!" must be added—and not a woman to do the work of men who fight or of those who refuse to fight.

It would be a difficult process. Women who declined to enlist to tend the wounded would possibly be regarded as inhuman monsters. Those who declined to throw themselves into the task of keeping things going in the industrial world would be dragging their country down to ruin.

It is the only way, however, to end the exploitation of women for war purposes.

Meanwhile the task of estimating the cost of keeping the nation safe goes on merrily.

THE PLOUGHMAN.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Amount previously acknowledged ...	356	16	8
Anon. ...	1	0	0
... ..		2	6
... ..		2	4
Mr. C. Arnold ...		5	0
Mr. G. Bennett ...		4	0
Miss Isabel Cave ...		5	0
E.M.C. ...		10	0
Miss H. Hattrill ...		5	0
Mrs. J. Leadbitter ...	2	0	0
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Mr. E. Richmond ...	1	0	0
Mr. F. Standing ...		5	0
Capt. and Mrs. St. John ...	1	10	0
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Mr. E. Wegmann ...		5	0
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SMALLER "CRUSADER."

Will readers note that for this week and next week the "Crusader" will only be eight pages instead of sixteen.

STUDY CIRCLE OF PRACTICAL PSYCHOLOGY conducted by MISS VIOLET M. FIRTH every TUESDAY at 8 p.m. in the Minerva Café, 144 High Holborn, W.C.1. Admission 2s., set of four tickets 6s., set of ten tickets 10s. Tickets and syllabus obtainable at the door or from Miss Firth, 144 Finchley Road, N.W.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

Talks on Communism.

By **WILFRED WELLOCK.**

Naturally a new morality signifies a new world. Nevertheless, the new world, founded upon the new morality (which, of course, is just as old as Christianity), will not come into being suddenly, like a fairy island emerging from the sea—not even if its coming is aided by a huge social transformation, the outcome of a mighty spiritual upheaval. No, the new world will not really appear until the spirit which conceived it has freed itself from all hatred and bitterness and got quite inside the transformed world, into its streets, its very buildings, so to speak.

What we should witness, at first, would be a world greatly changed externally and characterised by many unfamiliar activities and relationships. But as time passed changes of a spiritual and internal character would ensue with startling rapidity, which in turn would produce marked external modifications. Just as to-day, under capitalism, it is almost impossible not to be a materialist, adopt the morality of the jungle and seek to ascend the social scale at the expense of one's fellows, in a Christian Communist State it would be easy to live spiritually. In the first place the amassing of riches would be forbidden, but in addition habit and education would cause value to be placed on spiritual realities. So that by and bye a new way of living would be established and a new social outlook developed, which would create an atmosphere wherein the mind and outlook of the entire community would undergo profound modification. Within a very short time the present capitalist era would be regarded as one of the most brutal and barbaric in the entire history of man.

Under capitalism property is the central fact, the pivot of the social system, the maintenance of the sacred right of property being necessary to secure the supremacy of the property-possessing minority. Under Christian Communism man is the central fact, with reference to whose spiritual welfare property can alone have value.

The beginning of a civilisation which has for its end the welfare of the entire community must, of course, be in some sense a revolution, that is, it must involve sudden and radical changes in external conditions. Such changes will be necessary before the great majority of mankind, both rich and poor, can even begin to live spiritually. Needless to say, these would be a tremendous stimulus and challenge to the imagination.

Naturally, demands for a rational physical existence as a basis for a full spiritual existence, would at once be made. Consequently we should find that the boldest of the existing town-planning schemes, for instance, would be considered tame and inadequate.

Every house would stand by itself on a plot of land, on which fruit, flowers, or vegetables could be grown at will. Cities as we know them, where the poor are herded in slums amidst grimy factories and workshops, would be things of the past. A book on "Architecture for the New World," which I recently received from Germany, describes pretty

V.—THE NEW WORLD.

well what I believe would happen. A modern city is spread over a huge area, divided up into small communities, or "stars," according to my German architect. The periphery of each star consists of some 20 loops, or arcs, in each of which are five houses, making a total of 100 houses, or, roughly, 500 inhabitants to the star.

In the centre of each star are small workshops for carrying on handicrafts and artistic employment. The big factories and workshops are situated in an obscure part of the landscape, where are no dwellings, whither the people are conveyed by means of trams or cars. In these factories the great bulk of the people would spend some four hours per day, devoting the rest of their time to arts and handicrafts, each after his own heart, in the small workshops in the centre of the stars. This means that every member of the community will have an opportunity of participating in some form of creative labour, labour that is self-chosen, and by means of which the individual will express his soul and give something to the community worthy of himself. Moreover, the individual will be taught—and this is of paramount importance—that by means of such activity the soul is literally created, the heart and mind also wherewith one is able to appreciate and enjoy life. And I am firmly convinced that the greatest crime which capitalism commits against the ordinary man to-day is that of robbing him of the means of self-expression and self-development. No wonder our working people spend their hard-earned wages on cinemas, football matches, and the like! Not until we make a way for the culture of personality shall we prevent this waste of wealth and life.

CHRISTMAS PRESENTS.

1 copy "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," John Maynard Keynes, C.B.; very slightly soiled; published at 8s. 6d.—	8	0
"Paths of Peace," Book I., Estelle Ross	1	6
"Paths of Peace," Book II., Laurence Binyon	1	10
"The Sickness of an Acquisitive Society," R. H. Tawney	1	2
"Pacifism," Wilfred Wellock	1	3
"These things shall be," George Lansbury	1	8
"The Secret Agreements," 9 maps, C. R. Buxton	6	$\frac{1}{2}$
"A Conflict of Opinion," Arthur Ponsonby	6	3
"Militarism in Education," J. Langdon-Davies	3	9
"The Peace in the Making," H. Wilson Harris	6	$\frac{1}{2}$
"The Christian Ideal," W. E. Wilson, B.D.	5	4
"The Unfinished Programme of Democracy," Richard Roberts	6	$\frac{1}{2}$
"Netherdale for Ever," Theodora Wilson Wilson	6	5
"The Last Weapon," Theodora Wilson Wilson, paper cover	2	$\frac{1}{2}$
"The Weapon Unsheathed," Theodora Wilson Wilson, paper cover	2	$\frac{1}{2}$
*The two above bound together, cloth boards	6	$\frac{1}{2}$
*"The Wrestlers," Theodora Wilson Wilson, paper cover	3	$\frac{1}{2}$
*Ditto, ditto, cloth boards	6	$\frac{1}{2}$
"The Peace Treaty and The Economic Chaos of Europe," Norman Angell	2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
"The Men Who Dared," Stanley B. James	1	2
"Poverty Gulch," Stanley B. James	1	2

* Miss Wilson Wilson has given us the privilege of reducing these books for Christmas by 1s. 6d. a copy.

All the above to be obtained from the office post free.

Bookland. Old Europe's Suicide.

With the above title, Brigadier-General C. Birdwood Thomson has written a book (National Labour Press, 3/6) which is one long catalogue of tragic errors in British diplomacy and British foreign policy, and of ominous forebodings for the future. Having spent the four years prior to the outbreak of the war in the Balkans, it is particularly from that angle that he watches and criticises the progress of the war—and the Peace. And his account yields painful if illuminating reading, for it reveals the utter lack of policy on the part of Britain in the Balkans, yet, withal, our complicity in the events which led to the tragic fate which overtook at one time or another almost every one of the Balkan States. The way our almost callous indifference was abandoned for a policy of dragooning one and another of these little States into line with our wishes, and the way we broke our promises to them, leaving them in the lurch, the helpless victims of the enemy, is too cruel for words. Describing Roumania's plight after her abandonment and defeat, General Thomson says:—

"But she, like Serbia and Greece, was only a little country and counted as small dust in the balance. She could be overrun and devastated, once she had played her part; that was a little country's lot. The frame of mind which, subconsciously perhaps, possessed the so-called democratic Governments was not so unlike that of the actively vicious autocratic empires; they too respected only force and wealth. . . ."

And yet we went to war for the freedom of the small nations!

No wonder, after such tragic events as our author was enabled to witness in the Eastern theatre of the war, he develops some rather strong views on war in general, and on the Great War and the Peace which followed. I cannot do better than quote some of his judgments, for they are worth pondering. He describes the situation in August, 1914, as follows:—

"The relations between the different European States were those which exist between the denizens of a jungle. . . . the weak were the natural victims of the strong. . . . The 'Jingo' Press in every Christian land glorified might as right. . . ."

Below is the General's opinion of war:—

"War, it is claimed, discovers many virtues. It does not create them, but it does provide an opportunity for their exploitation by men who do not fight on battlefields."

Regarding the Peace Treaty, he says:—

"The foundations of a cleaner, better world have not been laid; the apex has been laid on a pyramid of errors, on which nothing can be built."

"Truly, Old Europe has committed suicide. The autocratic empires have perished by the sword; the Western States, under the rule of spurious democrats, bid fair to perish by the Peace."

"Revolution" is threatening throughout Central and Eastern Europe. . . . India and Northern Africa are filled with vague but menacing unrest. When the lassitude of war is passed, more serious developments must be expected."

"A new danger is off the horizon. The men who scoffed at progress. . . . do not recognise that with the downfall of the autocratic empires materialism in its most efficient form has proved a failure; . . . they think that once again the people can be tricked."

An Old-Established System.

Extract from "Bush River," by Wilson S. Doan, in "The Quaker," U.S.A.

"Do you desire counsel?" the court inquired with kindly accent, and Robert simply shook his head. Whereupon the court called upon the clerk to read the indictment. This having been done, the court, again addressing Robert, said:

"You are charged with violating the laws of the State of South Carolina by liberating a negro slave without first having obtained authority so to do. Are you guilty or not guilty? What do you plead?"

Robert had no knowledge of the rules of court procedure. He remembered that the prosecuting attorney had told him the day the grand jury returned an indictment against him that if he would plead guilty and save the state the expense of a trial, the sentence imposed upon him would be light. The words of the prosecutor seemed still to ring in his ears and he could hear him say, "You know you have no defence, and what is the use?" Robert knew also that there were half a score of the leading planters of the neighbourhood there in the court room, every one anxious to testify against him. He knew that they were familiar with the facts that Jonathan Evans, executor of his grandfather's estate, in carrying out the will of his grandfather, had delivered to Robert the negro, Ned. They knew that Robert had often said that he would not keep a slave, and that if his grandfather gave him one, he would emanci-

pate the negro at once. He knew that these men would testify that Ned had been going where he pleased and when he pleased ever since the will was probated. Ned had voluntarily worked for some of the planters there in the court room and they had paid him wages for his labour, and they knew that Robert also paid him wages.

Moreover, the judge himself owned a large plantation and had a number of slaves. Robert had heard him make a speech in the last campaign in which he said there were certain people in that vicinity who were meddling with the institution of human slavery and thereby attempting to overthrow one of the oldest and most firmly established systems of human society, and that he had no patience with such visionary men who were undermining the very foundations of established social order.

The court was waiting, something must be done. Then the consciousness of right, deep in his soul, swelled up like a volcano bursting through the court of human law and the customs of society. He stood erect, and, looking the judge squarely in the eye, he answered clearly:

"I plead not guilty."

"Mr. Prosecutor," said the court, visibly annoyed, "proceed with the trial."

The Hidden Valley.

CHAPTER VIII.—HIS REWARD.

Three weeks later this message arrived at Bitter Creek.

"To come to terms with such people as those now opposing me is itself an indignity I can scarcely suffer. To descend to explanations, political schemes, details of agricultural management rob my crusade of its romance and glory. But I have done it, and you will perhaps, as my reward, allow me to say that I have done it for your sake.

"Now this is what I suggest. A proposal has long been before the Provincial Assembly to irrigate your part of the country. Hilkem is likely to oppose any suggestion that it shall be put into operation. I know he is anxious—from self-interested motives—that the water shall not be diverted from its present bed. But his reasons will not appeal to the public generally. The Elections for the Assembly take place in a few months, and I propose to stand on the irrigation platform. It is a popular thing and may enable me to recover my lost ground. If I can manage to secure the adoption of my proposal the chief defects of the Bitter Creek Settlement will vanish. Your harvests will ripen earlier and you will be able to grow much that it is now impossible to produce."

As though Fate stood ready to reward the courage of Faith, Hilkem's triumph soon after the writing of this letter was sadly impaired by one of Larry O'Brien's characteristic indiscretions.

That gentleman was possessed of an imagination which girded at the limitations imposed by even the broadest interpretation of journalistic ethics. And when one of his drinking bouts was on he gave this imagination an unfettered liberty.

On the present occasion he set to work literally to make history. Commencing with sundry innuendoes as to secret sources of information, and brushing aside all possible criticism by the dogmatic phrase, "*we know*" he published what professed to be cablegrams from London giving detailed accounts of the Revolution which it was alleged had taken place there. One member of the Cabinet, said Larry, had been shot at Lambeth Palace, which he seems to have supposed was the domicile of the Prime Minister, and two others were exiled. The King—here was a reminiscence of Bonnie Prince Charlie—was wandering in the West of Scotland disguised as a woman. The Committee of Public Safety had met in Trafalgar Square, had abolished the police, instituted free lunches for all citizens over 18. This brilliant feat of fancy which amused the public, did not, in the estimation of the more serious, add to the reputation of the "*Record*" as the champion of their cause against the disloyal "*Gazette*." Hilkem was furious. Larry was dismissed and was seen haunting the saloons and heard declaring that, on the strength of his articles,

he had received a cablegram offering him the editorship of the "*Times*."

The field was now clear for Wise. Taught by past experience, he commenced to woo that fickle mistress, the Public. Dropping all reference to the Community at Bitter Creek, he consistently, and with no little ability, began to advocate increased attention to irrigation and especially the scheme already placed before the Provincial Assembly. The "*Record*," under an inexperienced and blundering editor, made but a feeble reply, and the obviousness of Hilkem's motives in opposing a plan so beneficial to the country lost him many supporters. When Wise's candidature was announced for the forthcoming Election, Hilkem, who never yet had taken part in political life, sprang into the arena as his opponent. It was one of the very few false steps he had taken in his successful career. He was totally unfitted for politics. He could not speak, and his inability to express himself led to more violent outbreaks in other directions. Even a Western City such as Millarville has a limit beyond which it is not safe for political corruption and personal abuse to go. But Hilkem's money was a powerful agent, and the baser element in the City rallied to him to a man. Yet when the result was announced it was found that Luke Wise topped the poll with a majority of 109.

(To be continued.)

POISON GAS.

Sir A. Williamson, Parliamentary Secretary to the War Office, replying to Sir T. Bramsdon and Mr. Kiley, said:—"Very great assistance in the production of the gases adopted during the earlier stages of the war was rendered by chemical firms of long standing. When it became necessary to provide for the manufacture of the more complex organic compounds developed towards the end of the war, assistance was also obtained from the dye industry, but in view of the weak position of the industry, then in course of development, the bulk of these compounds had to be made in Government factories specially erected for the purpose. If there had been in this country a highly-organised dye industry, such as was, and is still, possessed by Germany, the plant necessary for the manufacture of these offensive agents would have been available, and production could have been arranged with far less difficulty and loss of time. There is a very intimate connection between the manufacture of dyes and the manufacture of explosives and chemical munitions (which include lethal gases, lachrymators, smoke, etc.), as the plant and technique of the former is admirably suited for the production of the latter, and can in most cases be converted from one purpose to the other with very little difficulty or delay. In any scheme, however, of production of chemical munitions of war the co-operation of the heavy chemical trade will be essential, especially for the purpose of supplying the necessary raw materials and intermediates. For the purposes of national defence, a chemical industry, highly developed and well organised in all its branches, is an asset of the greatest value."—From the "*Chemical Trade Journal and Chemical Engineer*," December 11, 1920.

SIDELIGHTS.

Armaments Fiasco.

That is the title in the "Daily News" for the League of Nations disarmament proposals. Even the mild proposal that naval and military expenditure should be kept down to the level of the coming budgets and ably supported by Mr. Barnes, was looked upon as dangerous—at least by the French—and as H. Wilson Harris reports:—

What, in effect, were the proposals that went too far for Mr. Bourgeois and not far enough for Mr. Barnes? They resolve themselves down to this:

A demand that the convention signed at St. Germain in September of last year to restrict and control the export of arms from one country to another be forthwith ratified by the various Governments and put into force.

The Council to be asked to order an immediate investigation into means of limiting the evil effects of the private manufacture of war material.

The permanent Military Commission of experts to be speeded up and reinforced by the appointment of a civilian Commission to examine the political, social and economic aspects of the disarmament question.

The creation of a special section of the Secretariat for the acquisition and publication of information on the question.

The Council to be asked to submit to League members a proposal that their military Budgets in the coming financial year shall not be exceeded in either of the two following years.

At the afternoon sitting the discussion tailed off to an eminently unsatisfactory finish.

Mr. Fisher (Great Britain), who had moved the principal resolution in a backboneless and unimpressive speech, proceeded to run away at top speed from the one tangible and definite proposal contained therein.

The recommendation to Governments on the limitation of military budgets, he explained, meant really nothing, and his own Government was in no way bound.

To weaken the proposal still further, M. Hymans suggested from the chair that it should be put, not as a specific resolution, which required a unanimous vote, but as a pious wish which needed only a two-thirds majority.

The Boy Scout Movement.

The Editor, "Foreign Affairs."

Sir,—I don't propose to take up your time or space by a long argument to prove the fallacy of Mr. Hargrave's latest indictment against the Boy Scout movement! Indeed, the fallacy is self-evident, since he quotes sentences gathered here and there from my book "without their context," and makes them to mean what was never intended—and is not correct.

I am only sorry that so promising a young writer should have taken such a distorted line.

At the same time I am grateful to him for his industry in collecting points which provide me, at any rate, with ammunition (though it may be blank) with which I could, if I cared to, reply to the fire that comes from another quarter. (You see I am in the position of being assailed by cranks on both sides; on one by the Pacifists for being too military; on the other by Jingoists for not being military enough.)

This general action must have its amusing side for the onlooker, since all the different parties in it are earnestly hammering away at each other, and yet they are out for the same end, namely, the good of the boy, in a field where there is plenty of room for them all.

But I am afraid I have not time to return my attackers' fire. I am busy getting on with the work which has now extended on to a pretty big scale under the sympathy of my fellow parents everywhere. Therefore, so far as I am concerned, and in the words usual to the occasion, "This correspondence must now cease!"

Thanking you at the same time for your courtesy in affording so much space to the subject.

(Sgd.) ROBERT BADEN-POWELL.

A Sound Public Opinion.

"To-day it seems as if the Dragon and the Knight had changed places in our public life and sometimes the dragon looks very like St. George," said Robert O. Menzell, speaking at the Monday mid-day lecture at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, on "What War Means in Personal Freedom." After referring to the response evoked by an opportunity of service for the public good, shown by the men who enlisted early in the war, he pointed out how behind their backs liberty was taken away. "We want a Government which will stick at nothing to win the war" had been the cry, and to-day we were suffering from an instrument of our own forging. You cannot have militaristic and democratic conceptions at the same time and the enemy that had been hated had not been so much Germany as democracy. The root of militarism is the claim to control the will and conscience of the individual. After the restrictions of D.O.R.A. we were getting in peace time the Emergency Powers Act and the Official Secrets Act. "We cannot have a sound public opinion," the speaker declared, "unless we have a stubborn individual opinion, and it is the duty of the patriot to-day to safeguard this liberty."—"The Friend."

Warley Church.

At the last of 20 lectures on the Irish Problem the Warley Institutional Church Brotherhood passed the following resolution:—

"That this meeting of the Warley Institutional Church Brotherhood, after a careful study of the Irish Problem, unanimously and wholeheartedly supports complete self-government for Ireland, and urges that all members of Parliament and all political and industrial organisations should use immediately all the political and industrial power possible to attain this end. As a first step all English troops should be at once withdrawn and the Brotherhood meeting especially emphasises the imperative duty of all Labour, Co-operative and Trade Union organisations to set up an Irish Council of Action to deal drastically and urgently with the question of Ireland as was done with Russia."

Expelled by French Authority.

So Mrs. Charles Roden Buxton, one of the most public spirited and clear-headed of our leading women, has been barred from Silesia, by French Authority. Things are happening in Silesia and it is not wise, so governments consider, to have truth-speaking men and women about, who are not afraid.

The Cenotaph.

I was interested in seeing amongst the many wreaths lying in Whitehall, a framed picture of the thorn-crowned Christ, looking at the graves in the snow—many will remember the picture—but underneath a widow has written, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye did it unto Me." This is significant, and many pass and stoop to read the message.

W. J. CHAMBERLAIN THANKS "CRUSADER" READERS.

W. J. Chamberlain writes:—

"My article of a fortnight ago, in which I mentioned one or two particularly distressing instances of the terrible effects of unemployment, has resulted in a number of "Crusader" readers sending me sums, amounting in all to £22 10s., for the immediate assistance of the wife who is shortly to become a mother. Needless to say, I am deeply grateful to our readers for their fine comradeship, which has ensured that the wife of the unemployed man mentioned in the article will not lack the necessary medical attention and other essentials during her trying time. Both husband and wife are grateful beyond words. I have replied personally to all but two readers who insist upon remaining anonymous. I should be glad, therefore, if "Anon" and "A.R.N." would please accept my heartfelt thanks for their splendid letters and their practical sympathy."

The Crusader

No. 48. Vol. II.

Friday, Dec. 31st, 1920.

(Registered as a Newspaper)

Twopence.

YOUR MONEY, OR—OUR LIFE!

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

In our last week's issue I attempted the task of shocking our readers into a realisation of the fact that the "Crusader" is in grave danger—that, in fact, its very existence depends on the response of EVERY READER to the appeal I made, on behalf of the "Crusader" Group, for immediate financial support.

Owing to the holidays, I have to write this before there is any possibility of my knowing what response there has been to that appeal. I am hoping that by the time these lines are being read I shall have heard that the response has been such as to guarantee the existence of the paper through 1921.

But I am not "taking any chances" in this business—it is far too serious for that. And so I return once more to the attack. I am not going to let the "Crusader" go under for want of impressing the seriousness of its position upon all those keen readers who have shown, by the very fact of their continuing to buy the paper week after week, that it is meeting a need in their lives which is not met elsewhere.

Now then, good friends, have you sent along your contributions?

Lest there be any among you who missed last week's "Crusader," let me repeat this fact (and put it in black type, please, Mr. Printer):—

Unless substantial financial help is forthcoming from our readers during the next week or two, the "Crusader" will have to stop publication.

So, you see, it is a case of YOUR money or OUR life!

You would be awfully sorry if the "Crusader" stopped, wouldn't you? Of course you would. But stop it must unless YOU send along whatever sum you can afford in ready cash, or in the shape of a guarantee over a stated period, NOW.

Talking about being sorry reminds me of the old story you have so often heard before. It will bear

repeating here. A certain good man came upon a little crowd of people standing around a poor carter whose horse had dropped dead in the street. Everybody was so sorry for the poor carter, for the horse was his living. The good man took in the situation at a glance. He listened for a moment or two to the expressions of sympathy from the crowd; then he put his hand into his pocket and drew out his purse.

"I'm sorry five pounds. How much art thou sorry?" he announced to the crowd.

That is exactly the kind of sympathy the "Crusader" needs to-day if it is to carry on its good work for another year.

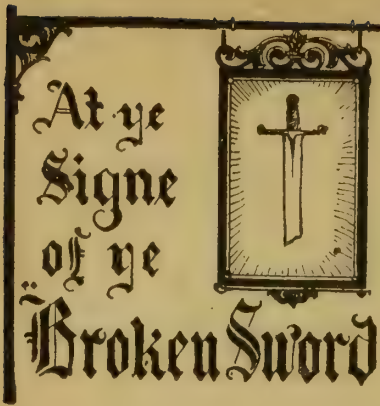
As I said last week, we are not asking for big sums from individual readers. We want EVERY READER to send a little, rather than a few readers send a lot. And if every reader responds with just that amount which he or she can reasonably afford to send or guarantee, then the Editor will be able to devote this space to more useful matter from the next issue.

Later on, I will tell you why the "Crusader" cannot "pay" in the ordinary sense for some little time to come, until the cost of production becomes less; and I will also indicate how you can help to make it pay in the future. But at the moment the gallant little craft is in danger of sinking, and it is a case of "All hands on deck!" until she is safe. We'll talk about the causes of the stormy passage when we are in smooth water again.

I conclude with the question I put to you in last week's issue:

What is the "Crusader" worth to YOU?

When you have decided on the amount you can afford, send it along at the earliest possible moment to—The Secretary, "Crusader" Office, 23, Bride Lane, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.



TIMES AND SEASONS.

It's no good denying it. I did not, as the Christmas season drew near, feel at all as one should at that time. My individual mood protested against the "absurd" pre-

parations for the annual celebrations. The calendar of my inner life did not correspond to the public calendar. An extreme individualism might have refused to have anything to do with this organisation of rejoicing. It would have declared that it was not going to conform to any arbitrary choice of dates and put itself in festive attire, and thus misrepresent its true feeling. Why should we give presents when we do not feel generous, or sing carols when we are not merry? The fact that it is a custom is, for the individualist, but an argument for summoning the spirit of non-conformity so pithily expounded by Emerson.

Yet I have to confess that as the days went by I relented. The decorated shop windows, the ritual of good wishes, the sight of happy children returning from school, wrought their effect. This conspiracy to be merry and generous was not to be resisted. My sullenness thawed. The social occasion conquered the individual mood. Even though I did not know why, I became gayer. Then, in a little village church, to the accompaniment of a badly trained choir and a platitudinarian preacher, the truth dawned on me as though I heard it for the first time. God had become man! The world was saved! And once more the stars broke into song.

I cannot but think the organised public commemoration of the great facts of the Faith, however it may cut across our individual moods and circumstances, a wholesome check upon the indiscipline and one-sidedness of our private thoughts and feelings. The procession of the Christian calendar is a great education, to those who will avail themselves of it, in the circle of revealed truth. We all have our personal predilections among the seasons thus celebrated. Either the solemnity of Lent or the triumphant note of Easter, or the festive character of Christmas, appeals to us with special force. Had we our own way we should neglect the significance of those seasons which failed to appeal to us, and concentrate on those which did. For this individualistic tendency the discipline of the Catholic circle of commemorations is the remedy.

But this fitting of our private selves into the requirements of a system of truth externalised in a series of public anniversaries is only one instance of that discipline to which the free religious spirit must in the future learn to submit itself.

The course of religious development may be likened in one respect to the development of the human race in general. The first period of evolution was concerned mainly with the exfoliation of man's physical organism. When that had reached a certain stage, and limbs and organs proclaimed his superiority to the rest of the animal world, his spiritual life proceeded to build itself up on this physical foundation. The body of a man living in the 20th century does not materially differ from that of a cave-man. But the mental life of the modern man, the use he makes of his brain, his eyes, his arms and legs, is vastly superior to the use made of the same organs by his prehistoric ancestor. Similarly, it seems to me, the Christian centuries, up to recent times, have been concerned with the body of Religion. They have busied themselves with the external structure. A great organisation has been created. In that structure are all the truths, sacramental agencies, offices, fasts and feasts required by the most complicated spiritual life. The Present Age may well say "A Body hast Thou prepared for me." The House is built. By patient labour, often in much darkness as to the full significance of what they were doing, the Builders pursued their labours. To-day we may enter into the House. The Spirit must wed itself to the material provided for it. As the first efforts of the infant are directed to obtaining control over his own limbs, so the Spirit has to accustom itself to and master the forms prepared for it. Freedom does not consist in doing without our physical bodies, but in compelling them to carry out our purposes, and Spiritual Freedom is not a negative thing, enabling us to dispense with forms, but the power to utilise those forms to the utmost.

So I return to our Christmas celebrations. There they are—conventions, ceremonies created in by-gone ages. The individualist, claiming to be more "spiritual" than his fellows, professes to dispense with such things. But a truer liberty is enjoyed by those who invest these "externals" with deeper significances, read profounder meanings in the Event they celebrate, and join with a warmer social spirit in the public celebration of the astounding historical Fact they recall.

THE TRAMP.

NOTE.—We have received several letters in connection with Mr. Jerome's article, which we are holding over.

A DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE

Civilization is Crumbling to Pieces.

*Men are asking—What sort of Society
will take its place?*

*Does not this create a unique oppor-
tunity for the establishment of
God's Kingdom?*

*That will come as we cease to fear
it, and, with faith and courage,
prepare the way for it through
our own enlightened hearts.*

*Will you throw your weight on the
side of this glorious change, or
cling to privileges and traditions
which involve world-ruin?*

A DECLARATION

17

Nearly one hundred and fifty years ago the American Colonies, driven to desperation by the action of a British Government, issued a Declaration of Independence.

Political, social, and economic tyranny has reached a point to-day far in excess of that endured by the colonists who revolted in 1776. Its effects are felt over the whole world. An evil power seems abroad poisoning the minds and consciences of men, turning the thoughts of Governments from peace, hardening the hearts of the rich, and embittering the souls of their victims. We seem to be on the verge of a material and spiritual collapse, whose consequences would be beyond our imagination.

It is these circumstances that have given birth to what may be called

A DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE.

1. We appeal beyond kings, parliaments, and constitutions, to the God of the Peoples, of Whom long ago it was written:—

"He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their heart.
He hath put down princes from their thrones,
And hath exalted them of low degree."

To Him Who has raised to the Throne of the Universe the Carpenter of Nazareth, and promised to Him all the Kingdoms of the World, we commit our cause. We invoke His Spirit. We declare our dependence upon Him and Him alone.

2. Dependence upon Him involves dependence on one another. His power is made known to us in association and co-operation. We raise a banner for those of all lands, all classes, all churches, in whose hearts is holy revolt against the reign of Mammon. Our need is one. Our prayer is one. Our God is one. We cannot dispense with each other. When we come together He will stand in our midst, Who is the Terror of the mighty and the Hope of the weak.
3. We cannot work independently of the industrial and economic conditions of our times. As the navigator must study tides and winds in order that he may make the best use of them for his purpose, so must we learn to understand the material conditions of our age in order that we may overcome and utilise them. Capitalism, as it develops in organised power, has created a vast mass of propertyless workers, whose only hope of economic salvation lies in the organisation of their forces. These very conditions create for us an opportunity which is the call of God. On all these we depend. There is not a wind that blows that may not be used to speed us to our haven.
4. Seeing that our strength is in God and in His working, there is no limit to our expectations. The mighty empires of man, the resources of material wealth, the cunning of subtle minds, are powerless to resist the omnipotent Word declaring "Let there be Light, Liberty, Love."

The specious plea that certain evils are inevitable, that certain compromises are unavoidable, that "human nature being what it is," we must

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Christian Forward Movement.

TO further the work of bringing back a living, working
Christianity amongst men and women. We earnestly
ask your generous support for the special efforts:—

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|---|---------|
| (a) The maintenance of the "Crusader," for which in these | |
| days considerable sums are required, £ | : s. d. |
| (b) Propaganda, including work in connection with the | |
| Declaration of Dependence, Disarmament, Speakers' Ex- | |
| penses, Meetings, Printing, Postage, etc., £ | : s. d. |

Address: THE SECRETARY, THE "CRUSADER" OFFICE
23 BRIDE LANE, LONDON, E.C. 4.

DEPENDENCE.

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content ourselves with methods otherwise regrettable, does not deceive us. In view of our dependence on God, we are independent of armies and navies, police courts and prisons, the dishonesties of political life, the falsehoods of the Press.

No institution is too ancient or too deeply entrenched to be overthrown. Standing amid the glories of the Temple of Mammon and jostled by the thronging crowds of his worshippers, we prophesy that to-morrow not one stone shall be left standing upon another, and that in its place shall arise the City of God

A CHARTER FOR ALL PEOPLES.

5. Seeing that, as the Son of Man, God identified Himself with all men, and proclaimed Himself their Father, it is clear that—

It is the WILL OF GOD to unite all in one Family—a Family from which shall be abolished those distinctions of class which pride and servility have created and maintained. In that Society all shall own and control the means of production, and shall work, according to ability, through their years of full strength, sharing, according to need, the produce of their labour.

The children, the aged, the infirm, while free from the burden of labour, shall partake fully of the common wealth.

Thus all shall enjoy the blessings of health, home life, education, leisure, travel, and art, and be able, in the Family-life of God's Kingdom, to develop their personalities by every pure and noble activity.

In this world-wide community each nation shall have its place, and in the service of all each race shall find its own life nourished.

GOD WILLS IT, and, therefore, with human faith responding, it shall come to pass, not in some far-off century, but NOW.

6. In what way must the faith act that is to realise this vision?

Faith in God; for the dispossessed, must mean faith in themselves and their destiny. They must throw off the habits of servility, and, by education, organisation, and moral discipline, prepare themselves for the responsibilities to which they are called.

To others, the signing of this Declaration of the WILL OF GOD will mean the glad acceptance of the prospect of a Communal order of Society, and the active working for its realisation.

In the Middle Ages, when Europe mustered its forces for the crusades, the cry that rallied the peoples to the banners of the nations engaged was "Deus Vult"—God wills it.

The Holy Land we march to conquer to-day is the sacred soil of the whole earth, which is given for the joy of all and the selfish ownership of none. But our rallying cry is the same:—

DEUS VULT
GOD WILLS IT.

Having considered the Declaration of Dependence
I am prepared, as far as I am able, to work for
the immediate establishment of a new social order
according to the principles laid down therein.

Name

Address

If you are willing to sign the above Statement, will you kindly do so and forward it to "The Crusader" Office (23 Bride Lane, London, E.C. 4), with, whenever possible, a donation to help cover the expenses of the Declaration and its circulation.

Articles expounding the Declaration are appearing week by week in "The Crusader" (2d.), copies of which may be obtained from local newsagents, or, with the Declaration of Dependence, at "The Crusader" Office, 23 Bride Lane, London, E.C. 4.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

I want to begin by wishing all my readers a Happy New Year. As we peer into the future we are all conscious of being a little afraid of 1921. But let us remind ourselves that Happiness is not made by the year but by the spirit in which we meet it.

It is with much pleasure that I see the fact recorded that Lord Milner has been challenged by a very influential deputation of men who will not meekly accept the Government's inhuman Labour laws which were intended to fasten forced labour on the helpless natives of British East Africa. The deputation was led by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Nonconformists were represented by Dr. A. E. Garvie. And while I am on the subject of slavery of this sort, let me remind my readers that there are signs of slavery again in the Cocoa islands. And the scandal of the slavery in the Crown Colony of Hong Kong still goes on (according to letters received), although the House of Commons and the Colonial Office try to draw a veil over the disgrace. I fear we have become very cruel.

"Historicus" in the "Methodist Times" is hitting out splendidly about the Government's policy in Ireland. He remarks that Nonconformity has at long last found a tongue on the subject. "But," he says, "I wish they had spoken earlier—not behind the politicians, Liberal, Labour, and the enlightened Tories, not behind the seventeen Anglican bishops, not behind the Irish Roman Catholic Cardinal Archbishop and Bishops, but in front of them."

The place of Nonconformity is with the shock troops, not with the baggage." I was discussing this question of the slowness of Nonconformity the other day with a prominent journalist. He said, "The Nonconformists are so delighted to have a Nonconformist in the great position of Prime Minister that they are unable to oppose him even if he leads them and the whole country to the devil!"

"Historicus" speaks of his own experiences in certain bad parts of the German Empire before the war. "Military officers," he says, "were insolvent and overbearing and rudely hustled people off the pavement and were repaid with cordial hatred. But Prussia's representatives did not fire indiscriminately about the streets, killing women and children; they did not shoot priests; they did not burn down public buildings or shops. Had they done so the whole civilised world would have echoed with cries of horror, and not least England. Yet the British Government, through its officials, is doing these very things in Ireland to-day and obstinately refuses any impartial inquiry into the facts." After that I should like to put on record the resolution which was carried unanimously last Sunday night by a crowded congregation at Wycliffe Church, Leicester. Here it is:—"That this congregation views with horror and shame the present policy of the British Government in Ireland, and calls for immediate

steps to be taken to settle the Irish question, once for all, by the method of conference and an agreement based on the principle of self-determination of peoples." I pass the resolution on in the hope that other churches may take it up. Call the attention of your minister to it.

So Armenia has gone Bolshie! What unexpected news! And this the interesting way in which the news is explained by that keen observer, Mr. Basil Mathews: "We turn to the Near East, and find that Armenia, between the devil of Mustapha Kemal and the deep sea of French and British helplessness, has been forced to save its life by becoming a Soviet Republic under the protection of Bolshevik Russia; and that Russia is protecting and helping her ward. It must make the American man of goodwill feel ill to see Russia doing that. If there had been oil wells under the Armenian soil or rich veins of gold in her mountains, Europe would have rushed to protect her; but as it was only a nation of men and women and children robbed and raped and left wounded on the wayside, the priest of Britain and the Levite of America pass by on the other side, and Bolshevik Russia plays the Good Samaritan!" Our high ideals must be "oiled" or they will not work!

Next week I want to tell about a very clever and startling play written by a Japanese. It consists of a dialogue between God and the devil regarding the modern nations. The play is now being performed in Japan.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE FUND.

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*Mr. J. R. Chinnery		10	0
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IMPORTANT.—Please register all letters containing Treasury Notes and cross all Postal Orders.

The Crusader

Friday, Dec. 31st, 1920.

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To the Editor,
Business Communications
To the Secretary,
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 LONDON, E.C.4.
Rate of Subscription:
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 2/9 per quarter.

*All sights and sounds of day and year,
 All groups and forms, each leaf and gem,
 Are thine, O God, nor will I fear
 To talk to Thee of them.*

*Too great Thy heart is to despise,
 Whose day girds centuries about;
 From things which we name small, Thine eyes
 See great things looking out.*

*I Think the lost years garnered lie
 In this Thy casket, my dim soul;
 And Thou wilt, once, the key apply,
 And show the shining whole.*

*For are we not at home with Thee,
 And all this world a visioned show;
 That, knowing what Abroad is, we
 What Home is too may know.*

GEORGE MACDONALD.

EDITORIAL.

On this the last week in 1920 we cannot but express to one another our sense of gratitude to God that He has allowed us to seek to serve, through the "Crusader," through speaking, and other ways, that Kingdom we pray may be established. There are so many who take a real part in this work, whom some of us have never met; but our sense of deep fellowship is none the less keen, and there are few things so cheering as to realise that up and down the country men and women welcome the "Crusader" Message, not so much because it is in any sense a new Message, but because it is the old Message which seeks spontaneous outlet in every class and in every land.

If we are allowed to continue the work, it is impossible to foretell what our specific tasks, our difficulties, our encouragements, may turn out to be in the year 1921—a year which is bound to be eventful, critical, and possibly more tragic than the year we have almost left behind.

If our hearts fail, let us remember "He shall not fail nor be discouraged," and "The Government shall be upon His shoulder."
 T.W.W.

The Master-Builder.

In the "Teacher's World" there is a striking article by Dr. Alexander Irvine, giving a report of a dinner to college men at which a certain Professor, who had never been known to make an after-dinner speech, was asked to do.

The Professor, in his opening remarks, said:—
 We are in one of the famous banqueting halls of the world. Belshazzar's hall compared to this was a lodging on the third-floor back. No such art existed in those days as we see around this room. No such viands graced his board. What there was there was elegant for that day, but we live in another age, an age of art, artcraftsmanship, and luxury. From the four corners of the earth came the things on this table.

He then drew attention to everything in the room—carpets, curtains, decorations, silver, the very flowers in the vases. Yet not one of these things could the University men directly produce. His speech closed with the following:—

Why should a University perpetuate such a revolt against Nature in which the man who does no useful work at all is considered a gentleman, and the creator of wealth and beautiful things should be considered low caste, in Anglo-Saxon civilisation. I want to point out to you that the highest form of culture and refinement known to mankind was ultimately associated with tools and labour. In order to do that I must present to you a picture, imaginative, but in accord with the facts of history and experience.

He pushed his chair back, and stood a few feet from the table. His face betrayed deep emotion. His voice became wonderfully soft and irresistibly appealing. The college men had been interested; they were now spellbound. He raised his hand, and went through the motions of drawing aside a curtain.

"Gentlemen," he said, "may I introduce to you a young Galilean who is a master builder—Jesus of Nazareth!" It was a weird act. The silence became oppressive. As if addressing an actual person of flesh and blood, he continued. "Master, may I ask you, as I asked these young men, whether there is anything in this room that you could make with your hands as other men make them?"

There was a pause, a brief moment or two, then with the slow measured stride of an Oriental he went to the end of the table, and took the tablecloth in his hand, and made bare the corner and carved oak leg of the great table. In that position he looked into the faces of the men and said: "The Master says, 'Yes, I could make the table—I am a Carpenter!'"

Talks on Communism.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

Is such a programme as that outlined in my last article practicable? or is it an unattainable El Dorado? We lack imagination when we think the latter fail to realise the enthusiasm which springs from a vision of a new life, and also the astonishing economies which that life would effect. Given a social system which served the common good, a programme even more ambitious than that we outlined could be carried out within a comparatively short time. How many of our industrial towns, for instance, have been erected within three or four decades? With a new social ideal and a new spirit, supported by all our modern skill and science, what could we not do? The possibilities are limitless. Besides, important economies would be effected by the substitution of Communism for Capitalism, which it will be well to consider. The chief are these:—

1. That due to the abolition of unemployment. Of course, temporary aberrations in the industrial organisation there would be for some time to come, but these could easily be dealt with and everybody found work, seeing that all machinery and rolling stock would be in the control of the workers themselves. No such adjustment is possible under Capitalism, as the least interference with the "law of supply and demand" is regarded as artificial and an unwarranted interference with the profit-making rights of powerful private groups.

2. That due to the abolition of the idle class, the minority which by reason of its superior economic power swallows up most of the benefits of science, invention, and mass-production. Instead of mass-production being a social benefit, it is at present a curse, as it causes work to be more monotonous, and infinitely more strenuous, exacting and spiritually destructive than before, notwithstanding that hours are slightly shorter. A social system which permits what ought to be a social boon to augment unemployment and make work more degrading and distasteful, on the one hand, and swell the army of idle rich, on the other, is a source of waste which no society can afford.

3. That due to the abolition of armaments, the Army and Navy. Obviously a society which orders its life on the principle of co-operation and mutual service has solved the problem of war, having gone right behind the principle of greed, which is the source alike of fear and war, to the fundamental unity of human nature. The same motives and discoveries which bring the Class War to end will also put an end to international war. As a result of the consequent disarmament, not only would the entire personnel of the Army and Navy be available for useful production, but the great army of hand and brain workers engaged on munitions, in the War Office, etc., also.

4. That due to the abolition of fashion. Very few people realise the significance of fashion, its appalling wastefulness. Its overthrow would effect an

VI.—SOME SIGNIFICANT ECONOMIES.

enormous saving in labour and wealth. Fashion is part of the conspiracy to maintain the supremacy of the rich, a device for causing "success" to be recognised as the chief social virtue, and the sign of highest excellence. The proud and the mighty inherit the earth, and it is necessary to their safety and satisfying to their sense of dignity that the world recognise their right to that inheritance. Fashion is the means by which this end is attained. One must obey it or become a social outcast. In order not to lose caste, their place in "respectable" society, thousands will go hungry that they may buy "decent" clothes. To go hungry is to suffer in secret, but to be badly dressed is to be publicly damned. If character and not riches were the principal thing, dress would be a means of expressing personality, and instead of being "fashionable" would be original, which is to say that it would be simple and beautiful.

5. That due to the elimination of shoddy. One of the curses of Capitalism is the necessity it creates for imitations and "cheap" production whereby the poor are lured into unnecessary expenditure, methods of false economy, and into habits which leave them open also to the appellation "imitations." Cheap goods cost almost as much to produce as goods of a good quality; they thus involve waste, and in addition have a demoralising effect. In addition, foods are adulterated, and this is dangerous to health. In a classless society there will be one standard of goods, that of highest utility and greatest beauty. "Cheap" production will cease, to the great gain of art and economy.

BOOKS FOR SALE.

1 copy "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," John Maynard Keynes, C.B., very slightly soiled; published at 8s. 6d.	8 0
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* Miss Wilson Wilson has given us the privilege of reducing these books for Christmas by 1s. 6d. a copy.

All the above to be obtained from the office post free.

Bookland. The German Revolution.

Very few people in this country understand the German Revolution of November, 1918, and subsequent months, or the history of Germany since, chiefly for the reason that, owing to the Press, the feeling has been created that nothing good can come out of Germany or happen within it. But that Revolution was a remarkable event, having much to teach those interested in social development. At the same time I am fully in agreement with Mr. L. E. Matthaei when, in his book: "Germany in Revolution" (the Swarthmore Press, Ltd., 2/6 net) he says: "It began as a political revolution of a fairly simple type." That was so because it was a spontaneous and thus unorganised expression of hatred against war, the horrors and suffering of the previous four years, and against the militarist régime which had been largely responsible for bringing about the war. The Revolution was in no sense a social revolution. At that time, and with the great bulk of the nation's manhood at the "front," there was no opportunity of organising a social revolution. The paramount need was to stop the war and get rid of the militarist rulers, and these ends were achieved with astonishing completeness. Mr. Matthaei explains it thus:

"It was because the real revolution when it came seemed to answer so many separate and individual doubts and questions, gathering up the whole nation in one broad movement of hope and confidence, that it became such a force for unity, welding all together for some months far more firmly than even the war had done."

Had it been a social revolution, Socialists and Capitalists would not have stood side by side in its defence, as was actually the case.

And yet many Socialists do not appear to realise this, as in every part of Germany to-day one can hear Socialists speak of "the failure of the Revolution." But as our author rightly says, it was not a failure. It was eminently successful but limited in scope. The social revolution began afterwards, on the basis of the political changes which the Revolution had brought, but it did not proceed very rapidly. It did, however, establish an eight-hour day, and a system of Workers' Councils, though defective. At present attempts are being made to carry out a policy of nationalisation. But owing to the ineffectiveness of the Workers' Councils, and the underlying opposition of the big financiers to Nationalisation, together with aggressive industrial policies on the part of these latter, disbelief in revolution by constitutional methods is rapidly growing.

The extreme Left Wing, of course, never believed in these methods, which explains why they tried to complete the work begun in November, 1918, during the succeeding months. Mr. Matthaei describes these attempts with some vividness. They failed, and the reasons of their failure are worth discovering. Have the German Left Wing Socialists sufficiently studied the bloodless Revolution of November, 1918, and learnt its lessons? Some of them have. The present writer visited, in a German prison in May of the present year, a young man who took part in the "bloody" Revolution of 1919. He is still an ardent revolutionary, but now a no less ardent pacifist. What is the solution? Studies like this of Mr. Matthaei are helps towards that end.

Pay Me What Thou Owest.

We have been reminded of one of the sternest parables Jesus ever spoke—of the King who desired to settle accounts with his servant and did so by forgiving him all his debt. And we shall remember how the servant treated his fellow servant who owed him but a few shillings, and how the King finally handed him over to the torturers until he should have paid all.

Jesus thus comments on the story: "In the same way My Heavenly Father will deal with you, if you do not all of you, forgive one another from your hearts."

In the light of this pronouncement, we may well shrink before the future as we read the following note from "The Nation."

"The Conference on Reparations which has begun at Brussels has resolved itself into a series of businesslike private discussions between individual experts. That would seem to be the best method of arriving at the facts. But if the 'Times' is as well-informed as usual in such matters, no approach to an understanding seems possible.

"It published on Tuesday the details of 'one definite proposal (which we should guess to be that of France) before the Conference.' It suggests spreading the payments over forty-two years, rising by three gradations as time goes on. The total amount reaches a figure which we should have thought beyond the imagination of any sane Government at this stage—13,450 millions sterling in gold. The detailed plan provides for a loan to be issued by Germany on the security of her customs, and also for the mortgaging of her industrial securities, while the increase of her customs dues and indirect taxes is provided for, whereas the German Budgets prefer to rely on direct taxes, including a capital levy. Our imagination wholly fails to picture a world in which the Allies will mount guard unitedly over a nation of German debt-slaves for forty-two years. The total amount is about six times what might be fairly exacted under the Fourteen Points, and even more wildly beyond the capacity of this broken country to pay."

The Editor to Dinner.

"MY DARLING COUSIN ANNE,

"I am so dreadfully sorry to bother you when I know you are groaning in your chair with that awful rheumatism. No, not groaning, because you are such a perfect angel of patience; but really I haven't a soul to speak to, and I am worrying myself sick.

"You see, I wouldn't say a word to my own family for a kingdom, and as for Leslie—there is the hideousness of it all!

"Please drop me a line, 'do' or 'don't,' and I will take it as—what is that Greek thing they used to ask?

"You see, it was two days ago that Leslie said in his calmest manner: 'I say, Kit, we really ought to have the Chief and his wife to dinner. It is a full month since we went there!'

"I do hope you are not laughing, you darling, but this is the whole trouble. Leslie says I have no sense of humour, and that he adores me for it, and he also says that I have no idea of proportion, and I haven't the remotest notion what he means.

"Of course, I admit I am rather young, and my family made monstrous remarks about struggling journalists. But the struggling was the whole exciting part! So you know how we persuaded father and what a quiet wedding we had. But quiet weddings simply don't pay. I know that now. It was all sweet and lovely, and of course I got Leslie, but people were really too dreadfully mean. I never got a quarter the presents that Maud got. You remember that she is our Editor's wife, and when she came to our wedding I KNOW she was gloating.

"Oh, Leslie, must we?" I said. "I really don't see how we can manage an actual dinner party."

"You will run all right!" he said cheerfully. He was stuffing yards and yards of common ribbony paper into his bag. "How would Saturday week do, our off-night?"

"But, Leslie, stop!" I cried. "You can't mean a real dinner, because—"

"I mean a knock-up of some sort; why not? They know the salary, and it is you they will want to see!"

"But what could we have?" I interrupted.

"Oh—the usual things, I suppose. Soup—"

"But we don't possess soup spoons!"

"Why—what on earth do we use every day?"

"Certainly not soup spoons!" Sometimes I almost wish that Leslie would let me get really cross with him.

"Well, then, start with fish! I know we have two sets of fish knives and forks. Cut the entree if that is a worry. Mansfield has a liver. And go slap on to the joint, sweets—dessert—"

"Very well!" I said. Dear Cousin Anne, how could I tell him that our 'One and Only' fries fish to soppy rags, and that I always cut downstairs to make sure? If I told him that he would only laugh and promise to keep the company going while I did it! Leslie hasn't a grain of proper pride,

"Look here, Kit!" he said, just as he was at the door. "The whole thing will go off like a football edition if we finish up with that glorious coffee of yours!"

"But how can we?" I cried. "You know we have no coffee cups!"

"Then the great boy came back and stared at me, with a face as solemn as a cab-horse.

"As if it matters a spark to Mansfield what he drinks from! You should see him and me, when we are hard pressed at night, raiding the Comps' brew! We don't wait for the best china, bless you, Kit!"

"Then he kissed me and rushed.

"Now, how can I dash his prospects by giving a horrid stuffy dinner to his Editor and Maud?"

"Yet, after that glorious wedding trip he took me, I can't worry him for extras. Yet to give a dinner without soup spoons or dessert plates and not enough knives and no finger bowls! If only we could drink coffee out of dinner napkin rings! We have eighteen—solid silver. I expect they were a pass on. Leslie wants to experiment with them some night in a pan on the fire.

"I feel on what the papers call 'the edge of a crisis!' If I tell Leslie I am really worried, he will think I regret the struggle. If I write to father, he will snort and send money. If I deceive Leslie—and yet—how can I have a muddle of a dinner with Maud sitting pitying me?"

"Do send word by return! Tell me if you think an Editor would mind drinking coffee out of tea cups and whether he could eat grapes off cheese plates?"

LATER.

"Darling! I forgot to post this. I am madder than ever! It was a knock-up, but it went off swimmingly, except that Leslie would explain everything! But somehow I didn't mind, and the Editor downright enjoyed himself, and Maud wasn't a bit snuffy. And—think of it—he and Leslie have been plotting out a new paper they want to start, and asked Leslie to be Editor! He has promised that he will find me a house without a basement kitchen and no cockroaches!

"Your excited

"KITTY."

T.W.W.

THE "DECLARATION" at REGENT'S PARK CHAPEL.

Regent's Park Chapel (Institute), Entrance in Peto Place. A MEETING will be held on January 6th, at 7-45.

Speaker: Rev. S. B. JAMES.

Subject: "Revolutionary Christianity."

Chairman: Rev. Frederick C. Spurr.

Discussion opened by Frank E. Fincham.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

SIDELIGHTS.

F. W. Jowett on Reprisals.

Mr. F. W. Jowett, a member of the Labour Commission recently in Ireland, in a recent Press interview, unreservedly condemned the policy of reprisals. However much destruction was done, he said, the younger generation would grow up with a hatred of England deeply implanted in their minds. Supposing the British troops annihilated the Republican army, and their burning of whole districts so terrified the people that they were seemingly passive, their children would have seen these things and would cherish bitter memories to which, when they grew up, they would give expression.

There has been some speculation as to how the people who have had their homes destroyed by the reprisals will fare in regard to reparation. "The cost of these burnings by men employed by Dublin Castle authorities," said Mr. Jowett, "is supposed to be repayable out of the rates. There is a grim humour in this supposition, for the damage already done in Tipperary amounts to no less than £200,000, which is equal to £20 for every £1 of the rateable value of the township. The damage at Cork has been variously estimated at from one to seven millions, and as Cork is a typically poor place the possibility of compensation appears to be still more impossible."

Can Labour Govern?

The following is an extract from the Orders of the Day for the House of Commons on December 21st:—

"Government of Ireland Bill.—Consideration of Lords' Amendment to Commons' Amendment to Lords' Amendment, and Lords' Amendments in lieu of Commons' Amendment to Lords' Amendment disagreed to by the Lords."

This is a clear case of "superior brains," and we are afraid that the Labour Party will never rise to such heights.

What £2 a Week for Unemployed Would Cost.

In connection with Labour's plea for adequate maintenance grants to the unemployed, the Labour News Service points out that £2 a week maintenance could be provided for 250,000 unemployed persons for ten weeks for the modest sum of £5,000,000, and that this outlay would be immediately transformed into a demand for commodities, which would stimulate trade in a healthy and natural way.

£10,000 Fur Coat.

While the much-talked-of drop in prices has reached all the cheaper kinds of fur, good skins, says the Continental "Daily-Mail," command practically any sum. A gorgeous coat of chinchilla has just been made for the Monte Carlo season on the newest and most graceful lines, and the bill amounted to 250,000frs. (£10,000 normally).

Paddington's Woman "Alderman."

Mrs. Jane Milne has been elected alderman of the Paddington Borough Council, thus becoming the first woman to be appointed to the aldermanic bench. Mrs. Milne has been a member of the Council for some years.

£260,000 Fortune.

Mr. T. W. McIntyre, Mauchline, Ayrshire, at one time partner in the shipping firm of Maclay and McIntyre, has left a fortune of £260,000.

Mothers' Pensions in Ontario.

Ontario has a system of mothers' pensions, embodied in the Mothers' Allowances Act adopted by the Farmer-Labour Government, which places mothers in the position of civil servants, based on the principle that mothers are entitled to maintenance while rearing their children.

More Child Labour.

The Board of Education has informed local Education Authorities that sub-sections (1) and (2) of section 8 of the Act will not come into force on January 1st, of 1921, as it was announced last August. This means that children under fourteen will still be exempt from school attendance, the half-time system will remain in operation, and by-laws will not yet be able to extend the school age to fifteen years. Section 52 of the Act provides that these enactments shall not come into force before the termination of the war. Thus, because the Treaty with Turkey has not yet been ratified, some of the most important provisions of the Education Act are to be indefinitely delayed. But is the ratification of the Treaty the real obstacle? It should not prove an insuperable difficulty, even from the legal point of view. What, apparently, is the objection against the Act is the extreme reluctance on the part of the employers to forego the convenience of child labour. Local Authorities have further been warned by the Board not to embark upon new schemes involving considerable expenditure for the present. There is a positive genius in Whitehall for cutting down expenditure upon matters really vital to the nation.

CORRESPONDENCE.

- I wish I could send more. The "Crusader" must not die!—E.B.H.

I send £1—I willingly would send twice, three times, or even ten times this amount, were I able to do so, rather than such a paper should cease to be published, for I admire more every week the principles and teachings embodied therein. There is no other paper I am able to read with so much pleasure or derive so much inspiration and hope for the future well-being of the human race.—A Reader.

HAVE YOU READ PAGE 1?

The Crusader

No. 49. Vol. II.

Friday, Jan. 7th, 1921.

(Registered as a Newspaper)

Twopence.

THE FUTURE OF "THE CRUSADER."

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Within the next few days the "Crusader" Group will be meeting to decide the fate of the "Crusader." Or, to put it more correctly, we shall be meeting in order to learn what YOU have decided to do with the "Crusader."

If between now and the day of our meeting YOU have realised the serious nature of the crisis we are now facing, and have sent along what you can reasonably afford, we shall know that the future of our paper is assured.

If YOU have not been impressed by the appeals I have made in the last two issues, and if this final appeal does not move YOU to respond, then we shall know that it is not the wish of our readers that the "Crusader" should continue—and we shall accept that verdict.

But such a verdict is unthinkable. Moreover, it would be opposed to the known facts of the case. If "Crusader" readers did not want the paper to continue they would have told us so long ago, and in a manner which would have been unmistakably conclusive. They would have ceased to buy the "Crusader."

We are, I think, fully justified in our assumption that every regular reader of the "Crusader" wants to see the paper live.

But the "Crusader" cannot live unless every reader accepts some share of responsibility—according to their means—for its future existence.

A voluntary levy on the part of all our readers will place the "Crusader" out of danger—but the essential thing is that it must be ALL our readers.

I know that this black type and these capital letters offend the æsthetic susceptibilities of our printer. They are a positive eyesore to me. But, alas! there is no other way in which I can be quite sure that our readers are not lulling themselves into a false sense of security on this vital matter of the existence of the "Crusader."

Let me use a simple illustration of the importance of the point I have been stressing all through these appeals.

Suppose 1,000 readers guarantee a minimum of £1 towards the upkeep of the "Crusader" during 1921—a fraction over 4½d. a week. That would make the paper "safe for Democracy"!

Suppose 2,000 readers guarantee 10s. just 2½d. a week. That would have the same happy result.

You see how easily it can be done! But it would not be fair to those of our readers—and I know there are many—who cannot afford 10s. to name a definite sum as a suggested uniform levy. That is why I have repeatedly urged EVERY READER to send along just as much as they feel they can afford. Those who can afford £10, or £50, or £100 should send it along in order to make up for those to whom even 5s. is a sacrifice.

Let no reader make any mistake about the nature of the appeals I have been making on behalf of our paper. I know that I am speaking for every member of the Group when I say that we are awaiting the decision of our readers in no spirit of apprehension. Whatever we have to do at our next meeting will be done in that quiet spirit of confidence in the ultimate triumph of the Gospel for which the paper stands which has characterised the whole of our efforts in the past. We believe in the efficacy of that Gospel. We believe, too, that the "Crusader" has been a powerful means of preaching that Gospel to all sorts and conditions of men—in the highways and byeways, in the church and in the market place.

If, as we believe to be the case, our readers share that view, and are prepared also to share our responsibility for the production of the paper, the "Crusader" will enter upon another year of hard but worth-while labour in the attempt to hasten the coming of that glad New Year when the bells will in very truth "ring in the Christ that is to be."

And now, for the last time of asking—

What is the "Crusader" worth to YOU?

When you have decided on the amount you can afford, send it along at the earliest possible moment to—The Secretary, "Crusader" Office, 23 Bride Lane, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.



The Swing of the Pendulum.

There are few more comforting sounds than the quiet ticking of an old "Grandfather" clock, especially if one is sitting before a blazing

log fire with the consciousness of a day's work behind one. The measured ticking off of the passing seconds conveys a sense of unhurried self-possession. Storms may rage outside, revolutions may be in the air, death may be brooding over the household itself but the clock is disturbed by none of these things. Yet as I listened the other evening to this sound I began to be aware that the monotonous swing of the pendulum was no true way of marking the passage of time. It is much like the quiet lives that have passed within earshot of the clock. Night and morning, winter cold and summer heat had succeeded each other in those lives with the same regularity. The alternations of depression and hope had followed one another in accordance with psychological law, but had those cottage folk got anywhere? My knowledge of them was not large, but such as it was it compelled me to answer in the negative.

So much that we regard as progress is merely the succession of action and reaction. We react against superstition and call our rationalistic phase "progress." Later on we react against the irreverence and bigotry of the rationalist and in the renaissance of wonder, again imagine ourselves moving forward. The lives of some seem passed in a succession of contradictory moods. Sometimes the intervening period is short; sometimes it stretches over years. Frequently there are but two movements throughout the entire lifetime—a youth of revolutionary fervour, an old age of cautious conservatism. But the changes thus wrought do not necessarily signify that progress has been made. The later stage is only a swing of the pendulum. The conservatism is as foolish as was the youthful enthusiasm. The revolutionary crudeness became an equally crude love of mediævalism. Yet does the ticking of Time's clock persuade us that things are happening. The constant movement seems to imply that we are arriving. It does not occur to us that we are only swinging from one extreme to the other. Yesterday we were materialistic; now we have "advanced" and appreciate spiritual values. Or we may have moved in the opposite direction; yesterday we emphasised the importance of the spiritual; to-day we call the materialistic movement "advanced." But there is no real significance in either movement; we have simply reacted.

Reaction is not progress. Only that can be called progress which carries forward to the future the values of a past which has exhausted its purpose and mission. If, in my old age, I tend to become more

conservative it is to be hoped that I shall be wiser in my conservatism for having once been a revolutionist. I do not want to forget the glowing visions and passionate impatience of my youth. Perhaps I shall see that those visions are best realised and that impatience best served by other methods than I had supposed. If, as I draw nearer the time when I must cast off this body, I think less of physical needs I hope I shall not react to a type of spirituality which denies all sacramental values.

Progress, let me repeat, is achieved not by discarding the present but rather exhausting its treasures. The most revolutionary poet of our age—one of Karl Marx' favourite writers—was Walt Whitman, and nowhere will you find the praises of the modern city and the splendour of life in the 19th century more enthusiastically sung than in "Leaves of Grass." Joy in, appreciation of, and a synthetic grouping of the forces of the present age will carry us forward sooner than the fruitless reaction of an embittered and hasty contempt for things as they are and have been.

The clock ticks on. Since I commenced this article its pendulum has swung monotonously between its two extremes many times. Meanwhile you and I, surveying the many alternatives that life presents and embracing them all, have glimpsed a new world.

THE TRAMP.

How Maddening to Reflect—

The atmosphere is hot and heavy. The rain comes steadily down. The roads have become a series of puddles, kept apart by sticky masses of soft mud. (The puddles, I mean, are kept apart.)

Street hawkers are fed up because trade is slow. Housewives are wondering if it's any use working when the family take in samples of mud. Pedestrians, hawkers, housewives, and, in fact, everybody seem to be in the mood which "The Tramp" described last week, when he said, "Why should we sing carols when we are not merry?" Only they seem to be thinking, "Why should we look cheerful when we don't feel so?"

Suddenly a mighty noise is heard! It is the echo of loud, sustained and enthusiastic cheering.

About a mile away hundreds and hundreds of throats are being strained. There is silence for a bit and then again the cheers ring out.

But this excitement does not make the general atmosphere any more cheerful. Tired faces do not light up. Someone remarks expressively; "Football on a day like this!"

Presently the roads will be thronged with masses and masses and masses of men, eager, alert, and interested—discussing the match and the players.

How easy it is to interest masses who pay willingly and gladly to see men slide about in the mud in the hope of winning a goal.

How maddening to reflect that the gate money taken at one or two football matches would be sufficient to end anxiety as to the future of the "Crusader."

THE PLOUGHMAN.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

I want to fulfil my promise to write about the startling new play now being performed in Japan. It is called "A Young Man's Dream," and is the work of a well-known writer of the modern school in Japanese literature. The subject is War and Peace, and the play consists largely of a dialogue between God and the devil, with certain of the world powers participating. I am indebted to an article by the Rev. J. Williams Butcher, in the "British Weekly" for extracts from a translation of the more important parts of this original and forcible drama.

God having given man reason, gives him liberty. The devil sees his opportunity in this bestowal of freedom, and lays his plans for the destruction of the human race. "He sows the seed of a bacillus that lives on patriotism." He sees that patriotism will quickly turn to militarism with its fruits—armaments, alliances, conscription, wars, frightfulness. The devil laughs over his plot, and, having sown his seed, speaks: "Now the countries will quarrel with each other nicely; then I shall become their counsellor, and so I shall be able to inflame both sides. Ha! ha! how amusing that will be!"

Germany enters, in trouble because she needs so many soldiers on account of her country being surrounded by enemies heavily armed. And she needs to raise her forces easily and cheaply. The devil suggests conscription. Germany is delighted with the clever idea, and at once puts it into practice. Russia, France, Austria and Italy follow suit. England hesitates and tries to dissuade Japan. On England leaving, the devil re-enters and persuades Japan to take Germany as its example. "You will be the first Power in the Orient, the only great country in Asia. You will become feared in the world, and you will be able to enter the ranks of the first-class Powers. . . .—You can take Corea. China will truckle to you, and Russia will be too afraid of you to do anything."

The next move is to instigate Germany to declare war. "Keep your mind fixed on this one thing, and the world will be in the hollow of your hand." Then the great war, which the devil had long planned, begins. England is persuaded to enter the conflict, and the author has some keen remarks on John Bull's love of Empire, and quotes the South African War as an illustration of the efficacy of the bacillus. The devil continues: "Aha, see! England considers those who refuse to go to war the worse criminals, the greatest cowards and the worst traitors. What about my power now? Isn't the world doing as I will? It belongs to me now. I will devastate it, not only with wars between countries, but with wars of poor and rich, of labourer and capitalist, of noble and commoner. I will lay it waste to the uttermost. Now my men think of nothing but fighting with foreign countries. Fight on! Fight till you are all dead. I'll encompass the world with men's curses. The more of each other's blood I see you spill, the more delighted I am. It publishes the folly of the Maker of man. Increase your armaments, you countries! Increase your armaments as much as

you can, and more too. If you don't, you'll be destroyed. Ha, ha, ha!"

Then God wakes up and declares His faith in man and in man's better self that shall ultimately triumph.

I think my readers will agree with me that that is a very remarkable play. I hope a complete translation will soon be available for reading in this country. I should think that some of our ministers and clergy would be interested to see their fervent activities attributed to the influence of the devil!

I close with a bit from "Woodbine Willie" in his sermon at St. Martin-in-the-fields. "To-day the music of Christmas is scarcely less of a mockery than it was amid the rattle of machine-guns and the groans of dying men." (For the explanation, see the Japanese Play! "Our Lord still says, 'How often would I have gathered you, and ye would not!'") "As his appeal rose to its climax," says a writer in the "Christian World," "the preacher's intensity found vent in expressive gesture. Hand outflung and uplifted, hands on head, and clasped behind head—he was flinging himself against a nation that has turned its back on Christ, and there was passion in voice and movement."

CORRESPONDENCE—Continued from page 6

"I am so immensely struck with Jerome K. Jerome's article that I want to have three more copies for propaganda."

S.I.C.

"I wish to enter my strong protest against the article by Jerome K. Jerome. If articles of this sort are to be published, you make it impossible for a section of the Christian public to have anything to do with the paper. . . . I can't be responsible for spreading such views. Might I ask why publish views on a subject like this, which must deeply grieve a section of your readers?"

G.P.

"I wish to express gratitude to Mr. Jerome for his article and to the Editor for publishing it; but to point out what I expect Mr. Jerome will agree with, namely, that it is not so much the Old Testament that is responsible for the evils he complains of as the false attitude of readers. The whole Bible is a plain and invaluable tale of a people's progressive (and some unprogressive) ideas about God, which the world would be the poorer for losing. The great mistake which we have made is to have thought it our duty to swallow everything in the Bible as absolute truth, on which no critical private judgment is to be allowed. This applies to the New Testament as much as to the Old. To accept the reported words even of Jesus Himself without exercising our own reason and judgment (or rather the Holy Spirit within us), is apt to have pernicious effects, and is indeed disloyal to Him and to truth."

A.S.J.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

WEEKLY MEETINGS are to be resumed on MONDAY, JANUARY 10, at 6 p.m., at the Minerva Café, 144 High Holborn (on the corner of Bury Street, one minute from the British Museum station). The speaker at the first meeting will be Alfred Cordell, and on the 17th, the Rev. Gilbert Sadler, M.A., LL.B. Tea is served from 6—6.30, when the address is given, followed by a discussion. No charge is made for tea, but there is a collection towards expenses. READERS OF THE "CRUSADER" ARE ESPECIALLY INVITED.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

THE RESTORATION

DR. ORCHARD ON

On the last Sunday evening of Advent, Dr. Orchard preached at King's Weigh House Church on our modern social concern as a sign of the return of Christ. Whenever men got troubled about the order of society, he said, one might lift up one's head and believe that the coming of the Lord was at hand. The way in which He would come would be determined by the condition of society which would receive Him. If we were ready for Him, He would come as King to reign on earth; if we were not ready, then He would come as Judge to destroy society.

The World After the War.

Dr. Orchard went on to point out how very acute was the concern about social conditions during the time of the war. Every one was then agreed that there must be a change in social conditions after such a catastrophe. Our land must be made fit for heroes to live in. The fellowship of the trenches must be maintained in civil life. Those who fought for England should be given some stake in the country and some voice in its affairs. This had not been done. Partly, the failure was due to the conditions that followed after any war; consequent upon the necessity of paying for the war. Partly, it was because war was never any place to start anything from. All great wars had brought in their train social troubles and declensions. War was founded on hate and fear, and these were never constructive forces. Then, again, men who were put in power to end a war could never be men who would make a peace or reform society. And yet further, it had been discovered after very little thought or experiment, that to make any change in our social conditions would involve a drastic alteration in the economic basis of society, in the rights of possession and monopoly, in the order of distribution, and in the selection of those who should have power to dictate. Everyone, of course, had hoped that society might be reformed while he himself was left undisturbed. The result was that to-day a great number of people were pledged to offer violent resistance to any social reforms whatever, and while large sums of money were still being spent on war-like preparations, it was stated that there was an empty till so far as social reform was concerned.

Common Worship Forsaken.

The actual facts of the religious situation in all industrial countries were simply appalling. The modern man was ceasing to go to church. Only the bare fraction of our population ever attended public worship, and that fraction was taken mostly from one stratum, one class. A superficial judgment might declare that this did not matter, that there were good people who never dreamed about going to church. But religion began in common worship, and it was the most serious question whether religion could continue without it. The

arts, drama, poetry, architecture, began in common worship, and decayed when common worship ceased. We little understood the social factor and the opportunity of having one common meeting-place where men of every grade of society and every distinction of culture, with different outlook and temperament, could come together at one place. There was no such place when the common meeting-ground of religion was forsaken. Such a forsaking must carry with it the gravest misunderstandings and make it impossible for men to move together. They would have no common language or principle outside a common religion. Therefore it was necessary to try and discover what had caused this decline of common worship which so many brushed aside as of no concern.

Why Men Don't Go To Church.

In the first place it was quite useless to blame obsolete services or poor preaching, because, if people wanted to meet together, they would not leave the churches to be controlled by the people who at present owned and "ran" them. They would commandeer the churches. It was not because the churches were poor, that was only a symptomatic and superficial thing. Nor was it because people were ceasing to believe in the old religion. They were ceasing to believe, but that was the effect, not the cause. People did not cease to go to church because they had ceased to believe. They ceased to believe because they had ceased to go to church. It might even be that the consciousness of God was a corporate sense, and if the corporate fellowship were destroyed the sense of God disappeared from the mind of man, and it became as if God did not exist. There were two causes at work making for the decline. One was sectarianism, and the other was class difference. Only one class at present went to church in any fair proportion, and that was the middle class. The very rich and big business men were not found in our assemblies. Some of them did not go because they had got Socialist parsons in the pulpit. But there were others who knew that Christianity and the way in which they got their living would not go together, and, despairing of any solution, determined that at least they would not be hypocrites. On the other hand, the trade unionist generally did not go to church because he believed the church was against him and his aspirations; also many knew that—whatever parsons might have said during the late moratorium on the Sermon on the Mount—the religion of Christ forbade violence, and they did not want that issue raised.

A Revolution of Society.

The Christian religion demanded that the equality of all men, which we acknowledged before God, should be expressed in our lives. It was summed up in the word "fellowship," and the original Anglo-Saxon and Icelandic meaning of the word "fellows"

OF FELLOWSHIP.

SOCIAL CONCERN.

was "people who share goods." In the New Testament fellowship among men was the counterpart of communion with God. Dangerous words—"communion," "communism." This fellowship must be expressed in real life—in material things. There ought to be fellowship in labour, in suffering, and in reward. At the present time, for instance, when there was a slump, people were being hit unevenly, at a different rate. We all ought to suffer from these distresses and depreciations together, as one body. Men ought not to be tramping the streets as they were to-day. Every one of us ought to be tramping the streets, if there was any tramping of the streets to be done at all. There ought to be fellowship in work too. Despite what the sentimentalists said, he believed that in this world there would always be a lot of hard and disagreeable and monotonous work to be done. It must not be left to some people to do the whole of that work. Somehow we must all take our share. Men were being shut out of culture by the character of their work, and to be shut out of culture was to be shut out of religion, for without a certain amount of culture it was almost impossible to understand religion. He did not suppose that scavengers and slaughterers and sewage men went to church in any numbers. And why not? Why were not all sorts and conditions gathered in King's Weigh House that night? There could not be the fellowship of worship together unless men worked together and were exposed together to the same sort of hardship.

Fellowship in Reward.

Then there ought to be fellowship in reward. He indicated three different ways in which, according to the views of different people, the ideal might be attained. There was, first of all, the belief that the State ought to take over all industry, the organisation of all work, and the distribution of all profits. But this was rejected by many who had previously upheld it, on the ground that it would create an alarming bureaucracy. He was not sure, however, that some form of that would not have to be available. In the next place, there was the belief in the dictatorship of the proletariat, the uprising of those from beneath, convinced that they and they alone were the necessary people and should dominate the situation. It was a turning of things upside down, but there was not so much against it in the Bible as might be imagined. "He hath put down the mighty from their seats and hath exalted the humble and meek." What was that but the dictatorship of the proletariat? The trouble was that so long as this was only able to be set up by bloodshed and kept going by tyranny, Christianity could not sanction it. The third method was Guild Socialism, or the running of each industry by the workers, the technicians, and management, in one fellowship, for one end, sharing responsibility and reward, and gradually expropriating everybody outside the

industry. It was quite possible for this to be started in some trades now. It offended no Christian principle, and, indeed, it seemed to work on the very lines proposed by our Lord for a society organising itself from within. It need bring about no bloodshed or violent revolution. In some industries it would be perhaps immediately successful, in a good many others there might be disputes as to possession and resources, but it would solve many problems. It would give the worker not only equality of reward, but equality of responsibility.

The Alternatives.

By the line which was taken in these great matters it would be determined how Christ would come finally to this world. If we could get on a just and merciful and secure and generous basis together, it would be possible for Christ to come and reign on earth as accepted King. The rectification of the economic order would bring about a revival of religion. We should all come to be agreed about religion if we started here. Sometimes he looked forward to an approach from the other side—that the people who were to-day labouring outside the churches for a new social order would come to see that they had no leader but Christ, no possible sanction unless He was Almighty God, no principles which they could apply unless the creeds were true. But the fight was against time, confusion, and prejudice, and the cause and its leaders might die. Then something else would happen. There would be resistance to any and all reform, and sooner or later—in two years, or five, or ten—rebellion or bloody revolution would be precipitated. In that event he did not care much which side gained the victory. Victory had no more meaning in the economic than in the military struggle. Bloodshed made bloodshed all the world over until someone broke the entail by divine forgiveness. What then must be done? The Gospel must be preached to all classes, in the belief that men could be converted, that the proletariat could be brought to see that violence would not do a bit of good in the end, and that the rich possessing classes could be made to hear the call of Jesus Christ to have done with their superior positions and to make common cause and form one class, even as there was one Church, and one faith, and one Lord. When the Judge was at the gates, not all our belief or unbelief would avail, but whether we had seen His Person in the hungered, in the needy, in the imprisoned. There must be a great division into classes—there was no help for it—on the one hand the society of those who lived to themselves, which was hell, and always created hell here and everywhere; and on the other hand, the society of the blessed, who worshipped Christ and created heaven, where all things were in common, where riches were for everyone, where streets were paved with gold, where the very walls were gemmed, and where every citizen wore a white robe.

The Crusader

Friday, January 7th, 1921.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

JEHOVAH OR CHRIST?

Mr. Jerome K. Jerome's article, "Jehovah or Christ?" has called forth interesting correspondence, which has been seen by the author of the article.

Mr. Jerome does not propose to 'reply,' as he feels that the letters seem to reply to one another. "My object," he writes, "was to start proper thinking. When one sits down seriously to think, God—the real God—is always willing to help."

"I am really constrained 'I have a concern' as I think a Quaker would say, to refer to the 'Jehovah or Christ?' article. 'Top-sidely, haash, Philistine' these are hard words, I know, and I like Jerome, too, and, of course, there is a great deal of truth in the article; but why is it put so crudely? Anyway, I was going to order six copies to send to friends at Christmas, but Jerome's article put me off. I still wish you all the best things for Christmas, and I like all the rest of the Christmas number. I am only a poor pensioner, but I send — to the funds."

D. H. P.

"Will you allow me to remonstrate, not so much with Mr. Jerome, or with his article, as with your insertion of it in so prominent a way in the special number of a paper which professes to acknowledge the authority of Christ?"

"There are in this country many people who never exercise their minds upon the Bible, never study it, meditate upon it, or read one of its many volumes through in a reasonable way as they would any other book; they simply bolt it at church in chunks called lessons, and possibly nibble off a text before going to bed. Such people will quote 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,' without considering the context in either Testament. I have even known 'God helps those who help themselves' given as an authoritative text in favour of the war. I venture to say that any other book used in this way would yield weird results. Yet Mr. Jerome takes the interpretations of the Bible by such people as there, and proceeds to vilify not merely David and David's ideas of God, but the whole Old Testament and Jehovah himself. That was not how Jesus acted. Strangely enough, He claimed Jehovah as His Father, and said that They were one, which certainly does not mean less than that there was no possible antagonism between Them.

"The Two Testaments are really complementary. For instance the New tells us that Jesus Himself had to be made 'perfect through sufferings' before He could ascend the throne. In the Old we read that Jehovah did not wish His people to have an earthly king. When they insisted on having one, so that they might be in the fashion and that he might fight their battles, a young man was appointed, who at first showed himself simple-hearted and generous. As they had insisted on being a military nation, the Lord allowed them to have their way, for as 'T.W.W.' points out, He does give people their desires. So he showed them 'A war for righteousness,' and Saul's first act in that war was to free the Kenites from the oppression of the Amalekites. I have searched in vain for any condemnation of this act of mercy. Neither concordance nor reference Bible have revealed it. But the war for righteousness speedily developed after the manner of its kind into a war for loot, in which the common people were ruthlessly slain, and their Kaiser was spared, presumably to live in luxury as a trophy at Saul's court. Samuel, though a prophet, was a child of his own age, but he was as disgusted at the results of the war for righteousness as A.G.G. in our day. . . .

"No one has ever grasped and valued the Old Testament like the Lord Jesus. The Rabbis of His day distorted its teachings as badly or worse than it is distorted to-day, but He did not therefore throw it on the scrap heap. Once in controversy with the leaders of His people, he repudiated the title of David's Son, in the words, 'How doth David in the Spirit call the Christ Lord, saying, Jehovah said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool? If David, therefore, called him Lord, how is He his Son?' One may add, how is He who spoke those words Jehovah's rival? How do you think He felt when He read Mr. Jerome's article in the "Crusader," which professes to teach His way?—Yours sincerely,

(Continued on Page 3).

A.L.A.

Where is the "C.O." movement? At the moment it is no longer mobilised—but a desire for mobilisation is in the minds of many.

In America.

The Women's Peace Society, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Henry Villard, is standing out for the "sacredness and inviolability of human life under all circumstances." In an appeal to the women of Europe, they plead for a radical and combined effort to inaugurate an International Society of Peace, unlike any that has preceded it, in that it stands uncompromisingly for non-resistance under all circumstances" and the Society stands for "Immediate and universal disarmament, abolition of mob violence, free trade the world over," and appeals to women to "enlist in this greatest of causes, disregarding all opposition, however, formidable, arming themselves only with aural and spiritual weapons which are invincible."

Germany.

A considerable mobilisation has taken place, at least 2,000 signatures have been given to a pledge against bearing arms, handling munitions and subscribing voluntarily to war loans. The signatories are going ahead, are asking for funds—initiating a propaganda including press, centres, leaflets (100,000 of these are suggested). They are working resolutely, and asking for the co-operation of other lands, and Dr. Pohl, Dr. Stöcke, H. Meyer, and others are to the forefront. I have seen copies of minutes, and clearly the organisation means business.

England.

Shall we mean business also? The "Affirmation against War" is the first test. We have only to get such an affirmation widely enough signed, to prove our sincerity and readiness to link up with any International Union against war—as may be proposed. I am aware of the argument that war is a "fruit," and that it is no use touching the act of war, until we have killed the root that produces war. On the other hand, war is a CHAIN. It is a binding slavery on the peoples, under which they are helpless in the hands of the "Great of the earth"—the true "war-makers."

As Christians, let us probe to the depths of the implications of our "Declaration," and within such implication we shall discover utter resistance to what is commonly called war and its preparations.

T.W.W.

NOTE.—Our "Crusader" must still be small until we are secure for the future. Our Editor, Rev. Stanley B. James, returns from a well-deserved holiday this week.

Talks on Communism.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

Last week I described some of the economies that would follow the adoption of Communism; but important as these are, they are only the external manifestations of infinitely more important, spiritual changes which the adoption of Communism would effect. The most wonderful feature in a Communist Society would be the character of its citizens. Prevented from accumulating great riches, and discovering that the only chance of winning merit, and fellowship, is in the production of useful and beautiful things, and through such activity of character and personality, men and women will naturally turn to art. The result will be a phenomenal development in every branch of art, and the attainment of a high level of culture and spiritual excellence. At last, and for the first time in the history of the race, art will come into its own, beauty will take the place of "fashion," and by a process of true culture the instincts of the people will become purer, their hearts gentler and their minds clearer. It is not because our tastes are refined that we must have a change of clothes every year, or twice a year, but because they have been perverted. It is almost true to say that we have no tastes, but rather vulgar desires for ostentation.

In a Communist Society art and character would react upon one another, noble character producing finer art, great art nobler character. The result would be a world clothed with beauty and peopled with cultured, tender-hearted and noble-minded men and women. Beauty would be in the atmosphere, an all-pervading, irresistible force. In the homes of the people, in their houses, public buildings, and in the streets, it would be manifest. And as its influence spread, and the power to produce it increased, the demand for it would increase also. Before long all manner of imitations—in furniture, pictures, etc., would be supplanted by original work. Obviously the effect of such a development upon character would be enormous, and would give rise to social relationships and forms of social life, etc., such as we are not able to conceive.

Perhaps to women would this change in the social system afford the greatest scope for development, as it would in itself be a triumph for the "feminine" virtues. Women would be free as men, possess equal rights of self-development, and would occupy a position of self-respect and independence hitherto unknown to all but a very few of their sex. Prostitution would thus come to an end, as would all the other evils which spring from poverty.

What man who has not wholly lost his soul does not dream of the day when his country will be peopled with free and happy men and women, and healthy, merry children?—does not picture a world where economic disability is eliminated and the relations between men are determined by spiritual considerations? What hinders us from bringing the time when men and women shall be spiritually and economically free, shall work in the day-time and play in the evening in god-like fashion?—the time when every home shall be a castle, a veritable strong-

VII.—A NEW HUMANITY.

hold of faith and virtue, a centre of noble activities, of love, hope, and joy, about which is wrapped the verdant garment of God instead of the unrelieved drab of the dwellings of fellow-men? Nothing hinders us but our own apathetic minds and sluggish wills. The Kingdom of Heaven is within us, but we keep it a prisoner and will not let it find expression. Were we to give it its freedom, not only a new Heaven but a new humanity would appear.

What could be more distressing than the sight of the "East Ends" of our great commercial cities, with their teeming masses of suppressed humanity? Thousands upon thousands of men and women, boys and girls, are condemned to live in surroundings not fit for cattle, to work like machines and, in consequence, to play like devils, without the shadow of a chance of doing a single thing whereby they may win public or self-respect, or even the means to be "respectable." It is the sight of this wronged multitude that more than anything else causes us to rage against capitalist "civilisation." These helpless victims of our iniquitous social system are yet, for all their poverty, very often tender-hearted and noble-minded men and women, their vices being but the counterpart and corollary of the inhuman existence which society forces upon them. Even more horrible and callous than the slaughter of men's bodies on the nations' battlefields, is the starvation and destruction of their souls in the realm of competitive industry. The society which makes and protects millionaires cannot do justice to its millions. Were, however, justice done to the millions, they would ere long grow into men, new men, noble, valiant, God-like. That justice we must secure, but only by way of Communism can we do that.

1921—DONATIONS TO OUR FUNDS.

R. S. A. and A. G. H. Atkins, 5s.; A. Brother and Sister (Southend), 10s.; "G.H.S.B.," £1; Mrs. G. Baker, £1; the Misses Bancroft, 10s.; Mrs. Bassett, 4s. 7d.; Rev. Seaward Beddow, £1; Rev. W. H. Beales, 5s.; Mr. W. Bennett, £2; Rev. F. H. Benson, £1; friends at Blackpool, 4s.; Mr. Bland and friends, 16s. 8d.; Miss M. C. Bonar, £1 5s.; Mr. A. H. Bond, £3 15s. 4d.; Mr. T. Brooks (1st inst. of £1), 5s. ditto 5s. monthly donations, 15s.; Miss Doris Canham, 10s.; Mrs. Colman, 5s.; "C.D.," £2 10s.; Miss E. M. Duncan, £3; Mr. A. Edees, 13s. 6d.; Mr. G. W. Firth, 2s. 3d.; a friend (Manchester), 10s.; Mr. J. Furness, 10s.; "G.," £2 10s.; Mr. and Mrs. Gange, £1; Miss J. Newton Harris, 10s.; Mr. H. H. Hodgson, £1; Miss M. Holmes, 5s.; Mr. B. James, £1; F. A. Jennens, 2s. 6d.; "C.K.," 5s.; Mr. and Mrs. Knibbs, £1; J.L., 10s.; M. Lacey, 3s.; Mr. W. F. Lombard, £1 3s.; Mr. J. Milburn (1st inst. of £1), 2s. 6d.; Miss Miller, £1; Mr. H. B. Parris, 5s.; "G.A.R." (Bath), 2s. 6d.; Mr. Hugh Ramsay, £5; Mr. G. Reinganum, 10s.; Mr. J. Richardson, 17s. 6d.; Mr. H. S. and Miss Rose, £1 10s.; Mrs. M. V. Russell, £3; Mr. F. J. Simpson, £1; Mr. and Mrs. G. Smith, £1; "R.U.," £1; "C.L.W.," 5s.; Mr. J. T. Watson, 10s.; Mr. E. Whinray, £1; total, £49 2s. 4d.

1921—PROMISES.

R. S. A. and A. G. H. Atkins, 8s. monthly; "Friends from Blackpool," 4s.; Mr. T. Brooks, £1; Miss E. M. Gray, £1 yearly; Mr. and Mrs. J. Goss, £1; Mr. W. F. Hancock, £1; Mrs. Kendal, 5s.; Mr. J. Milburn, £1; Rev. Leyton Richards, £1; Mr. Irwin T. Stephenson, £1; "R.U.," £1.

Several of the above have also obtained new subscribers.

The Hidden Valley.

CHAPTER IX.—HIS REWARD.

The new prospects for Bitter Creek which their champion's victory opened before the community put fresh heart into the surviving members of that ill-starred enterprise. And when Wise, one warm spring morning, rode out with the government engineer to inspect the situation with a view to deciding the location of a dam he found things much more cheerful than on previous occasions.

Marie, of course, was there, courageous as ever, yet not a little subdued by the responsibilities which had fallen upon her. Her father had died in the preceding winter and had been buried in the little graveyard in the valley through which the creek ran. She was now alone in the world in more than a domestic sense, for, of the remaining colonists, there was not one who was able to enter into her thoughts and share her burden. To her, therefore, the appearance of Luke was like the coming of the day.

She was now an expert horsewoman and was able to accompany the two men in their visit of inspection. That over, she invited Luke to accompany her to the last resting place of Bakunin's faithful disciple. The engineer returned to the house for the purpose of drawing up certain memoranda.

"How strange," she said as they stood over the grave, "that in spite of all that has happened he never realised that his theories and plans had miscarried. To the last his belief in the infallibility of science and its sufficiency for all human needs was unbroken. The day before he died he read me a passage declaring that the principle of Association must now take the place of Jehovah as the object of men's worship."

"It is perhaps a mercy," said Luke, meditatively, "that those who have not the power to survive disillusionment should remain blind to facts."

"No," she replied emphatically, "I would rather stare into the eyeless socket of an empty night and look in the face a universe that had no purpose, no hope, no love, than allow my mind to take refuge in a lie."

Her nostrils dilated. She spoke passionately.

"I wish I had your courage," he replied. "Indeed I have received a portion of it. But for your example, your influence, I could never have done what I have. That battle with Hilkem, the contests of the Provincial Assembly, the opposition of vested interests would have overwhelmed me again and again had it not been for the strength I derived from you." They moved away from the graveside as he spoke and began ascending the hill on the other side of the valley. The sun was going down behind the mountain and his level rays turned to gold the dark spruce that crowded the hillsides. The panorama outstretched at their feet recalled to Luke the vision he had seen that moonlit night so long ago. He contrasted mentally the Luke Wise of that time with his

present self. The difference he owed entirely to this magnificent woman, this heroic soul by his side.

She stooped to pick a flower and when she rose the hand that held it trembled a little.

"Marie," he said, his voice dropping to a whisper, "I am still a weakling apart from you. I need you with me always. I feel that I cannot let you go. You have made me. I belong to you. Will you take me—body and soul? I love and revere you. Together we will dream our dreams and together we will live in obedience to the visions we have seen."

The flower dropped from her hands, and her face was lifted up to his. The red light of the sun fell upon it. The loosened hair about her head glowed like a golden aureole.

"You have called me strong," she said. "I am as weak and helpless as that flower. I thought you once a dreamer. But is I that have been the dreamer. It is you who have done the work. I dreamed that one day you should have faith and courage and wisdom. But it is you who have fulfilled the dream. Perhaps that is always the way. The woman sees the vision of perfect manhood but it is the man who in strife and conquest realises her vision of him. It is our part to dream of greatness for those we love; it is theirs to win that greatness."

"And was it," he asked, "because you loved me that you had visions of future greatness for me? Did you then—in those days—do you now, think of me as more than a friend?"

Her head dropped upon her breast. Her strength seemed gone. The soldier of faith, the undaunted leader of that forlorn hope was, now that the battle was over, a weak woman.

He laid that tired head upon his shoulder and mingled his kisses with the tears of her joy.

(To be continued).

TYPEWRITING EMPLOYMENT WANTED.—As reported recently, an expert shorthand typist is urgently needing a job to support his wife and family. Does anyone know of a permanent post—or can anyone send along typewriting employment?—Address, W.P., c/o "The Crusader" Office.

THE NEXT STEP TO PEACE.—A series of Lunch Hour addresses is to be given at Devonshire House, 136 Bishopsgate, E.C., on Mondays, from 1.20 to 1.50 p.m. Jan. 10: "A Mystical League of Nations." Miss Evelyn Sharp.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

Bread, Beauty and Brotherhood, by H. G. Woodford. National Labour Press, Ltd., 3/-.

The Law of Love, by S. R. Stewart. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 4/6.

The Crusader

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(Registered as a Newspaper)

Twopence.



The Outlook.

THE gravity of the unemployment crisis does not lie in the numbers involved. There have been former periods when similar crises have overtaken the industrial world. But never have the causes been so deeply rooted in the whole international situation. Former crises have been of the nature of warnings, mutterings of the thunder before the storm; this appears to be the storm itself. Another characteristic in which the present state of affairs differs from former periods of unemployment is in the character of the men and women out of work. To quote the "Observer":—"We are told again and again by those who have studied the matter carefully that the majority of these unfortunate ones are very far removed from the old 'unemployables' who used to harrow our feelings every winter. Many of them are finely set up men who rendered faithful service in the war, men who looked forward longingly to the Utopia of their home-coming. Most of them seek not doles, but work."

UNDER these circumstances it is not surprising that the Government's panacea for relieving unemployment by putting industries on short time has been condemned by the whole of the Trade Union and Labour movement. The device savours more of political ingenuity than of a genuine

desire to remedy the evil. It is at least calculated to divide the labour world and to create bitterness between those who are asked to divide their work with others and those who are to be relieved at the cost of their fellows.

But the problem cannot be solved by such superficial measures as these. The "Observer" makes use of the urgency of the situation to deprecate inquiry into root causes. "We submit," it says, "that this is not the moment for any but the academically inclined to attempt an exhaustive inquiry into all the causes of unemployment and the ideal permanent remedies. Such an inquiry is indeed necessary, but there is no time for the delay now; we are confronted with an accomplished fact—three-quarters of a million registered unemployed who must be provided for here and now—other hundreds of thousands on half-time whose restricted work must be kept going, if possible."

But the fact is that there is no need of an inquiry. What is needed is the courage to face the fact that that system is totally inadequate to meet the needs of the times which, on the one hand, sees a large part of the world in need of the prime necessities of life, and, on the other hand, is troubled by the unemployment of those who want to be given the opportunity of producing those necessities. The inquiry has been made. Its findings are known.

THE Government's publication of messages between Germany and Ireland at least show that Ireland, under present conditions, is as grave a danger to Imperial interests as ever it could be if independent. A Republican Ireland would have lacked the motive for intrigue which was supplied during the war by our refusal to grant her freedom. Some day it may dawn upon the minds of statesmen that unforced friendship is a better guarantee of safety than compulsory alliance.

NOT the least serious aspect of the Irish question is its effect upon American opinion. We are informed that recently a Union Jack was publicly burnt in New York. Remembering the delicacy of the relations between the U.S. and Japan, and this country's interest in those relations, it is not too much to say that the peace of the world depends on a speedy and permanent solution of the Irish problem.



The New Legalism.

When you come down to definite actions it becomes almost impossible to classify them as good and evil. That which, under certain circumstances, would without hesitation

be described as bad, may, under other circumstances, at least seem doubtful if not altogether praiseworthy. The fatal mistake of Judaism was its attempt to define morality in terms of definite concrete deeds instead of in terms of motive. To do this was right; to do that was wrong. Hence arose a whole series of amendments, explanations, definitions, by which the original body of the law was enlarged enormously. And where you have this legal or external view of morality such a supplementary mass of regulations is inevitable, for no two actions are entirely alike or deserving of the same judgment.

There is no more signal instance of this than the commandment not to kill. It is noteworthy that Jesus quoted this only to re-define it. From the actual act of killing He directed attention to the motive of anger. And it is obvious that in so doing He put the morality of the matter on a surer foundation. Many a soldier who has taken life is less guilty in the eyes of Eternal Love than some who never lifted other weapons than their pens or inflicted wounds deeper than those which words can inflict. We become mere legalists when we concentrate attention on the act of killing apart from the variety of motives which may lead to it.

But the same kind of difficulty attends us when we take anger as the hall-mark of evil. Can we say that all anger is wrong? Is it not said that Jesus Himself was sometimes angry, and do we not recognise that His anger was part of His divine character? Would we, if we could, eliminate it from the New Testament portrait?

There is one word at least which seems to define "goodness." The word love appears to many to cover everything that is desirable in character and conduct. Yet "love" is capable of various interpretations—so much so that Shelley wrote of it—

"One word is too often profaned
For me to profane it."

And many of us to-day hesitate to use this term on account of the associations of sentimentality or sensuality that have gathered about it.

Love itself needs to be defined—not by other words, but by a living example. Love as an abstract quality is as difficult to define as Truth. We can only explain what it means by pointing to Him Who is Love. And in doing that we destroy many of the conceptions of what constitutes love. It is

God Who defines love, not love that defines God. We had to see God before we could understand the meaning of love. When He came He gave it a new connotation.

It is sometimes supposed that Christ is accepted as God because He fulfils our highest moral ideals. But that is what He does not do. He reveals our highest ideals.

And that revelation of what really constitutes love and goodness is still going on. He is ever disproving and making obsolete our conceptions of righteousness. Nay; He is for ever transcending and destroying our conceptions of His own character. The real Jesus has to overcome the Jesus our preachers and critics and sentimentalists have made. We have no standards by which to test Him save those which He Himself supplies. "In Thy Light we see Light."

THE TRAMP.

WEEDERS.

Across the field they spread,
A crooked line between the rigid furrows of the earth:

Bent women, young and old,
Their hard brown hands
Groping and groping in the brown hard soil,
Hour after hour, yard by sun-scorched yard,
Weeding.
First with thin laughter and the human word
Morning till noon-heat;
Noon till afternoon;
Now silent.

The hot fingers of the sun pluck at them;
The hard ridges of the earth,
The angular bent bodies,
Hot tarred fences,
And jagged edges of the endless furrows
Look brittle in the stiff heat of the sun.
Hour succeeds mute hour;
The line creeps a little forward.
Then, at evenfall, the heat relaxes.
One by one, torturedly,
They stand upright again, straightening their bent backs.

Far off in the vaulted cool cathedral
A white-robed cleric, fingering the Services,
Prays the Lord's Prayer with modulated voice,
" . . . Give us this day our daily bread.
Forgive . . . "

And God's hand,
Grown cramped in giving,
Is stretching its soiled fingers wearily.

(HORACE SHIPP, in "Hecuba in Camden
Town and other poems," published
by Bloomsbury Press.)

A LAST APPEAL.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

The meeting of the "Crusader" Group, at which the fate of the paper will be decided, has been definitely fixed for Friday next. I had hoped that my article of last Friday would have been the last I should have to write on the matter of the urgent financial need of the "Crusader"; but it was not to be. And so those keen readers who rushed in with their donations immediately after the appearance of my first appeal have to put up with yet another page of good paper and ink being wasted—so far as they are concerned—on matter which "cuts no ice" in these eventful times, when every page of the "Crusader" should be devoted to spreading its message.

I am sorry—very. But the plain truth of the matter is that the response to the appeals I have been making is not yet sufficient to justify the Group in deciding to "carry on"; and as there is still a week left in which those readers who have not yet responded may turn the scale, I feel compelled to make this last appeal—and it will be a last appeal, so far as I am concerned—in order to make quite sure that there is no possible shadow of doubt left in the mind of any reader as to the critical position of the paper.

Let me begin by correcting a wrong impression conveyed in a badly written sentence in my article of last week. In my anxiety to show how easily the paper could be saved if EVERY reader would send along something, I suggested that 1,000 readers guaranteeing £1 per head would meet our need. As a matter of fact that sum represents just about half the amount required to do justice to the paper and the work we want to do in 1921.

But, as I have pointed out in every appeal, it is not so much the amount sent by each reader—important as that is—that will decide the fate of the paper: the really vital point to be driven home is that if EVERY READER will send or guarantee as much as they can afford, the "Crusader" will be more sure of a future than if a minority only of our readers send £1 or larger sums.

My reference to the fact that 10s. from 2,000 readers (for which please read 4,000)—just 2½d. a week—would see us through has suggested to several readers that we could achieve our purpose by raising the price of the paper to 3d. Unfortunately, such a course would help neither the paper nor the spread of its message. To make the "Crusader" 3d. would still leave us at least 1½d. per week per reader short of the amount required, assuming we retained our present circulation. But it would have a worse result than that: it would make it practically impossible to increase our circulation and to get the paper into the hands of those hundreds of "unconverted" who buy the "Crusader" at meetings and in the market place.

There was never more urgent need of our message than there is to-day. On the one hand there are the Imperialist militarists who are busily sowing

the seeds of "the next war"; on the other hand there are those who can see no remedy for our present social ills other than in a revolution based on armed violence and "dictatorship." Both schools of thought are steadily gaining ground; and at the moment there appears to be little or no effective propaganda work being undertaken in opposition to those utterly anti-Christian and anti-social gospels. With adequate support, the "Crusader" could do much to counteract the influence of "White" and "Red" militarism, and to point to that better way of life for which the paper stands.

Do YOU think this work worth while? Of course you do, or you would not be reading the "Crusader." Then, if YOU are one of those who have not yet fully realised how much depends on YOUR contribution to our fund, will you please ask yourself the question I have been putting to every reader during the past month, and let us know the answer?

"This small sum does not accurately represent what the 'Crusader' is worth to me," writes one of our readers, in sending along her donation. That is how all of us feel about it. But don't let the fact that you cannot send a sum equal to the value you place on the "Crusader" prevent YOU from sending the sum you feel you can afford.

Remember—on Friday next we have to decide whether the "Crusader" is to continue its good work, or—

AND IT IS YOUR CONTRIBUTION THAT WILL BE THE DECIDING FACTOR.

BEN SPOOR ON HIS VISIT TO INDIA.

Mr. Ben Spoor, M.P., is now returning to England following his attendance at the Indian National Congress as a delegate from the Labour Party. He hopes to be back by the end of this month. In an interview given to representatives of a number of Indian papers, Mr. Spoor said that it was difficult for Westerners to appreciate the spiritual aspect of the Non-Co-operation Movement in India because it was an essentially Eastern movement. He had found great emphasis placed everywhere upon the non-violent character of Non-Co-operation, and the speeches he had heard had universal brotherhood as their inspiration rather than narrow Nationalism, and the people had seemed to respond to this broad appeal. An insignificant number of people had voted in the recent elections, and that fact pointed to the success of the Non-Co-operation propaganda. He urged Indian Nationalists to set up educational institutions in place of the schools and colleges which they were boycotting. He had visited some National Schools and new National Colleges, and had been profoundly impressed by the wonderful spirit of their students. At these educational institutions India seemed to be getting back to her own deep roots in religion and philosophy.

The Crusader

Friday, January 14th, 1921.

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To the Secretary,
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THE UNWANTED.

The question of unemployment is more than an economic issue. It has its moral and spiritual aspects. To many thousands of men and women, Society is saying to-day, "You are not wanted. We can do without you." The depressing fact against which these unemployed members of the community are fighting is not merely that they are unable to secure the means of physical existence, but that in the plainest of all language their value to Society, their capacity for service, their human worth is unrecognised.

The demoralising effect of the situation is clearly apparent. It undermines self-respect. It creates resentment against Society.

But the law of supply and demand applied to human labour under existing conditions is not infallible.

Because there is no place for these thousands at the present time is a condemnation not of those who are unemployed, but of Society itself. It is wasting its human material. It dares to call that valueless which God has created and endowed with gifts, the exercise of which would enrich the world. It allows to stand idle in the market-place those upon whom the Master would confer the honour of sending them into His fields.

Shall we accept the valuation of the world or the valuation of God? Shall those of us who find ourselves "despised and rejected" accept the verdict of Society or the verdict of Him Who created us and gave us our vocation?

Let not the attitude of Society dim our faith in the fact that our presence in the world is part of the divine purpose. We are here because we were meant to be here, because we have work to do here.

Christianity has a message to Society, a message which would lay upon it the obligation of so re-ordering itself as that everyone shall find and exercise his or her vocation. But it has a message also to those who, under present circumstances, are denied that privilege. To them it declares that the despised and rejected of men are the honoured and accepted of God.

TO CENTRES OF ACTION.

The Labour Party begins, on January 17th, an Irish peace campaign at all the chief provincial towns in England, Scotland and Wales.

Centres of Action should look out for these meetings in their district and see that the "Crusader" is on sale.

1921—DONATIONS TO OUR FUNDS.

Amount previously acknowledged. £49 2s. 4d.; Mr. J. A. Bee, £1 10s.; Mr. W. Smith, £1; Mr. A. R. Rippin, £1; J. A. McC., 7s. 6d.; Miss M. L. Tatton, 6s.; F. H. Brown, 10s.; Mr. W. S. Kelly, 15s.; Mr. F. Clark, 9s. 2d.; Mr. L. G. Richards, £1 1s.; J. B. L., £1 10s.; Mr. G. W. Smith, £1 6s.; Mrs. Shore, £1; Mr. E. Brodrib, £1; Rev. G. T. Sadler, 5s.; "A Well Wisher," 2s. 6d.; Miss O. Faiers, 10s.; Mr. W. Roberts, 10s.; Mr. and Mrs. Calford, £1; Miss E. Cameron Mawson, £2 2s.; Mr. H. C. Cooper, 5s.; Mr. T. H. Moorhouse, 2s.; Miss A. L. Hargrove, £1; Mrs. Black, 3s. 6d.; Miss Ogle, £1; Miss Schiassi, 10s. 6d.; C.H.K., 5s.; Mrs. Caiman, £1; "A miner of Kippax," 15s.; Mr. W. Hotson Palmer, 10s.; M.S., £1; Capt. A. St. John (monthly), £1 10s.; Mrs. E. Faram, £1 10s.; Miss K. Willison, £1; Warley Institutional Ch. Sun. Sch., 3s. 10d.; Warley "Crusader" Group, 10s. 8d.; Miss E. M. Giles, 10s.; "Carols," 2s.; Mr. A. J. Stanyon and friends, 10s.; Mr. S. Tallon, 10s.; Miss E. Sutcliffe, 10s.; Miss M. H. Peters, 10s.; Miss W. Jones, 5s.; Mrs. Sweet, and Miss E. M. W. Anderson, £2; Mr. Hedley B. Clack, 10s.; Mr. E. C. Malley, 4s. 6d.; Anon., 1s.; Rev. C. Lockyer, £1; Mr. T. Mender, 10s.; Y.F., 2s. 6d.; Mr. A. L. Schofield, £1; Mr. and Mrs. J. Robinson, £1; Miss J. M. Thomas, 9s. 2d.; Mr. H. Shawcroft, 10s.; Mr. A. Wilcox, 10s.; Mr. G. Cappendell, 5s.; Mr. W. P. Monkhouse, 5s.; Rev. Claud M. Coltman, £1; Rev. Constance M. Coltman, £1; R.E.E. and S.H.M., 10s.; Miss E. N. Nelson, 10s.; Mr. J. W. G. Lawrence, 5s.; "Four Readers," 18s. 6d.; Mr. R. C. Ford, 10s.; Rev. J. N. Sayre, 9s. 2d.; Mr. G. K. Brewer, 9s. 2d.; Miss E. Farrow, 16s. 8d.; Mr. T. Woodhead, 2s. 6d.; Mr. T. Pyc, £1 5s. 2d.; Seven "Crusader" Friends, 15s.; Mrs. J. Cann, £5; Miss R. Fowler, 5s.; Mr. S. Brooks, 5s.; T.A.T., £1; Mr. D. O. Davies, 5s.; R.W.G.B., £1; Mr. F. Harwood, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. E. M. Gribble, 10s.; Rev. J. Fryer Loveday, 10s.; G.P., £1; "A Reader," 2s.; Mr. F. A. Carlton Smith, £1; E.M.C., £1 5s.; Mr. J. P. Brewer, £1; Mr. A. Wilson, 2s.; Miss D. N. Harding, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Alefounder (monthly), 5s.; "Widow's Mite," 2s. 6d.; Mr. Barrow Cadbury, £10; Mr. M. Kirkbright, £1; Mr. W. Greenwood, £1; Mr. H. B. Taylor, 9s. 2d.; Miss M. T. Salt, 4s.; S. and L. Gerrard, 10s.; Mr. C. R. Pratt, 5s.; "Two warm sympathisers," 3s. 6d.; Rev. E. E. Lark, 10s.; Mr. F. S. Ayers, 5s.; Mr. and Mrs. F. J. Sharp, £1; Miss M. C. Tothill, £5; Mr. T. L. Carlisle, 1s. 6d.; M.B., £1; Mr. G. Powell, £1; Mr. E. Yuill, 2s. 6d.; Miss E. Brader, 2s. 8d.; Mrs. H. Ladlay, 2s.; Mrs. M. Bowman (monthly), 2s.; Mr. F. W. Francis and friends, 5s. 6d.; Miss Williams, 2s. 6d.; total, £132 10s. 2d.

1921—PROMISES.

Mr. E. Brodrib, £1; Mr. H. C. Cooper, 5s.; Miss M. L. Tatton, £1; Miss E. N. Nelson, £1; Mr. W. Greenwood, £4; Mrs. Alefounder (monthly), 5s.; Mrs. H. Ladlay (monthly for 4 months), 2s.; Warley "Crusader" Group (weekly for 8 weeks), 6s.; Miss E. Cameron Mawson (quarterly), £1; Mr. A. H. Bond (quarterly), £5; Mrs. E. M. Gribble (quarterly), 10s.; Mr. Hedley B. Clack (half-yearly), 10s.; Mrs. M. Bowman (monthly), 2s.

SIGNATORIES TO AFFIRMATION (to Jan. 10.)

Maud Alefounder, 1s.; James Barr (Rev.), 1s.; Margaret Burratt, 1s.; Seaward Beddow (Rev.), 1s.; Eustace Bradfield, 6s.; A. E. Braund, 2s. 6d.; Shipley N. Bravshaw, 1s.; A. Fenner Brockway, 2s. 6d.; Lilla Brockway, 2s. 6d.; Sam Brooks, 3s.; Penrice C. M. Brown, £1 1s.; Humphrey Chalmers (Rev.), 2s. 6d.; Alice Dennis, 2s.; F. G. Fincham (Rev.), 1s.; Isabella O. Ford, 5s.; John W. Gfaham (Prin.), 1s.; F. A. Jennens, 1s.; W. R. Knibbs, 10s.; George Lansbury, £1; Charles Lockyer, 11s.; Thos. Mander, 5s.; Robert O. Mennell, 2s. 6d.; Harold J. Morland, £5; Emma R. Ogle, 1s.; D. H. Palmer, 1s.; Muriel Agnes Parsons, 1s.; Iris M. Parsons, 1s.; Owen Parsons, 1s.; Helen Piele, 2s. 6d.; Edith Ratcliffe, £1 1s.; Gilbert T. Sadler (Rev.), 2s. 6d.; M. Salt, 1s.; Arthur St. John, 1s.; Mrs. Arthur St. John, 1s.; Walter Walsh (Rev.), 3s.; Wilfred Wellock, 5s.; Theodora Wilson Wilson, £1 1s.; R. Theodore Wood, 3s. 6d.; total, £13 10s.

"We used to build pianos. Then we stopped building pianos and began to build men; they have looked after the building of pianos."—PACKARD PIANO CO. OF AMERICA.

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

Under the heading "Church and People," in the "Methodist Times," "Democritus" writes as follows about the "Crusader":—"I am sorry to read the urgent appeal which appears in the current issue of the 'Crusader.' For many months I have read with great interest every number of that original and vigorous publication. It represents a point of view which is put far too seldom before Christian people, and its ceaseless proclamation of the ideals of Peace, industrial, national, and international, is something for which Church members and all good citizens should be profoundly thankful. But the 'Crusader' is feeling the full brunt of the storm which has assailed newspaper production since the war. It announces, under the arresting heading, 'Your Money or Our Life,' that unless substantial financial help is forthcoming during the next week or two, the 'Crusader' will have to stop publication. It is earnestly to be hoped that some means will be found for the continuance of this vital witness. Needless to say, there is no association, other than a friendly interest and sympathy, between the 'Methodist Times' and the 'Crusader,' but I am constrained to commend the cause to my readers, and I am sure that they will be able to obtain detailed information on the situation from the Secretary, 'Crusader' Office, 23, Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E.C.4."

I hope "Democritus" will accept our hearty thanks for this very generous appeal on behalf of our paper now in difficulties. It is a most handsome acknowledgment of the work we have tried to do for the cause of peace and social betterment. As "Democritus" says, there is no association other than that of friendly interest and sympathy between his paper and ours, yet he goes out of his way to give us a lift! We are more than grateful for his courageous, brotherly hand.

In a leading article in the "Church Times" (an article much of which I utterly disagree with) there are some wise words which we should all do well to take to ourselves. Here they are:—"It is true that the future is uncertain. But it is not true that any particular future is bound to come. We ourselves make the future. The lesson that all need to take to heart is the lesson of Sir James Barrie's play: 'The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars but in ourselves, that we are underlings'. . . . Experience and psychology both tell us that there is such a thing as a mental climate, and that this climate is a powerful factor in the making of history. . . . Battles are first won in the minds of men, and the field or the poll only ratify this." Quite so! The world we have to-day—this sad and sorry world, with its unemployed, its cruelty, its spiritual darkness, its bitterness of heart—is the product of men's foolish and evil thoughts. And what of the future? That will depend on our thoughts. Mr. Reader, don't you see the vital importance of such papers as the "Crusader," which seek to change THOUGHT? Give us your sup-

port, then. We want to make people think. We want to clear their eyes (and our own) of cant and convention. We see society elaborately organised for the prevention of Christianity, for the sale of Christ. We want to bring that sale to an end!

Here are two stories from the pages of the "Church Times," a paper often blessed with a sense of humour. "A day or two ago," says a correspondent, "I went into a much advertised book shop at the West End and asked one of the assistants, a male, if any modern copies of the original Edward VI.'s Prayer Book had been reprinted and published." It took him some time to grasp the subject, and then, with the superb insolence of the modern London shop-assistant, said, 'We don't do anything of that sort of stuff here.'

The second story is reproduced from a paper called the "Amateur Photographer," and seems to me quite a gem. A verger was showing a visitor round a church. The passage through the wooden altar-rail was flanked by two stout posts with particularly large and round wooden knobs on top. Nothing interesting about them. No one would think of photographing one of them. But he would after hearing the verger. "A little while ago, sir," he said, "we had a very short-sighted bishop here, sir, and he CONFIRMED one of them knobs."

FREEDOM IN EDUCATION.

An interesting Conference on "Freedom in Education" was held under the auspices of the F.O.R. during the first week in January at the Old Rectory, Guildford. The star turns were two fine papers by A. S. Neill (author of "A Dominie's Log") and Norman MacMunn (author of "The Path to Freedom in the School"). Miss Hetty Lee, Oliver Dyer, and many others took part in the Conference, which was mainly composed of school teachers.

The two exponents of Freedom demanded the abolition of time-tables, subjects, curricula, and examinations, and put in a strong plea for giving full rein to the creative instinct and the independent choice of children. Repressive discipline and moral bullying was to be avoided. Both claimed first-class results in their own experience where this has been tried. Miss Emma Thomas outlined her scheme for an international school at Geneva to be run on these lines. Criticism was rather supplementary than destructive. Mr. Cunningham showed the value of good historical and religious teaching in giving what the PRACTICAL work of the free school cannot give—a vision and interpretation of life that passes beyond immediate experience and guides our subsequent conduct.

Others urged that the ideal school would mean a terrible shock to the child on being thrown back into the real world. Is not the ordinary school safest? Is it not there that we must introduce what reality and freedom we can in spite of our limitations?

Talks on Communism.

By **WILFRED WELLOCK.** VIII.—INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION.

My principal aim in these "talks" is to show the spiritual necessity for Communism, and to make out a spiritual case for a social transformation. Consequently I purpose dealing only precursory with such questions as how to effect the transition to Communism, and how to organise society on Communist lines. For it is my firm conviction that no social revolution will be successfully carried through, or any real social progress made, until at least a very powerful minority possess a much clearer vision of the life they would live and the world they would see, than a very large number even of advanced Socialists do at present. The forces which grip men and enable them to carry through great causes to a successful issue are nearly always spiritual. A powerful economic motive may be present, but the determining force is almost always spiritual and the outcome of a vision.

At the same time, and if only for the sake of completion, something ought to be said upon the above-named questions. Firstly, then, in regard to the organisation of a Communist society.

So far as the big industries are concerned I think the most natural and practical method will be to organise workers' committees or Guilds on the lines laid down by the Guild Socialists. The simplest method will probably prove the best. To be insured against "officialism," the maximum of liberty ought to be secured for the individual workshop, which will not be an easy matter unless some advancement along these lines has been made prior to a period of radical change, if such there should be. Liberty to choose one's labour would arrive as soon as the industrial machine had been adapted to the new conditions. Even now the workers ought to be studying the question of workshop and thus industrial control, and adapting their Trade Union organisations to that end.

One of the first things that would be done on the assumption of industrial control would be to standardise prices, the quality of goods, and wages. Variations in wages would probably be determined by need, size of family, etc., rather than by function. This standardisation would greatly simplify the organisation of production and distribution. Luxury building would automatically cease, and as soon as possible men would be set aside to rebuild the cities, the decoration of the same being relegated to the communal groups into which the cities would be divided, each community being responsible for its own. As a result of the economies, and of the fact that every healthy adult would be contributing to the satisfaction of society's physical needs, only a small number of hours per day would need to be given to such work, once things had been put on a proper footing, which would mean that a large amount of time could be devoted to labour of a more artistic, cultural, and enjoyable character.

It would, of course, be to the advantage of the community to allow every individual to choose his own employment, even that which administered to society's physical well-being, as only on that con-

dition can a man labour with his whole soul. At the same time the need for such choice would not be as great as formerly, seeing that all would be free to participate in some form of self-chosen, artistic activity. If there was not enough work to go round, hours would be shortened. New desires—which, of course, would manifest themselves—would make new demands, but the labour these would consume would be compensated for by new inventions. And if it should be that there were tasks which no one cared to do—a doubtful contingency in a society devoid of class distinctions—the difficulty could be got over by offering some advantage, such as shorter hours, to those who undertook them.

As to the use of money, I fancy that for some time to come (at any rate until confidence in the new social system had had time to grow), some medium of exchange would be found necessary. Nevertheless I believe that the ultimate tendency would be to get along without such. If in Russia theatres and trams can be run free, what is there to prevent most other things being free also?

With respect to the arts and handicrafts, I imagine that the products of these branches of activity will to a large extent be exchanged by means of barter. The tendency will be for particular communities to become noted for the production of some special line of ware or art, and as the products of such groups, or of individuals, become known they will be sold or exchanged through the local distributing centres. But we must get rid of the pharisaic notion that only a few are capable of producing works of art. All healthy-minded people desire to produce beautiful things, and most people who have the opportunity, and have not been spoiled by luxury, do produce them. Moreover, many recent experiments in child-training have proved conclusively that quite young children, apparently of ordinary ability, can be trained to produce wonderful works of art. The commercial spirit has well-nigh destroyed the art-instinct in the West, and we shall have a hard fight to restore it—that precious heritage, prized so much by the ancient Greeks, the monks of the Middle Ages, and such ardent moderns as Morris and Ruskin.

THE EDUCATIONAL BLOCKADE.

The educational blockade is a striking commentary on our conception of economy. While the Board of Education has decided to request local authorities not to undertake further expenditure on education, our military and naval experts urge increased outlay on armaments, and the extravagance of the wealthy class in respect of luxuries continues unchecked. But the heroism which should decide to accept reductions in our fighting forces (now that the war to end war has been won), and at all costs safeguard the training of the rising generation, is lacking among us.

The Hidden Valley.

CHAPTER VIII.

A year had gone by. - Again it was spring. Luke and his wife had ridden out to a hill-top that overlooked the Bitter Creek country. He still edited the "Gazette" so far as his duties at the Assembly permitted. And, though they looked forward to the time when he would be able to join her entirely in the Community, at present he was obliged to content himself with such week-end holidays as he could snatch from his busy life.

From where they stood the blue waters of the new dam on the opposite plateau could easily be seen gleaming in the sunset light. The smoke from the shanties of the Colony could be seen rising in the still evening air.

"Whom do you think I saw this afternoon?" he asked.

"There are so few people we know in common that my guessing would be brief," she answered. "Save me the trouble."

"Hilkem!"

Her brow clouded.

"Thank God we are out of his power to hurt us now," he said. "The debt is repaid and the Colony is on its own feet. He has taken his defeat badly, and somehow his luck seems to have gone against him since I won the election. They tell me that he has lost his grip in business."

"But what does he want out here? He has never been here before," she asked anxiously, adding "I am afraid of him."

Almost before she had completed the sentence there was a loud explosion. From the direction of the dam a volume of smoke rose. The roar and rush of vast volumes of water followed. The dam had broken, and tons upon tons of water were pouring at a fearful speed and with tremendous force into the valley beneath.

An explosion occurring under those conditions must, it was obvious, have been planned and carried out by one who purposed to break the whole scheme and blot out the Colony. There was only one who was capable of that, and evidence, later-forthcoming, confirmed the suspicions which immediately leapt to the mind of both Wise and his wife.

But this was no time for fixing the responsibility. The one thing to do was to render such aid as was possible. That night was burnt into the memory of both, and years afterwards they were able to recall its smallest details—how, with the help of those whose dwellings lay outside the area of destruction, they fought the flood, wrought to frenzied effort by the screams of the victims. By means of lariats swung, cowboy fashion, and by logs paddled across the waters to where survivors clung to some still standing shack, and sometimes by swimming, a little handful of dripping humanity was rescued.

But the rest perished.

They had crossed the world to find freedom. They had run the gauntlet of innumerable perils in a new land for the sake of their ideals. But the Tyranny which had driven them forth was not thus to be escaped.

The culprit was never publicly condemned. Various theories were set going to account for the disaster, the most popular of which was that secret agents of the Czar had tracked down the refugees and perpetrated the crime. This was just the kind of story which a credulous democracy, ready to believe any folly concerning the tyrants of the Old World, but blind to the tyrants in its own midst, was ready to believe. It passed muster for the time, and attention was thus distracted from the sinister figure which Wise had seen shortly before the explosion. And it afforded a text on which "able editors" throughout the country preached fiery sermons concerning the incredible wickedness of the Russian régime.

To the two with whom we are most concerned, the event was stupefying. They had been too busy at first in the work of rescue to realise all it meant. But in the early hours of the morning, spent and heart-broken, they watched the regular rhythm of the water in its new-found channel. The greyish light of that terrible morning was driving back the shadows of the night.

Then there came back to Wise his vision of the past—the plain stretching in unbroken monotony, the advancing host, the eager adventurers marching forward in the belief that the prairie lead straight forward to the realisation of all their dreams.

Recalling that vision, he saw that there had been hidden from their sight the valley in which they had perished. That optical illusion had symbolised a spiritual illusion—the illusion of all optimists who fail to realise the price of freedom. Credulous, hopeful, they do not understand how persistent and deeply rooted are the evils against which they contend. The New Jerusalem lies on the other side of the Hidden Valley, and only those who have been through its swiftly-flowing waters and emerged on the other side are eligible as citizens. Faith is not credulity. For the eyes of Credulity must be washed in the waters of sorrow and disillusionment before they can see the City of God.

(Concluded.)

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

WEEKLY MEETINGS AT THE MINERVA CAFE.—The meeting on Monday, 17th, will be addressed at 6.30 by the REV. GILBERT SADLER, M.A., LL.B. Tea will be provided from 6 p.m. It is one of the objects of these meetings to train our members in the facing of points of view to which they are not accustomed. Mr. Sadler's address will be of a frankly controversial nature.

CLERICAL WORK.—We should be able to save quite a considerable sum of money every week if we could get a somewhat larger body of voluntary workers. The addressing and other routine work associated with our Hospitality Scheme is very heavy indeed. Surely there must be many who cannot give financial support but who can give something even more important, their personal services.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

SIDELIGHTS.

One Great City.

Dr. Gilbert Murray in his presidential address at the annual meeting of the Geographical Association is reported by the "Sunday Observer" as saying :—

"In mere pig-headed, bestial rejection of the foreigner this country and most others had of late sometimes sunk to a point of degradation which would tempt our more enlightened grandfathers to disown us, if they knew of it. It was, of course, due to the war. The strain of being Allies in a long war was generally more than human nature could support, and though the contrary strain of being official enemies tended in the actual fighter to produce a reaction of kindliness, still the sufferings and cruelties of the last war were so far beyond common anticipation that they had left a legacy of hate behind them. This condition, he would say, was altogether exceptional and would pass.

WHICH WILL PREVAIL?

"Professor Murray said the question was, 'Which of two contrary tendencies, both greatly strengthened by recent events, was likely chiefly to prevail?' The one was the economic exploitation of the helpless territories and nations by the strong ones—a process which had enormous historical impetus behind it, and was at this moment stimulated by the exceptional economic hunger of the European world. The other was that consciousness of the earth as One Great City, and that acceptance of duty towards our fellow man which might now be normally expected of a civilised and educated man. This latter conception was well on its way to become an integral part of British public opinion, though of course, in particular people its intensity would vary with their power of imagination, and its geographical limits perhaps with their degree of knowledge.

GOD AND MAMMON.

"He had not the smallest doubt that for some time there would be an attempt to run the two together. The determined money-hunter, who found such an immensely powerful element in modern civilisation, knew very well how to gild with moral and religious phrases the projects that promise the largest dividends. But that attempt could not last. The conflict is too sharp between the two principles. Indeed, the lists were already set and the issue joined.

"Out of the strange chaos of passions which possessed the world at the close of the great war emerged Article XXII. of the Covenant. An agreement which might have been drawn up by the most whole-hearted idealists in Great Britain, which might have been drafted in Exeter Hall and corrected by the Aborigines Protection Society, which would not have had a ghost of a chance of passing into law in any British, French, German, Italian, or American parliament, had been signed by the representatives of forty-two nations, and was now part, he might almost say, of the Statute Law of the world. In the new territories the idea of possession was abolished and that of trusteeship substituted.

"FORCE IS AGAINST US."

"Would this wonderful article be sincerely and honestly carried out by all the mandatory Powers? Of course not. The interested parties would exercise overpowering pressure to prevent any thing of the sort.

"Let us not look to force," said Professor Murray. "Force is against us, and there is no sillier spectacle than the sight of the weak appealing to force against the strong. We have no force. We have only the power of putting facts and questions before the public opinion of the world. Then the world, that is to say chiefly the electorates of the great nations, will be able to say whether they wish their Governments to do justly or unjustly, to be world-plunderers or world-builders."

A Change of View.

The "Forward" (Glasgow) prints in close connection with one another two quotations admirably illustrative of the awakening of public intelligence (it would be too much to say conscience), concerning the crippling of "enemy" industries. The first is an utterance to which Mr. Runciman gave utterance some while ago from the Government benches in the House of Commons :—

"At any rate, we must see to it that, having ended this war victoriously we do not give Germany a chance of reconstructing her commercial position. . . . It is in this connection with the new economic campaign that it will be necessary for us, in making peace, to see to it that she (Germany) does not raise her head."

The second quotation is from an address of Mr. Arthur Chamberlain at the Annual Meeting of the Tube Investments, Ltd., at Birmingham :—

"The chief, I had almost said the only, thing we can do to help the situation is to reduce the amount that Germany owes to us, which we can do by cancelling her indemnity, and so long as there is any unemployment or underproduction in the country every sovereign's worth of goods we receive as indemnity from Germany is a loss to our workpeople of the amount of Labour that Germany has put in to produce it. I hope the country is not going to be flooded with arguments in favour of protection from exchange and protection of key industries. Anything done in this direction by limitation of imports or tariff walls will only result in increasing the cost of living in this country, and in prolonging the time during which we shall suffer competition and loss of trade in our export markets."

International Labour in Action.

Beneath the surface controversies that seem to rend asunder the whole international Labour movement there exists a reality of international Labour solidarity which is less easily appreciated by those outside. A splendid example of this fundamental solidarity of Labour has just been furnished by the shipwrights' strike in this country. The shipwrights, it will be remembered, struck against the attempt of the Employers' Federation to reduce wages by 12s. a week; and the strike still continued. The employers cheerfully turned to German yards to do the work for them at rates which the low exchange would make cheap. But at this point the German Ship Joiners' Union came in. Acting through the International Wood Workers' Union, they at once placed an embargo on any blackleg work from Britain. The ship "Themistokles," of the Aberdeen Line, was sent to Hamburg for repairs. The German Union immediately got into touch with the A.S.C.L. and F. and prohibited the work. This practical solidarity is going to matter more for the future of Anglo-German relations than any amount of diplomatic conferences.

Quips from U.S.A.

"Public Opinion" this week amuses its readers with some selections from the current press of the U.S. Here are a few :—

"Apparently Great Britain is a body of land entirely surrounded by troubled waters."—"Norfolk Virginian-Pilot."

"It is too bad that our ancestors did not live long enough to realise how smart we are."—"Detroit Journal."

"The definition of a mad world is one in which some urge increased production while others close down mills on the excuse of over production."—"Omaha Bee."

"Our opinion is that when the time comes for the meek to inherit the earth, taxes will be so high they won't want it."—"Dallas News."

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

TWEEDS.—Suits, Costumes, Skirts, any length cut, good material, low prices, patterns sent.—R. A. Anderson, 21 St. Andrew St., Galashiels.

THE NEXT STEP TO PEACE.—A series of Lunch-Hour Addresses is to be given at Devonshire House, 136 Bishopsgate, E.C., on Mondays, from 1.20 to 1.50 p.m. January 17: "Abolish Capitalist Psychology," Miss Margaret Bondfield.

The Crusader

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Twopence.



The Outlook.

THE outbreak in India is of peculiar significance. Under Mr. Gandhi's leadership the movement has become more than a nationalist protest. Sir Valentine Chirol has described the leader of this revolt as a new prophet. "His gospel," says Sir Valentine, "is as simple as it is massive: Away with Western Civilisation. Go back to the ancient ways of the Vedas!" If this is an accurate account of what is taking place in India, then we have a movement consciously directed, not merely against British Imperialism, but against the whole of our Western Materialism. India is voicing the protest of the Orient against the grossness, the selfishness, and the secularity of this part of the world. In our recognition of the need of such a corrective we must not lose sight of the fact that the whole truth lies neither with the "spirituality" of the Orient nor with the "materialism" of the Occident. In Christianity, spiritual and material values are reconciled. The religion of the Incarnation is the only one that can

falsify Kipling's saying, "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet."

Lord Reading, we imagine, is scarcely the man to bring about this unification.

* * *

THE result of the Dover election throws a curious light on the mentality of the British elector. He will not listen to the thought-out schemes of those who have made it their life business to understand our economic problems and find root remedies for our chaotic condition. But let some amateur, propounding impossible plans for a temporary alleviation of the situation, appear and he sweeps all before him. Incidentally, the success of the squandermania campaign shows that the Coalition is becoming fissiparous.

* * *

THE unemployment problem, by the very fact that it is so clearly regarded as a problem, reveals the incapacity of our present rulers to realise the nature of the times in which they are living. There is no lack of money in the country. Over £4,000,000,000 extra profits were made during the war, and the Inland Revenue Authorities report that there are 280 millionaires in this country whose total wealth amounts to £590,000,000. Nor is there any lack of work needing to be done—as housing conditions alone make plain. Capitalism is failing from sheer stupidity. It is no use saying, as the "Observer" said last week, that there is no time to inquire into the root causes of the present distress. At least one of these causes has been pointed out by Mr. Lloyd George himself. "Until," he told the House of Commons on one of the last days of the present session, "you restore healthy conditions in Europe and in the world, we shall have an appalling problem of unemployment in this country which will be beyond grappling with." The same truth was expressed in the King's Speech: the root-trouble, as it affects us, is the "contraction of the export trade due to the poverty of other nations and their inability to secure credits for the placing of orders in this country."



By the Way.

If one were to endow a mountain stream with consciousness, one might say that its objective was the sea. The task of irrigating the soil through which it passes, and giving

life to the grasses, flowers and shrubs that lie in its course is not its main purpose. The call of the sea is its motive and guide; the rest is by the way.

So it is with men. I know that some Ocean of Life awaits me. Do not ask me to name it. I only know it as the Beyond. It is the Transcendent beyond the immanent, the Absolute beyond the relative, the God beyond man. To seek it faithfully, disengaging myself from all that would detain me is my religion; to find it will be my heaven.

Morality is by the way. If in my passing I cheer with my songs the dwellings of men, it is because I am en route for God. If I wander through human cities reflecting the business, the sorrows, the joys of varied folk, it is because that way lies the Destination to which I am bound. If, as I hurry on, flowers colour at my approach and the green of withered fields revives, it is merely incidental to my search for the Ultimate and Universal. To reach That, to lose myself in That, is my one concern. If, in the course of my journey, I am able to bring blessings to the wayside life I pass and touch, so much the better. Take care of religion and morality will take care of itself. So many conscientious people remind me of a musician who gazes at his fingers instead of at the music he is playing. Instead of looking down at their own performance they should be looking up for their inspiration into the face of God. Were they to do that the music would flow automatically from their finger tips. You cannot walk naturally if you are always watching your feet. You cannot do your duty if you have no guiding vision. The moralist without religion is like the stream that lingered in a wayside meadow and turned it into a morass.

To lift up your heart to the Highest—taking care that it is the Highest—is the main thing. Worship is the source of all effective human service. A woman once, in a fit of extravagant devotion, broke a costly box of perfume over the Person of her Lord. Critical philanthropists looking on, said she should have sold the perfume and given the proceeds to the poor. But the Man whom she honoured was Everyman, and inasmuch as she did it unto Him she did it unto all. Had she thought of the meadows by the way more than of the Ocean that called her, those meadows would have become a morass—as poisonous as the world which our humanitarian generation has turned into a battlefield.

Nor is it only morality which is a by-product of religion. The same is true of science, of art, of material prosperity. "Seek first the Kingdom of

God and all these shall be added unto you." Such values as man has created in the present world are nothing else but the flowers he has vivified in his search for the Beyond. Civilisation is a by-product of Religion.

And so I would have my virtues, my flashes of intelligence, my social qualities carry with them a certain casual character. They should drop from me like the curly wood shavings that litter the ground of the carpenter's shed. It is the table, the desk, the cupboard that matters, not the shavings. We can afford to be careless about these, so the work be done. I am surprised that so many find time to write their autobiographies, to perpetuate the memory of passing incidents. If ever I were tempted to employ myself in that way I think I should find myself too busily engaged in living. The things that fill most memoirs are things that just happened by the way. The object and direction of the life is scarce mentioned. It is good to be careless about these extemporary things. A young preacher of my acquaintance used to save the notes of all the sermons and lectures he delivered. But he discovered that as, in the course of composing and delivering these utterances, he had become a wiser and better man capable of far finer sermons and more learned lectures it was superfluous to preserve them. Today he knows that his best composition is but a shaving fallen from the plane that shapes his eternal life-task.

The very Cross was but a milestone on the way to the Throne of God.

THE TRAMP.

RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

The Law of Love (as expounded in a narrative of life and activities on "the other side"), by C. R. Stewart. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd.: 4/6.

Community Playing (a little Guide Book of Production), by Horace Shipp, editor of "Theatre Craft," with a foreword by John Drinkwater. National Adult School Union, 30 Bloomsbury St., London, W.C.1: 6d.

Joseph Gundry Alexander, by Horace G. Alexander. Swarthmore Press: 7 5.

Candle-ends, verse by Hermon Ould, 2/-; and Hecuba in Camden Town and other poems by Horace Shipp, 3s. 6d. The Bloomsbury Press, 4 Bloomsbury Place, London, W.C.1.

The Cure of Souls, by Will Hayes. Messrs. C. W. Daniel, Ltd.: 2/-.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union).

"CHRISTIANITY WITHOUT AN HISTORIC CHRIST?" is the title of the address to be given by the REV. GILBERT SADLER, M.A., LL.B., at the Minerva Café (144 High Holborn) on Monday, January 24, at 6.30 p.m. The discussion will be opened by the secretary. This is the first of a series of addresses to be given by people who either share our conclusions but not our premises, or, starting off from our premises, have come to quite different conclusions. By inviting such speakers we hope not only to train ourselves in the consideration of other points of view, but also to find just where difference has arisen and how far it can be ended. The subject for the meeting on the 31st will be "Pacifism without Christianity," the speaker being Mr. Robert Harding.

C. PAUL GLIDDON, 17 Red Lion Square, E.C.1.

The Task Before Us.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

By the time this issue of the "Crusader" reaches our readers we shall be meeting to decide the fate of our gallant little craft. I am optimist enough to believe that our decision will be in favour of continuing our voyage of adventure, but, of course, everything depends on the response of our readers to our S.O.S.

But whatever we may have to decide about the "Crusader," the fact remains that if we cannot continue the work we have begun somebody else will have to carry it on; for I am convinced that there is no hope for the world other than in the general acceptance of the fundamental principles for which the paper has stood. I do not mean to suggest that we have been alone in standing for those principles. I believe that practically every Socialist paper and many "religious" papers have in some form or another stood for those principles and will continue to do so. But without in any way desiring to minimise the value of these papers, I do suggest that the "Crusader" has been unique in its consistent advocacy of what has been termed "Revolution by consent" as opposed to the physical force revolutionists on the one hand, and the reactionary views of the junkers and defenders of things as they are on the other.

As I have frequently indicated, the growth of the belief in the efficacy of armed violence as an aid to the righting of social wrongs is a thing to be reckoned with. It is steadily worming its way into the very heart of the British Socialist movement, and it has spread to an alarming extent among the ranks of those who do not belong to any political movement but who find themselves lining up day after day in the unemployed queues. Here in Birmingham we have nearly 50,000 people out of work, a large number of whom have fought for "their" country. A few days ago I overheard two of them talking things over. "Any luck?" said one. "No," replied the other; "and not likely to be so far as I can see." The first speaker said nothing for a moment or two; then he fingered his silver badge and spat on the floor in disgust. "Lot of b—— good this thing is to us now!" he said savagely. "I tell you what, mate. We've been too tame over this business. We ought to have taken a leaf out of the book of the people who sent us over yonder to fight for 'liberty'." He broke off with an oath, and the other man finished the sentence. "Your're right, mate," he said. "We shall have to have another b—— war for 'liberty' before we can get justice done—and we shan't leave the country in search of the enemy next time!"

I have frequently heard that kind of thing from unemployed queues. At the moment it represents the view of a minority; but every day increases the size of that minority, and once that minority becomes the majority all the relief funds and food tickets and "charity" in the country will not pre-

vent an outburst of violence which will merely add to the present sum of bitterness without bringing us a step nearer to any real solution of the problem.

And while that state of things exists among the dispossessed the papers continue to publish pictures of wealthy English "Society" leaders enjoying the delights of a winter holiday in Switzerland; the "Times" assures us that "the Riviera season has begun in earnest," and that at Monte Carlo "the Terrace of the Casino each morning has been thronged, at least 80 per cent. of the promenaders being English"; two people in Birmingham have recently died and left £454,994 between them; the will of a former director of the Shell Company was proved last week at £827,404; day by day come dividend notices which show a marked contrast to the demand for a lowering of the wage standard; and on all sides the terrible inequality of the present system stands revealed more vividly than ever before.

The "Crusader" has a message for the possessing classes and for the dispossessed. To the one it offers a nobler, healthier life of service to the community; with the other it stands four-square in the demand for a complete change of the present order: to both it points the way to real freedom in the realisation of our common humanity and the acceptance of the elementary principle of human brotherhood—the principle which rules out the appeal to armed violence as utterly futile and retrogressive. The task before us is to "popularise" the Gospel of Human Brotherhood, to explain it in simple language which all can understand. And it is because I believe that the "Crusader" has helped in this task that I have been pleading for its life.

A Chance for Religious Leaders.

At present it is difficult to climb out of the ditch of our moral degradation, due to war fever and exhaustion, but I seem to see among our people and others a thirst for a spiritual call which will give them a new faith in life, and reconcile them to the distresses and sacrifices still to be endured. For we shall have to face poverty and hardship, I guess, whatever happens, and it is only by spiritual valour that they may be endured with any cheerfulness. It is a chance for the leaders of religious thought if they will only apply the Christian principles to life with utter honesty, for after all the eight beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount are more convincing still than Wilson's fourteen points, and would heal the wounds of the world if nations as well as individuals vowed allegiance to them.—SIR PHILIP GIBBS.

The Crusader

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CAUSE OR EFFECT?

Is the "Crusader" to be regarded as Cause or Effect? If the former, then its cessation can only be looked upon as an irreparable disaster for which there can be no compensation and a loss for which there can be no substitute. But we are not conceited enough to believe that, even if the combined forces of Reaction, Prejudice and Neglect are successful in our case, therefore the movement we represent is at an end.

No, we are not the Cause, we are only one of the Effects of the Cause. That Cause is bigger than we. It has come down through the ages. It is to-day thrilling the hearts of countless multitudes, some with fear, some with hope. In India, in Ireland, in Russia, in America, some mysterious Power is shaking the visible structure of Society and changing the values of life. The mentality of the human race is going through one of those momentous crises which are the turning points of history. Co-operation is taking the place of exploitation as the condition of success. The despised and rejected Outlaw of Judea is climbing into His Throne.

We are but the mouthpiece of this Power. If we are silenced He will find other messengers. If we drop out of the ranks others will step into the empty place, wiser for our failure, more courageous than we by reason of our example.

This does not lessen our responsibility; it increases it. We are not our own. We are not at liberty to drop our task because it has become difficult. We are under orders. It is not for the private soldier to dictate to the General as to when retreat is advisable. We cannot object that our task is beyond our powers. The task and the power are delegated from above. Until it appears certain, therefore, that the command to "carry on" has been cancelled, we shall continue.

But we warn our readers that it is going to be an easy matter neither for us nor them. It is evident that to keep alive a paper of the kind the "Crusader" has essayed to be, entails persistent effort and sacrifice. We shall not surmount our difficulties by a temporary burst of enthusiasm and generosity. Steady, prolonged, organised effort is necessary, systematic sacrifices, the trained sense of responsibility to a Cause greater than ourselves.

FUN, PHILOSOPHY AND TEA FOR FOURPENCE.

By L. E. TURQUAND.

I came one afternoon upon a very simple tea-shop near the British Museum, simpler than Lyons or the A.B.C. There seemed only one waitress, who was sitting at the counter having her dinner (I've a notion she had not an apron on), as it was between times, dinner over and teas not yet come on, and the floor was being washed over by a woman on her knees. "I am sorry to disturb you," I said to the waitress. "Oh! that's all right, dear," came a quick response, with a smile so bright it seemed to light up the shop. (It may seem silly, but it was nice to be called "dear.") "Now, where would you like to sit? What about the corner; it's out of the draught? Here, let me take your case for you." And this time there came a smile that was as warm as an embrace.

The tea was much as usual, with its two lumps of sugar in the spoon, and the scone was all right, so I was slightly surprised on looking at the cheque to find the cup of tea was only 2½d., instead of the customary 3d., the scone 1½d., instead of 2d. That is, my tea came to fourpence instead of fivepence, a penny saved, and a kind girl into the bargain. I was getting out my purse when the shop bell chimed and in there came a mother and a little boy to buy a small cake with a cherry on the top, which cherry the child picked off and popped into his mouth the moment he had it. The two then went out.

"Dear! dear!" said my waitress, laughing heartily. "He's like the rest of the children, takes the best first." "But," I demurred, "I remember saving my jam till I'd eaten the horrible tapioca pudding." "Yes! yes! I daresay you're right. I used to stodge through cake, with the cherry left to the last. All that time life was worth while, for there was something to live for." At this my waitress laughed heartily and I laughed heartily and the woman sloshing the floor laughed heartily, too. So the dingy shop seemed alive with gaiety, and I left with sunshine in my mind, which inspired, as I passed Mudie's, the following reflection:—

"What an absurd world it is! We can have fun for nothing, but we prefer to pay for dullness which is so expensive. Suppose I had gone to a shop where I paid 6d. for tea, would the girls have called me dear and made some fun for me? Of course not. I should not have been a human being, but a thing to be served.

And a suggested philosophy, like the cake and cherry philosophy, if applied, means surely that it is much better not to have what we desire at first, but to be obliged to "stodge" for it, because that makes "something to live for." Life may be dull with only its immediate cake and its cherry far off, but it would be tedium itself if the cherries came first and there was "nothing to live for."

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

My papers speak much of an important conference of students at Glasgow. 2,000 University Students (200 of them delegates from abroad), with 450 others—speakers, Heads of Colleges, and representatives of Missionary and other Societies—made up the conference. And sometimes 1,000 or even 2,000 visitors were added to the audience. Evidently it was a big occasion, and I am very pleased to glean that a good deal of quite straight talking was done on Christianity, International Politics, and the Social Order.

It was realised that the present moment was the Day of Judgment on modern life. Then came the question: "Are we fit to set things right?" And the answer was seen quite plainly to be "No!" For the Church itself is rent asunder, the nations of the West have forsaken Christian principle in their dealings with one another, and the industrial system is frankly an assertion of values which Christ repudiated and the denial of values by which He lived. In this vision of darkness came a vision of Christ as the only hope. He must be taken seriously and not followed afar. Thus ran the appeal, an appeal to the educated youth of this country and others. It may be that in some young, fresh, adventurous mind, a turning point was reached and decisions made which will yet shake the world. Time will reveal it.

The general reader will be helped to see the scope and thoroughness of the thinking at the conference if I quote from Edward Shillito's account in the pages of the "Christian World." "The life of other lands cannot be divided into a spiritual section and a non-spiritual, that life is one and indivisible; and to understand the impact of Christendom we must measure all the influences—political, economic, industrial, intellectual—which have flowed into these lands from ours. . . . The Student Movement, for example, definitely refuses to consider India without remembering its Nationalism, the Montagu Scheme, Amritsar, the Conscience Clause in Education, and many other concerns. He will not think of the Kenya Colony (British East Africa) without reference to the attempt to introduce forced labour. This it condemns root and branch. China is in its eyes an ancient and peaceable civilisation set at the parting of the ways—a prey to the greed and ambition of other Powers, and at the same time a nation awakening to the terrors and hopes of a new day. The East is not only the home of ancient systems in which men have tried to interpret God, it is the scene of modern industrialism which may, but need not, repeat the follies and crimes of our industrial history. In each land it was always the entire range of its life that came under review.

In the "Baptist Times" the "spectre of unemployment" is considered. The Government's proposals are called "panic legislation," but, says the writer, "they have had one valuable result, they have convinced the captains of industry, capitalists as well as workers, of the urgency of the question." Then follows the highly sensible observation that there can be no recovery of commercial prosperity for us

or for the world "until Central and Eastern Europe are re-opened to trade." In other words, in smashing the "enemy" we have smashed ourselves, clever idiots that we are!

The writer goes on, with trembling, to consider the danger of social revolution. He says:—

"There are many signs that the situation is so grave that measures must be taken at once to relieve it. One of the results of the war is that men have grown accustomed to violence, and they will no longer suffer in patience and in silence as they used to do. An extraordinary and very significant incident occurred in Norwich last week which the Government would do well to note. At the meeting of the Board of Guardians a communication was received from the Chief Constable saying that if the scale of relief for the unemployed were reduced they threatened to take the law into their own hands, and, he added, the police did not want any disturbance. This followed a case of 'direct action' by the unemployed, some of whom looted one of the principal provision shops in the city while it was crowded with customers. Under this pressure from the police, the Guardians decided to levy a supplementary poor rate of 3s. 4d. in the pound for purposes of relief. Norwich is already one of the most heavily taxed towns in the kingdom. Facts like these show that the situation will not brook delay."

1921—DONATIONS TO OUR FUNDS.

Amount previously acknowledged, £132 10s. 2d.; Mr. and Mrs. Maynard, £5; Mr. J. Tracy, £1; Mr. O. Gregson (quarterly), 13s.; J.D.W., £1; Mr. H. Blundstone, 9s. 2d.; Mrs. Fryer, 5s.; "A Reader," 5s.; Miss L. Godfray (monthly), 5s.; Miss Z. C. Smith (monthly), 5s.; Anon., £1; Mr. B. W. Tritton, 5s.; Two "Bolshy" Friends, 5s.; Mr. and Mrs. J. Goss, £1; Mr. C. St. C. Collins, 10s.; Mr. J. Greenhalgh, 5s.; Mr. E. Haworth, 10s.; Isabel M. Hall, 10s.; "A New Reader" (Bradford), 5s.; "A Friend," 2s. 6d.; Mrs. H. Morris, 5s.; Alice Parris, 5s.; A.C.H.H., 10s.; Mr. R. T. Wood, 15s.; Miss M. E. Scriven, 10s.; Miss M. Macnamara, 4s.; Rev. F. Lee, 10s.; Mr. F. E. Wegmann, £1; Mr. and Mrs. W. M. Appleby, 10s.; Mrs. Hume, 10s.; Miss A. Alexander, 4s.; B.C.B., 7s. 6d.; Mrs. Richmond, £1; Miss E. M. Wilkins, 5s.; Mrs. Salmon and Alfred Salmon, £1; Miss M. Glaisyer, 10s.; Mr. A. Wilkinson, 12s.; M.S.S., 5s.; Mr. J. J. Van den Bergh, 3s. 3d.; Mrs. Day, 9s. 2d.; Miss L. H. Mills, 2s. 6d.; Messrs. Moorhouse, 7s.; Mr. A. Priest, 2s. 6d.; "A Friend" (Tintagel), 1s.; "Chateaubriand," 1s. 6d.; Mr. F. P. Eggleston, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Townsend, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. F. Brown, 3s. 6d.; Mr. H. J. Ball, £1 1s.; M. Ramsay, £2; Mrs. M. E. Harkness, 9s. 2d.; H.L., 10s.; E.M.C., 15s.; "A New Reader" (Southall), 10s.; Warley "Crusader" Group, 15s. 3d.; Mr. W. Henry, 10s.; Mrs. Tremewan, 2s. 6d.; Mr. C. P. Donnison, 5s.; Miss H. Frutiger, 4s. 2d.; Mr. A. Rooksby, 10s.; Mr. A. Halstead, 7s.; G.H., £2 10s.; Mr. W. E. Walker, £1; Mrs. A. E. Gibson, 7s. 6d.; Anon., 5s.; Miss G. Owen, £1 5s.; Mr. B. Davies, £1 1s.; Rev. R. V. Holt, 5s.; Mr. E. Clibborn, 10s.; Mrs. M. Stewart, 5s.; Mrs. Strickland, 10s.; Miss M. A. Townson, 5s.; total, £173 5s. 4d.

1921—PROMISES.

Mr. W. Bowman, 5s.; J.D.W., £1 10s.; Mr. B. W. Tritton, 5s.; Mrs. H. Morris, 5s.; Mr. J. Dunbar, £1; Miss M. E. Scriven, 10s.; Rev. Bernard Walke, £1; "Chateaubriand," 18s. 6d.; Mr. W. Owen, 10s.; Mr. and Mrs. A. Gange, £1; Mr. E. H. Rhodes, £5; Miss H. Fox, £1; Rev. R. V. Holt, 5s.; Mr. O. Gregson (quarterly), 13s.; Miss L. Godfray (monthly), 5s.; Miss Z. C. Smith (monthly), 5s.; Mrs. Churcher (monthly), 5s.; Mr. W. H. Marwick (monthly for 6 months), 5s.; Mr. J. R. Chinnery (monthly for 5 months), 10s.; Mr. E. A. Lee, £1.

The Bloomsbury Press announces the publication of "The Challenge," a play of Labour and Religion, by Rev. Seaward Beddow, with a prefatory note by George Lausbury, price 2/6.

Friends in Need.

We did not know until our difficulties reached a climax how many warm-hearted supporters the "Crusader" had. It is not easy to give our readers an idea of the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice our appeal has provoked. The response has been very cheering and, whatever may be the financial result, we shall never forget the comradeship manifested in the letters sent us.

For instance, from the Warley Institutional Church comes this:—"We held a meeting of our "Crusader" Group last Saturday evening and we found that we can guarantee 6/- a week for the next eight weeks. Also we decided to hold a concert in a month's time from which we hope to get at least £3."

"Although claims on my income—that of a working man—" writes another, "are becoming very numerous for such purposes—Peace, Temperance, Religion—I cannot resist this appeal for support to the "Crusader," which has, against great odds of prejudice and partisanship, bravely struggled to maintain a testimony for Peace and Righteousness. So I am sending Postal Order for 2/6, and hope to supplement it by like sums at intervals until £1 is made up."

We should like to recommend to others of small means this method of contributing in instalments.

From Ireland comes the message:—"It [the "Crusader"] has given me what I seek in vain from the pulpits of the Church of Ireland."

Referring to the reduction in size, a correspon-

dent writes, enclosing 2/-:—"In answer to this question (What is the 'Crusader' worth to you?) I admit it feels worth much more to me, but I am only a labourer, with a wife and four young children, and that feels about what circumstances will allow. I intend taking the paper and paying for it cheerfully if it continues at half size. I would much rather have a reduced size at the same price than see it cease."

Another method of raising funds is suggested by a writer, who says: "I proposed to our meeting (a small one) that we should have a cake and candy sale in aid of the 'Crusader' funds, and so we propose holding it on 12th of February and trust for the paper's sake it will be successful."

An artist writes:—"I have much pleasure in forwarding just a little mite for the 'Crusader,' a wonderful paper, which I read faithfully every week. I do so hope that it will not 'fall through.' I would so much like to send more, but it is as much as I can possibly send just at present. Perhaps you will understand this when I tell you that the writer is an artist. Art is like the religion of the 'Crusader,' it has not as yet triumphed. I wish you every success in your appeal—"What is the 'Crusader' worth to YOU?" I think most readers will agree that it is not possible to estimate its value in £ s. d."

Finally, to quote one of a large number of similar expressions, a friend writes:—"I should feel as if I had lost a dear friend if it had to cease, but that must not be."

Margaret Bondfield on Capitalist Psychology.

The lunch-hour address at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, E.C., on Monday last, was given by Margaret Bondfield, who spoke on the need of abolishing Capitalist Psychology.

"I want to challenge the statement of Mr. Hoover," she commenced, "that the only motive power capable of carrying on the business of the world is that of self-interest. It is true that the motive power behind Capitalist enterprise is self-interest. That is so confessedly. Men are not in business for philanthropic reasons, or because they hope to render some form of social service. They may incidentally be rendering social service of a quite valuable kind, but the root motive of commercial enterprise under the present system must be the winning of security, material prosperity, social success for the individual or group of individuals concerned."

The mentality created by Capitalism believes what it desires to believe. Self-interest governs even religious conceptions. The money-lords look upon churches as institutions to be exploited in the interests of the present order. They imagine they have God in their pocket.

This habit of interpreting religious and moral principles according to our individual or party or national selves is common to all classes. Large

masses of men were quite easily trained to believe in the necessity and justice of the war. The various views expressed about Russia is an instance of the operation of this motive. What you see in Russia depends on what you are.

As a matter of fact, Lenin appeals to a different motive to that evoked by Capitalism. He and those associated with him are endeavouring to build society on a basis of service, sacrifice, discipline, obedience. In the Communist party the individual must be subordinated to the interests of society as a whole.

Capitalism, continued Miss Bondfield, is not only anti-social, but anti-Christian. Christianity is essentially social. Some of those who have been driven out of the churches by the anti-social spirit in them were coming back to the Church because in corporate worship they found the realisation of a Society in which all differences could be transcended and overcome. Protestantism had laid stress on the need of individual salvation. It might almost be said that it was the expression, in religious terms, of the capitalist spirit. But real Christianity stands for the principle that the individual must give himself for the good of all. Salvation will be found when we no longer seek to save our own souls, but live for the salvation of Society as a whole.

Talks on Communism.

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

IX.—THE TRANSITION TO COMMUNISM.

But how will the transition to Communism be effected? What is the Christian method? It cannot be that of force, and yet it may be necessary for Christians, in the interest of society as well as of their own souls, to refuse longer to carry on the present system. Frankly, I do not think it is possible to say how the transition to Communism will be made. Further, I do not think we should greatly concern ourselves about that issue: our business is to create a Christian Communist consciousness, and to let the revolution, or what there be, come out of that.

At the same time I very strongly believe not only in the possibility of, but in the necessity for a complete social change, or what might be called a bloodless revolution. Indeed, I cannot see how we are to pass over from Capitalism to Communism without such a change. Why a "reform" policy at all? It is obvious to me that the end we seek cannot be attained by means of "reform." For this primary reason. The conflict is between two ideals, and if the Capitalists and their supporters do not accept Communism they will certainly prevent its establishment by piecemeal methods, by way of "reforms," for they will neutralise and undermine everything that is done; whereas if they accept Communism it will be because they see in it the condition of a finer society and a more abundant life, when they will hasten its coming. To put it bluntly, reformism is a method of evasion, as I fear events will compel all to realise sooner or later. Besides, how is it possible to give birth to a new spirit, the spirit of the New World, when insistence on "gradual" changes is a confession that the New World is not desired by the rich minority and the victims of its Press?

There is no getting away from the fact that it is a radical social change that is required, and that we must have if the New World is to be born. And to this end we must concentrate upon the ideal, preach and teach it everywhere, proclaim it in the cities, in the churches, at street corners, go into the high-ways and hedges and compel the people to see life anew; and in the light of a finer ideal to make a New Earth. We must make society quiver with our message, shock the Capitalists into thinking, compel them to face an issue they have always shirked, and to satisfy the people's legitimate demands.

And I believe this can be done, and also that if we make our revolutionary movement spiritual, conduct it in the spirit of its aim, we can achieve the end we seek by purely peaceful means.

This subject is extremely important as, quite apart from the question of the desirability of a radical social change, the probability is that a revolution of some kind is going to be forced upon society, and perhaps before very long. Events are moving quickly, more quickly than most of us had deemed possible, or even now realise. I have

already described the policies that our Capitalists are pursuing. The class war rages and increases in intensity daily. No one, I think, who has carefully followed events during the past few years, and particularly since the close of the war, will deny that a great social crisis approaches. The lengths to which the greed for wealth and power is being allowed to go baffle description. Society simply cannot stand the strain that is being put upon it, and is fast reaching an impasse. At any moment a circumstance might occur, trifling in itself, which would divide society—at home, in Europe, throughout the world—into two large groups and be the beginning of a mighty conflict between the people and their financial rulers. We know what took place in 1914, how out of a paltry incident the fevered brains of a few little groups of agitated diplomats and enthusiastic imperialists succeeded in ranging the nations in battle array. To-day there are more heated brains than there were then, more people consumed by a passion for power, on the one hand, and more people conscious of an unbearable oppression, on the other, very many of whom are prepared to risk everything in a final struggle—for class supremacy, in the one case, and for freedom, in the other.

Sooner or later, as present events sufficiently indicate, the capitalists, either by a direct attack or the gradual increasing of oppression, will goad the workers into revolt, and if a sufficiently big minority is not prepared for that crisis the outcome will be deplorable. A strong body of determined, spiritually enlightened men and women is one of the paramount needs of the time.

TWEEDS.—Suitings, Costumes, Skirts, any length cut, good material, low prices, patterns sent.—R. A. Anderson, 21 St. Andrew St., Galashiels.

THE NEXT STEP TO PEACE.—A series of Lunch-Hour addresses is to be given at Devonshire House, 136 Bishopsgate, E.C., on Mondays, from 1.20 to 1.50 p.m. Jan. 24: "Revision of the Treaties." Miss Irene Cooper Willis.

SITUATION WANTED.—Grocer's Assistant, single, 8 years' experience. Please communicate "Llanherne," 22 Alexandra Road, Frome.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maud Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

TO LET, immediately until March, large bed-sitting room, furnished, every convenience, kitchen, bathroom, etc.; suitable 1 or 2 friends.—Apply by letter, Mrs. Wood, 108 Abbey Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.6.

SIDELIGHTS.

An Uninviting Invitation.

"I was passing the one church in Kingsway. Over the porch were the words: 'Enter, Rest, and Pray.' I was about to accept the invitation. My foot was upon the first step when I caught sight of a captured German gun.

"It stood beside the porch, in the small churchyard, pointing its open mouth at the passers-by on the pavement. It bore an inscription to the effect that it had been presented by the Borough of Holborn Authorities as a memorial of 'the imperishable glory'. . . Instantly, on seeing it, moved by an irresistible instinct, I turned right about.

"Just as I was coming away, two women approached. They belonged, clearly enough, to the lower middle classes. They came from the Provinces.

"One of the women read the inscription over the church porch. 'Here, Maggie,' she said to her companion, 'let's go in here a minute.'

"They were about to enter the church when 'Maggie' saw the gun. Immediately, gripped by the same instinct that had stayed my steps, she caught the skirt of her friend, and, pointing to the gun, she said, 'Good Lord! There's a nice contrast for you! A gun in the churchyard! Talk about brotherly love!'

"The two women walked off down the street. . ."—"Methodist Recorder."

Plain Words at a Christian Conference.

The proceedings at the Student Christian Conference at Glasgow are remarkable for many of the utterances—endorsed, according to reports which reach us, by immense enthusiasm by audiences of over 4,000 young people—were as outspoken as any speeches at an I.L.P. conference could have been. The Rev. A. G. Fraser, of Kandy, said that the military caste responsible for the Punjab atrocities would equally defend shooting in Ireland or Russia, or to break a great strike. Commerce has worked behind pretended religion," said the Rev. Donald Fraser, of Livingstonia. "She claims to teach the natives the dignity of Labour when her real motive is pockets bulging with profit." The same thought was expressed by Miss Maude Royden in this piercing sentence: "We are ready to accept the theory that Great Britain should police Mesopotamia because oilfields are there, but we refuse to safeguard Armenia because there are only Armenians there." The speeches at this conference, and the reception they had, show that the young manhood and womanhood outside our ranks are increasingly sharing our ideals.—"Labour Leader."

"The Times" Turns Bolshevist.

It is a curious sign of the times to find the "Times" correspondent saying about unemployment:—

"It is generally felt by those who have given the matter thought that radical treatment, based upon a comprehensive survey of the whole maze of interconnected causes and symptoms, is necessary."

And we find the same idea quoted in the "Times" from the "Montreal Star," with regard to the fact that Canadian apples for which the growers get 27s. 6d. a barrel, are sold in England at 130s. a barrel! The "Montreal Star" says:—

"One of these days the whole question of food distribution will come up for serious study and settlement by the leading nations of the world. Not only on this Continent, but practically everywhere men are using an outworn and discredited system which satisfies nobody save the small and parasitic class, which levies toll upon all foods without doing anything to add either to their quality or quantity."

And the "Times" unblushingly quotes this without comment. —"Labour Leader."

Lord Fisher on Conscription.

"The war led us into having been a Conscript Nation. Conscription is said to have been abolished. Has it. The Militarist faction has tasted blood. They have become like man-eating

tigers; they will never rest till they get it back. They have eaten already nearly a million of the blossom of the land. As for the huge war debt hanging round our necks, it is incomprehensible that this debt should not be paid by those whom the war has made rich.

"The nation was fooled into the war. The nation was fooled into conscription. The nation was fooled nigh unto bankruptcy. Ask anyone what good has come of the war compared with the millions massacred by it."—Lord Fisher in the January, 1920, "London Magazine." Quoted in "Forward."

Jews and the Orient.

THE "POST" PROTESTS.

"The appointment of Lord Reading as the next Viceroy of India has been greeted with a chorus of adulation from most of our Gentile contemporaries," says the "Morning Post."

"Consider the position as the British nation sees it. Almost its whole Empire in the East is now in Jewish hands. To say nothing of the smaller fry in the India Office, Mr. Montagu is Secretary of State, Sir William Meyer is High Commissioner—a post specially created for him—and Lord Reading is to be Viceroy. Moreover, Sir Herbert Samuel is High Commissioner of Palestine. We say plainly that the British people cannot be expected to like it, however tolerant they may be."

"Ashamed of the Gospel."

"It is curious how newspapers, statesmen, even politicians and business men, are fumbling after good old Christian doctrine," says the "Methodist Recorder." "They dare not say so, for Christianity is a dangerous thing to most of them."

"But there they are, trying to say what Christ says, and so to say it that there is no reminiscence of Christ—only of journalism, policy, party, and trade."

"The big things are these four, or they try to give the impression the big things are these four. Of course, they do not succeed, because they know it is not true. Yet look where we will, and listen where we may, uneasy men are trying other words for Christ's teaching; and the teaching of Christ is so simple, whole, accurate, that the moment you change the words you lose something of the teaching."

Too Late?

The hostility of labour is directed not merely or chiefly against the Prime Minister or the Coal Controller, but against the capitalist system as a whole. And if an internecine strife is to be avoided, it will be necessary that Big Business should bethink itself in time, and learn a lesson from the French noblesse, which consented to forego its iniquitous privileges—when it was just too late, and its hour had already struck.—Father Herbert Lucas, S.J., in "The Universe."

SIGNATORIES TO AFFIRMATION to Jan. 17 (Second List).

Harold Blundstone, 1s.; F. P. Egglesten, 1s.; Thomas Fisher, 3s.; Thomas Flook, 1s.; Oswald Gregson, 5s.; Joshua Greenhalgh, 3s.; Ernest Haworth, 4s. 2d.; Jas. D. Holmes, 2s.; K. E. Markel, 15s.; Mrs. K. E. Markel, 15s.; R. Barclay Murdoch, 1s. 8d.; M. McN., 11s.; Alice Parris, 1s.; Rachel Price, 6s.; Oliver Richardson, 1s.; Mrs. Ridley, 1s.; George L. Smith, 1s.; Bertram L. Somner, 1s.; Irwin R. Stephenson, 1s.; Maud Tremewan, 1s.; Edward Whinary, 1s.; Kate Willison, 5s.; Charles H. Winter, 1s.; Jeanie Dunbar, 2s.; Rev. F. Lee, 1s.; Agnes Alexander, 2s.; Nina A. H. Hume, 10s.; Clifford Newton, 1s.; Charles L. Frille, 3s.; W. Owen Heatherley, 2s.; Doris Lester, 1s.; Mr. W. A. Wharton, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. W. A. Wharton, 2s. 6d.; Francis Peile, 2s. 6d.; C. Paul Gliddon, 1s.; Thomas Raymond, 2s. 6d.

The Crusader

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Twopence.



The Outlook.

THE attempt to rouse British Labour with regard to the war against Russia was ruined by the distraction of the Miners' Strike. The Labour Party's Irish Campaign seems likely to meet a similar fate. The uncertainty of employment is at present the-obsessing thought which prevents the workers giving their serious attention to any other matter. At least that is the experience of some of those taking part in the campaign. It cannot be denied that such a state of things is discouraging, for it means that the workers of this country cannot be roused on the larger and more disinterested issues of Imperial policy.

AT the same time it must be admitted that the question of unemployment affords an opportunity for raising the whole social and industrial problem. Unfortunately men driven to despair by their failure to find work are not in the most suitable frame of mind for solving intricate economic questions. We can only hope that strong, clear-sighted leadership will be able to direct the forces of discontent into constructive channels.

THE meeting of Allied statesmen in Paris to discuss the German indemnity and other matters affords one more opportunity for Mr. Lloyd George to overcome French resistance to a sane and sympathetic treatment of Germany. It is said that M. Briand adopts a more conciliatory attitude than his predecessor. An even stronger influence than the personality of the French Premier is the industrial and commercial situation at home, the gravity of which is so largely due to the crippling of continental enterprise.

FRENCH policy elsewhere shows no sign of repentance. "There is reason to believe," says the Labour News Service, "that the French Government proposes to make a permanent part of its policy the raising of native armies from mandated areas for purposes other than those permitted in the Covenant." If this policy of increasing a mandatory's military forces by recruiting in the mandated area is carried out, the danger to Asia, Africa, and Europe is beyond exaggeration.

THE Government have continually affirmed that there is no longer, even if it was in existence, occasionally in the past, any blockade with Russia. We would like to hear of an explanation of the following, taken from the Press:—

"South Wales colliery owners have received directions from the Controller of Mines authorising exports to former enemy countries excepting Soviet Russia."

Contemporaneously with this we read in the "Daily Chronicle" of "the weakening demand for South Wales Steam Coal," and consequent "severe depression in Cardiff"!

ONE result of the commercial depression at least is to be welcomed. Signs are not lacking that it is imposing a strong check on military and naval expansion. Public opinion seems steadily to point to an understanding between this country, the United States, and Japan on the question of naval power.



Religion and Health.

There is one striking difference, as regards attendance at public worship, between the present generation and those who flocked to listen to the Divine Teacher in the days of His flesh. A reason frequently given for the neglect of the Churches is that, in our strenuous age, people are too tired and out-of-sorts after a wearying week to be able to attend services. The difference to which I refer lies in the fact that it was just because they were in need of physical recreation that the crowds resorted to Jesus. The contact of His personality meant a renewal of life. Mental disorders fled at His approach. Folk with bodily ailments waited upon Him because they were ill and not in spite of that fact.

Here is a discrepancy between the first preaching of the Gospel and that which now passes under the name which cannot be overlooked. If the ministry exercised in Galilee were, in its fulness, continued among us, we should be finding in the centres of religious life radiating forces of health. No one needs to be told that, as a matter of fact, we find no such thing.

It cannot be pleaded that the age of miracles is past. The Church still claims to be able to work the greatest of all miracles. It has not abdicated its authority to restore the spiritually dead, to convert, to heal the soul. And if it can claim to be the channel of supernatural power capable of working this inner miracle, how much more should it be able to claim authority over our physical disorders!

The two spheres of life cannot be thus separated, and it is not the least significant sign of the times that the connection between the mind and the body is being once more emphasised. People who pour scorn on the "miracles" of Lourdes are increasingly willing to listen to those who profess to exercise the gift of faith-healing. Science itself has dropped its attitude of incredulity and is exploring this new sphere with characteristic earnestness.

There is a close connection between this approach to the original Christian movement and that other approximation towards the same centre which we find in the new emphasis on fellowship. The Christ who imparts health and the Christ whose love conquers hate and fear and lust are one and the same. Physical well-being and social life are most intimately related. Love is the Great Physician—not in any merely vague and sentimental way, but in a strict and scientific sense. I believe that when men are in right relations with each other many of our evil humours and dread diseases will disappear. And this result will be due, not only

to improved physical conditions, but to the direct operation of the Spirit of Love.

But right social relations will do more than heal. In one way at least they will prevent the very appearance of bodily ills. The eugenists are tragically crude in their theories concerning the production of a physically superior race. But I have no hesitation in saying that in the right mating of men and women lies one of the supreme secrets of racial health. The subject is a large and a difficult one, but its tremendous importance should be sufficient to overcome our reluctance to deal with it. The eugenists miss the point, inasmuch as it is not the scientific organisation of marriage that is so much needed as reverence for our own and others' bodies, sexual purity and real passion. Those whom God—not social convention or temporary infatuation or lust—has joined together have the promise of healthful children. Of course it does not follow that in individual cases, with all the consequences of past self-indulgence to overcome, that law will always operate. But in the long run, and taking a racial view of the matter, can there be any question but that the observance of Christian sanctities in the married state will prove one of the biggest factors in banishing disease and physical suffering from our world?

THE TRAMP.

1921—DONATIONS TO OUR FUNDS.

Amount previously acknowledged, £173 5s. 4d.; Mr. W. J. Chamberlain, £1 1s.; Gamfala, Old Trafford (2nd instalment), 10s.; Mr. F. Mertens, £5; Mrs. M. Adam, 5s.; Mr. H. Richardson, 10s.; Miss L. Deane (monthly), 2s. 6d.; Mr. J. Martin (monthly), 2s.; Mr. C. W. Knight, £2; Miss I. B. Hovell, 2s. 6d.; Miss E. M. Gater, 10s.; Mr. J. E. Hall, 6s. 6d.; Mr. G. Robinson, 1s.; Miss L. L. Wood, 5s.; Miss M. L. Tatton (2nd instalment), 6s.; Mr. W. O. Bishop, 10s.; Mr. D. H. Richardson, 2s. 6d.; Mr. G. T. Stone and Miss G. Barnes, 5s.; Miss J. M. Tarbolton, £1; Mr. G. Baynton, 3s. 9d.; Miss A. Townley, 5s.; Mrs. Parsons, £1 1s.; Anon. (Rugby), 10s.; Mrs. J. L. Clarke, 10s.; Worthing F.O.R., 10s. 9d.; Miss S. Blade, 10s.; Anon., 10s.; M.W. (Nelson), 2s.; Miss J. E. Jones, £1; Mrs. A. Thomas, 5s.; "Two Friends" (Leicester), 10s.; Mr. and Mrs. Enrich, 10s.; "A Reader," 5s.; Mr. G. Williams, 6s.; Mr. F. Coksey, 2s.; Mr. A. Price, 2s.; Mr. T. D. Copeman (monthly), 5s.; Mr. and Mrs. Hartley, 15s.; Miss H. M. Mann, 5s.; C.K., 10s.; F.A.F., 5s.; "Helpantoj," 10s.; "A Friend" (Nelson), 2s. 6d.; H.L., £1; C.S.D. (monthly), 5s.; Miss D. Lester, £1; Mrs. G. Clough, 2s. 6d.; A.L. (monthly), 5s.; "A Friend" (Taunton), 10s.; M. McNaught, 10s.; Mrs. Shanks, £1; Rev. H. J. Taylor, £1 5s.; Rev. R. T. Wagstaffe, 1s. 6d.; Miss E. Hanchett, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. P. P. Coverdale, 2s. 6d.; Mr. A. Mollett, 2s. 6d.; Mr. S. Hanchett, 2s. 6d.; Mr. F. Ramm, 2s. 6d.; Mr. G. Wigen, 2s.; Mr. G. P. Coverdale, 6s. 6d.; Mr. J. E. Dickinson, 14s.; Miss E. M. Gray (1st monthly instalment), 5s.; Mrs. Holliday, £1 1s.; Rev. P. J. Robertson, £1 1s.; Warley "Crusader" Group, 12s.; E.M.C., 10s.; Mrs. Greenwood, 2s.; Mr. A. Wilson, 2s.; Mrs. Inwood, 2s.; Mr. G. Smith, 1s. 2d.; Miss D. Biddle, 2s. 6d.; total, £207 12s.

1921—PROMISES.

Mr. G. T. Stone, 17s. 6d.; Miss G. Barnes, 17s. 6d.; C.S.D., 15s.; Miss L. Deane (monthly), 2s. 6d.; Mr. J. Martin (monthly), 2s.; Mrs. J. L. Clarke (monthly), 2s. 6d.; Mr. T. D. Copeman (monthly), 5s.; S. C. (monthly), £1; K. Bowman (monthly), 2s.; A.L. (monthly), 5s.; Mrs. Holliday (monthly), 5s.; Two Friends (weekly), 6d.; A. Friend (weekly for 20 weeks), 6d.

The Tyranny of Words.

By W. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

I fear that this article is going to be a disappointing affair. I want to utter the strongest possible protest against the tyranny of words—the Dictatorship of Words—and I am completely at the mercy of the Dictatorship; for I have nothing but words with which to make my protest!

"A very great part of the mischief that vex the world arises from words," said Burke. That, of course, is a truism. But why do we allow this mischief to be done? Why do we submit to this tyranny? Is there no way out? Must we for ever be ruled by the Dictatorship of Words? These questions are frequently intruding themselves upon my normal workaday mind; and this week, in sheer desperation, I am determined to rebel against this Dictatorship—whatever the consequences!

I wonder how many of us realise the serious nature of the tyranny under which we suffer. The very fact that the majority of us have accepted the Dictatorship as a normal part of our lives is the strongest proof of its deadly influence. And yet, even if we had the desire to escape, what means are there at our disposal to aid us in our fight? I know of none. We are doomed for ever and a day . . . doomed to be governed and dragooned by a tyranny of our own creation.

In my early twenties I struck up a friendship with a young enthusiast in the cult of the open road. We became united in a silent fellowship. We walked and cycled together for miles in silence. The bloom of the primrose, the ripple of the mountain stream, the glow of the setting sun touched the same chord in both our hearts: without a word we would stop in our tramp or dismount from our machines and feast at the gloriously-spread table of Nature. We were afraid to speak—that is, to speak about the things that matter. We were content with our silent feasts: we were bound together in a bond of silence which was more eloquent than all the words in the dictionary.

But one day the inevitable happened. We were tempted by the Devil of Words . . . and we fell.

We were standing together on a narrow ridge of rock, high up and overlooking the moors. At our feet lay rich green fields, with here and there an orchard in full bloom; in the distance was the shimmering Channel, dotted with tiny white and brick-red sails; in between were the grey moors preparing for their coming purple splendour; over all was "the charm of the Golden Rod." We stood and gazed and took in deep draughts of the lung-cleansing air. Suddenly, the silence was broken by my companion—broken with a brutal ruthlessness which could only have been inspired by the Devil.

"Do you believe in God?" he jerked out.

Without knowing why, I felt an intense desire to flee from the spot as fast as my machine would carry me. Still, without knowing why, I was conscious of the sense of a snapping of the bond between us. I do not remember the exact terms of my reply to my companion's question. I think I said "Yes" and

"No" in turn, and finished up by endeavouring to compromise with "Not your God." All the way home we talked—"words, words, words." We discussed God until we nearly came to blows. We talked about theology as if it were as important as the primroses and violets. And while we talked, the song of the birds, the kiss of the sun, the sweet friendship of the flowers—"all things bright and beautiful"—passed us by unheeded. From that day to this there has been a great gulf between us. That wonderful bond of silence was broken by the tyranny of words.

There is not a Cause which has escaped this tyranny. Its deadly hand is upon every group of people gathered together for a common purpose. The stronger the bond of real fellowship that exists the more difficult is the work of the Devil of Words. But it would seem that no bond is strong enough to resist every attack: once in a while half a dozen words—nay, even a monosyllable—will raise an impenetrable wall between the unfortunate victim and his or her comrades. Theology, sociology—every "ology" and "ism" under the sun—all provide a sphere of activity for the Devil of Words. Writers of words are, perhaps, more susceptible to the influence of the tyranny than are speakers of words. The speaker can always call to his aid the twinkling eye, the impressive gesture; in a hundred ways he can augment his words and free himself from the risk of misunderstanding. But the writer is compelled to rely upon "the colourless photography of the printed word" in reproducing his thoughts for the benefit—or otherwise—of his fellows. He may spend half a night and reams of paper on a sentence in order to escape the tyranny—and fall a victim in the end.

It is monstrous! I raise my puny hands and feeble voice in hot protest against this tyranny. But in the very act I am conscious of my helplessness. I have wasted precious space in the vain endeavour to rebel and to make my rebellion understood by some at least of my long-suffering readers. All that is left for me to do is to crave their pardon and promise that in future I will humbly submit to my fate!

WILFRED WELLOCK'S MEETINGS.

Shortage of space demands brevity, but perhaps a few words about the Crusade may be said. Most of our recent meetings have been inspiring and encouraging. Everywhere the people receive our message with astonishing readiness. At Chopwell, Dunston on Tyne, Newcastle, Usworth, Skelmanthorpe, Yeadon, etc., splendid meetings were held. Usworth especially deserves congratulation. I walked two miles from the station to the place of meeting, in a drenching rain, and expected not a soul—but a fine gathering awaited me! The workers at Skelmanthorpe, many of whom are Crusaders, are very enthusiastic, and their meeting showed that they have not laboured in vain. The Yeadon I.L.P. was holding a special demonstration, and an enthusiastic, spiritually-minded gathering received our message. Here, as elsewhere, many anxious inquiries were made concerning the future of "The Crusader."

The Crusader

Friday, January 28th, 1921.

Editorial Communications
To the Editor,
Business Communications
To the Secretary,
 23, BRIDE LANE, FLEET ST.,
 LONDON, E.C.4.
Rate of Subscription:
 10/10 per year.
 2/9 per quarter.

WE CARRY ON!

The Future of the "Crusader" and the Crusade.

The decision has been made.

The "Crusader" for the present is to continue.

But it can continue only at its present size. Until more funds are available an increase in the number of pages is impossible.

The average weekly receipts, we are glad to find, are sufficient to pay our printers' bill, also the cost of despatching copies. By rigid, heart-breaking economy in the reorganisation of the office they may also be made to cover the cost of business management. We have reduced our expenses in this direction to the last penny.

But printers and business agents are not sufficient for the conduct of a paper. The present arrangement leave entirely unprovided for the literary staff responsible for the writing and editing of the "Crusader." In so far as they continue their work they do so either gratuitously, or in confidence that the readers of the paper will, by donations specially contributed for the purpose, enable them to give their time and thought as before.

The maintenance of this side of our work, therefore, depends wholly on the generosity of those who value the paper and feel that its continued existence is necessary. Friends are invited to promise periodical contributions. Contributions should be marked "Crusader" Fund.

Another decision affecting considerably our method of work is that concerning the relation of the propaganda efforts which heretofore has been carried on in conjunction with the "Crusader" under the name of "The Crusade." The series of meetings which Miss Wilson and Mr. Wellock have addressed, the issue of "The Declaration of Dependence" and also of the "Affirmation Against War," all come under this head. It has now been decided that these two activities shall be separated so far as financial and business management are concerned.

"The Crusade," having no regular income, is wholly dependent on the voluntary help forthcoming from sympathisers. It is felt, however, that, among the thousands whom our speakers have addressed and to whom, in some form or other, our message has gone out, will be found a sufficient number who will ensure the continuance of our propagandist activities. Contributions to this Fund should be marked "The Crusade."

The upshot, therefore, is somewhat as follows:—

We can, for a year at least, undertake, on the basis of the present circulation of the paper and at the reduced size, to meet our liabilities for printing and office expenses.

But for the maintenance of those responsible for the spiritual, creative, propagandist work we are wholly and entirely dependent on donations over and above the amounts paid as subscriptions.

If these are not forthcoming we must cease publication.

If they are sent in the "Crusader" will continue its fight against militarism, capitalism, and paganism.

If they exceed our present needs, the paper will resume its former size, and, instead of being on the defensive, will take the offensive in the real war to end war.

THE WORLD STATE.

The world state must begin; it can only begin, as a propagandist cult, or as a group of propagandist cults, to which men and women must give themselves and their energies, regardless of the consequences to themselves. Laying the foundations of a world state upon a site already occupied by a muddle of buildings is an undertaking which will almost necessarily bring its votaries into conflict with established authority and current sentiment; they will have to face the possibility of lives of conflict, misunderstanding, much thankless exertion; they must count on little honour and considerable active dislike; and they will have to find what consolation they can in the interest of the conflict itself and in the thought of a world, made at last by such efforts as theirs, peaceful and secure and vigorous, a world they can never hope to see. So stated it seems a bad bargain that the worker for the world-state is invited to make, yet the world has never lacked people prepared to make such a bargain, and they will not fail it now. There are worse things than conflict without manifest victory and effort without apparent reward. To the finer kind of mind it is infinitely more tragic and distressing to find that existence bears a foolish aimless face. Many people, tormented by the discontent of conscience, and wanting, more than they can ever want any satisfaction, some satisfying rule of life, some criterion of conduct, will find in this cult of the world-state just that sustaining reality they need. And their number will grow. Because it is a practical and reasonable shape for a life, arising naturally out of a proper understanding of history and physical science, and embodying in a unifying plan the teaching of all the great religions of the world. It comes to us not to destroy but to fulfil.—H. G. WELLS, in "Review of Reviews."

The Religious Press.

By REV. SEAWARD BEDDOW.

I think it may be well for us to ponder the following news. We have heard the same sort of thing several times before in history, and have seen its devastating results to the world. It is announced that Japan is systematically training its young people in the belief that their nation is the destined ruler of mankind. Here are some extracts from a Japanese newspaper published in Tokyo:—

"To preserve the world's peace, and to promote the welfare of mankind, is the mission of the Imperial Family of Japan. Heaven has invested the Imperial Family with all the qualifications necessary to fulfil this mission. The Imperial Family of Japan is the parent, not only of her sixty millions, but of all mankind on earth. The League of Nations, proposed to save mankind from the horrors of war, can only obtain its real object by placing the Imperial Family of Japan at its head, for, to attain its object, the League must have a strong punitive force of a super-national and super-racial character, and this force can only be found in the Imperial Family of Japan."

The "Church Times" asks:—

"Is our nation to lend its powerful support to the furtherance of Japanese ambitions towards world conquest, or are we to recognise in Japan's fanatical belief in her own destiny a menace not less serious than that presented by German Kultur?"

It looks as if the armament business is going to be a flourishing industry for a good while to come. Our militarists will have to get ready to "swat" this Japanese idea, and THEIR militarists will have to get ready to defend the plans of Heaven. And I notice that it will all be "to preserve the world's peace, and to promote the welfare of mankind." Didn't Mr. Bernard Shaw once suggest that the earth was used by the other planets as a lunatic asylum? Yes a lunatic asylum!

And now I am on the subject, I think I cannot do better than quote an additional paragraph from the "Church Times." It certainly seems to provide some more startling evidence. I have no means of checking the story, but here it is as it is printed:—

"The lengths to which the fanaticism of the Prohibitionist can carry him are illustrated by a case which has aroused great excitement in Canada. A Methodist minister named Spracklin recently shot and killed an hotel keeper named Trumble at Sandwich, Ontario. After much pressure the Attorney-General has allowed a charge of manslaughter to be preferred against Spracklin. It appears that the dead man was entirely defenceless and was shot at a few inches' range in the early hours of the morning. That may seem no more than a sordid story. The moral lies in what follows. The 'Christian Guardian,' commenting on the affair, says: 'The enforcement of prohibition laws is more important than any mere sentimental feeling stirred up by the thought of taking human life.' The Ontario Women's Temperance Union has issued a statement justifying the murder on the ground that it will act as a warning

to all who break the liquor laws. But more astonishing still are the resolutions of sympathy with the prisoner passed by Methodist bodies throughout the Province and expressing their admiration of his conduct. Finally we observe that the Rev. T. Albert Moore, Secretary of the General Conference, is reported to have stated officially that 'having killed his man the Rev. Mr. Spracklin will necessarily be a more powerful minister in future.'"

It is a pleasure to turn to a little sense. A man of independent mind, the Rev. T. Rhondra Williams, has just got back from a tour in America, and has been telling his people at Union Chapel, Brighton, of some of the things he said to the Americans. I quote from the "Christian World":—

"I told my audiences everywhere," said Mr. Williams, "that I did not want America to come into the League of Nations to bolster up or to buttress the old ways of European Governments, nor, indeed, to endorse all the decisions taken by the Supreme Council since the Armistice. Quite candidly, I said, 'I want America in the League of Nations to help the democracies of Europe to smash up the present Governments, because I do not believe there is a chance for a real new order in the world until a good many of our present statesmen are sent about their business.'"

SIGNATORIES TO AFFIRMATION to Jan. 24 (Third List).

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AFFIRMATION AGAINST WAR.

Action on behalf of personal refusal to support War is being inaugurated in America (especially amongst women), Germany, and other lands, and we are issuing our "Affirmation Against War" in order to discover all who are prepared in this country to make a like stand, whether belonging to the late N.C.F., to Pacifist Societies, Fellowships, Churches, Brotherhoods, or any other bodies, so that we may eventually take our share in some wide International Union against War not yet definitely named and organised.

We are proposing that a small committee of some prepared to give time and energy to this special work shall be formed shortly, and we believe that the best way of keeping us all in touch with one another is through the columns of the "Crusader."

We should be glad to hear from any who are willing to help the movement either financially, by obtaining signatures, or in any other way which occurs to them.

All communications to be addressed to—

The "Affirmation" Secretary,
"Crusader" Office.

23 Bride Lane, E.C.4.

Bookland. Direct Action.

Direct Action by William Mellor (The New Age Series, Parsons, 4/6 net. 156pp.)

Although the Council of Action is at present hors de combat, we have not heard the last of it, and certainly, in spite of the appalling apathy of the people regarding a dozen or more crying questions, we have not heard the last of "direct action." And the reason for this is that those who are most opposed to direct action (on the part of the workers, that is), are the very people who have made it, and will continue to make it, necessary. Even those Christians who are opposed to direct action on the ground that it is a method of violence, are rendering it inevitable by their failure to accomplish what it aims at accomplishing, by some other method. In other words direct action is going to be rendered increasingly inevitable by reason of the policy of drift so natural to the British temperament, that is, by the sheer force of events. This is the basic fact in William Mellor's book, the foundation upon which his case is built. Starting with the fact, which he is easily able to establish, that economic power is fundamental and the source of political power, he says:—

"Arguments against direct action drawn from the 'fact' of political democracy are no arguments at all, for they observe the point that there can be no real 'government of the people, by the people, for the people,' in what is called politics unless that government finds full expression in the economic life of a community."

He further points out that Labour leaders like Mr. J. H. Thomas, for instance, who defend political action, owe what public influence they possess not to their being M.P. for this or that district, but to their being connected with a Trade Union which represents a certain economic force. Mr. Mellor declares:—

"The British working-class is becoming direct-actionist not because it wants to, but because it cannot help itself. Crises arise that call for instant action. Politics is a slow business: the strike is swift. Councils of Action arise, and these Councils, by their very existence, create the psychology of action on which the success of direct action depends. They know little about the fundamental facts of the Class War, but they

see the Government doing things they do not like and they want to put an end to it. . . . Without a philosophy, without a coherent aim, ill co-ordinated and frowned upon by the Constitutionalists, the movement for direct action is growing. Events themselves will compel the workers to co-ordinate their activities, to adopt a philosophy and consciously to labour to end wage slavery. The workers are instinctively turning to direct action, and this instinct will triumph over the old traditions and constitutional ways."

Thus, according to Mr. Mellor, the battle for working-class freedom must be fought out entirely upon the economic—as against the political—plane. Also, in due course, other weapons than the strike will be found necessary to this end, viz., the sword and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. These latter Mr. Mellor regards as inevitable and the logical corollaries of direct action. Let me quote two passages:—

"No one believes that this use of force by the workers is a 'nice' thing; what matters is whether or not it is inevitable. That it is inevitable on the theory of the class struggle can instantly be seen."

"The dictatorship of the proletariat finds expression, for instance, in the 'Red Terror' not by choice, but because against the new order all the forces of Capitalism the world over are aroused—and the only thing that Capitalism understands is force. The State which they have wielded for so long is turned against them, and its name is the 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat.'"

Now, speaking for myself, I am strongly of the opinion that what Mr. Mellor describes as inevitable is actually going to happen, but where I disagree from him is that I do not believe that the "Red Army" and the "Red Terror" are inevitable. They will be if the Left Wing leaders continue to preach them and the Christians continue to remain passive.

Mr. Mellor has given us a very clear and concise statement of the case for direct action, and in addition has outlined the sort of organisation that is needed in order to make direct action an effective method of revolution. The book will certainly be instrumental in clearing the minds of many, which is not a bad testimony to any book.

W.W.

Congress of Anti-Militarists.

From Joseph Giesen, secretary of the International Anti-military Bureau, Heevenweg 14, Utrecht, Holland, we have received the following:—

Will you allow me to draw the attention of English and American organised Labour somewhat closer to the International Anti-military Congress to be held at The Hague from the 26th to the 31st of March, 1921, the agenda of which you will please find enclosed.

We wish to unite all the anti-capitalist anti-militarists. We reject both white and red militarism. During the war the International Anti-military Union in Holland did its duty and was true to its principles by refusing military service. In Holland 600 men went to prison owing to their stand against militarism. Imprisonments of anti-militarists continue.

We think that the anti-capitalist anti-militarists must draw closer together. Therefore in August, 1920, an International Anti-military Bureau was instituted on the preliminary anti-military conference of The Hague. But we want to enlarge this bureau and the whole of the anti-military action of Labour and so we want above all the co-operation with us of the Trade Unions, not only morally, but in a well-organised way.

The Dutch and Danish syndicalists have become members of our congress, but surely we want the English and the American too.

And we hope certainly that the Labour organisations will appoint without further delay their delegates and send us news that they wish to partake in the congress.

Then I only ask you this: What are you going to do in the cause of Labour and Mankind, without the strongest and soundest anti-militarism?

All that Labour has gained is continually trodden down by militarism. As long as the workman-soldier shoots the workman-striker, as long as the proletarian dwelling in Japan or America, kills the proletarian in England, there is not the slightest chance of a Victory of Labour. The One Big Union of the Workers of the World is pure nonsense as long as one part of Labour is willing and ready to shoot the other.

Labour must rise above the level of the Roman Catholic Church which also allows that Catholicism is divided in as many parts as there are nations and frontiers.

Labour must become the deliverer of the world.

Labour can only do this, when it takes the most radical and revolutionary anti-military stand the world as yet has dreamt of. I surely feel that organised Labour has the real Power to bring about Peace on Earth.

And I certainly think you cannot do better than to come to our Easter Congress to unite yourselves more than ever you did in this idea.

Re-making Human Nature.

HOW PASSION IS TRANSMUTED.

In the current number of the "International Review of Missions," J. H. Oldham summarises a remarkable volume by Dr. W. E. Hocking entitled "Human Nature and its Re-making" (Milford, London; 12 6 net). It is impossible to give even an outline of the closely knit argument of the book, but something at least may be gleaned from the following passages taken from the article in question.

In considering how Christianity proposes to deal with the major passions, and in particular with the powerful instincts of pugnacity, sex and ambition, the writer of the article quotes from Dr. Hocking's book as follows:—

"The ocean responds neither to the blandishments nor to the threats of Xerxes; but the mechanisms of his own menials would react to the one by smiles and to the other by signs of terror. . . . To refuse to respond in kind, while it may seem to return to the indifference of nature, may be the precise opposite of a mechanical attitude. The attacker expects your resistance; if you do not resist, your rejection of his challenge may enter the situation with the force of a new idea."

Then follows, by way of interpretation and summary, an illuminating passage:—

"The new idea may, however, be one of several. The attacker might conclude that you were too dead to fight or that you were too much alive to fight. Christianity depends on the possibility of putting significance into the latter idea. The persistent refusal to retaliate can be a sign of more life rather than less only when it is a response to a greater degree of truth. What Christianity sets before itself is a type of justice undiscovered by the Greek—a justice done for the first time to the plasticity and responsiveness of human nature towards our own wills, an absolute or creative justice. This is the only type of response that can finally satisfy pugnacity itself. What pugnacity wants is not simply the destruction of evil; it wants the evil will to hate and destroy its own evil; it wants to make the man over. And for this act of creation the absolute justice of 'Love your enemies' is a necessary demand. The Christian ideal is not one which can only be applied in an ideal state of society, but one capable of immediate adoption, for it expresses the final satisfaction of the will of the fighter in the midst of every good fight.

"Take next the instinct of sex. The attempt to interpret this instinct seems to point to the conclusion that love is essentially a maker of life. It seeks an object which it can re-create in the light of whatever beauty it has seen. Love is the region of life which exists in giving life. Christianity by assuming, as it does, the non-necessity of marriage for complete satisfaction of the will teaches by implication that love is capable of complete sublimation. It is noteworthy, however, that in the characteristic transformations of love by Christianity the element of physical ministrations is never lost. It is through forms of physical service that the repressed wish finds an outlet. The trend of Christian energies into philanthropic efforts in the early centuries was historically the manifestation of a humanitarian passion sufficiently profound to drain the entire life of affection into its channel. But in Christianity this personal ministration was never allowed to shrink to the level of purely practical service. The cup of cold water is given 'in the Name' of something believed to be of cosmic importance. The mind is to be re-made as well as the body. Love means the will to confer immortality. The justification and the only justification of charity in the Christian sense is its metaphysical import. The two chief social equivalents of sex love are philanthropy and the production of beauty, both of them creative activities. But Christianity proposes them as complete equivalents only when they are elements in the religious life. There must be a union of ministry with worship. Without worship both philanthropy and art tend to become secular. Worship is the effort to shake off the dust and illusion of a partly secularised consciousness and to recover a sense of the quality of value in the ultimate reality of the world."

Dealing with the third instinct of human nature—Ambition—the writer of the article says:—

"In Christianity the ordinary objects of ambition—precedence, wealth, office, public power—are relegated almost contemptuously to the category of the unimportant. But Christianity proposes

to substitute for them a new ambition. He who would be first in the new order of things must be the servant of all. Christianity, in fundamental contrast to Buddhism, recognises that ambition is the essence of religion. It seeks to remedy the faults of ambition by carrying it to the limit of its own meaning and giving a final answer to the question, What does ambition want?

"Earlier chapters of the book have already shown, from many angles, how the quest for power tends to revise its aim, and how the pursuit of power over another tends to become the pursuit of power for him. At the limit the exercise of power is indistinguishable from service. It consists in giving or adding to the being of another. Christianity places itself at this point and defines, as the goal of the transformation of ambition, the conferring of spiritual life. In this form it is the most characteristic product of Christianity in the field of behaviour. It is the passion for the historic spread of the new community, or in more personal form, the 'passion for souls.' This transformation of ambition is other-worldly in its sweep. But not in the sense of simply bidding men to determine their aims by the larger view, or to be cosmically prudent. It lays hold of the other world in a far more ambitious way than by merely seeking future status there. It lays hold on that world with the intent of so much present mastery of its quality and principle as to weave them into the fabric of human history."

"This analysis of the major instincts brings us to the remarkable conclusion that in the passion for souls all the instincts converge. In the missionary idea the will to power finds its deepest satisfaction and human nature seems to rise to its greatest height."

Then follows a quotation from Dr. Hocking's book:

"This passion for souls we have described as the final transformation of the ambition of the public order, but it is evidently more than that. It is the same form of will as that which gave the final meaning to human love, the will to confer immortal life. It is likewise the last transformation of pugnacity, the will to displace evil with good. It is, in truth, the point in which the meanings of all instincts converge. It is the positive meaning given by Christianity to the human will as a whole. 'Saving one's soul,' so far as psychology can deal with the matter, is the achieving of this passion. 'Conversion,' or the second birth, means the translation of natural impulses into terms of this form of the will to power."

Here, compressed into a small space, is a summary of that Christian philosophy which teaches us how to deal with the forces which, left untrained, wreck the soul and shows us that our treatment of them must be positive and educative rather than repressive.

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FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Every Sunday, Kensington Town Hall, 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five Quarters"; 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. Master of the Music, Mr. Martin Shaw.

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THE NEXT STEP TO PEACE.—A series of Lunch-Hour addresses is to be given at Devonshire House, 136 Bishops-gate, E.C., on Mondays, from 1.20 to 1.50 p.m. Jan. 31st: "Social Engineering," Miss Margery Fry.

SIDELIGHTS.

Italian Scientists and Penal Code.

In 1919 a commission of jurists and scientists was established by the Italian Government to examine the penal laws of the country and to frame a new Penal Code, revising the existing body of law in the light of the most modern scientific and juristic views. It has just completed its labours, and the first part of the project for the new code has been made public.

The matter is one of interest to the general public also, as showing the latest conceptions of the relations between the State and its wrong-doing citizens. In general, and without entering into particulars, it may be said that the basic idea of the new project is that the State considers its criminal citizens and their wrongful acts chiefly from the point of view of their dangerousness to the community at large, and the possibility of reclaiming the evil-doers for society. Punishments are inflicted on this principle, and the moral side of the question is left out.

The projected code develops from a twofold concept: that segregation or isolation is necessary for the most dangerous types of criminals under certain guarantees, while for the less dangerous offenders what is needed is a re-education for an honest and laborious life. Citizens who offend the penal laws must still be considered as forming part of the working community, and are not to be treated as out-casts. Their activities are to be used and not frustrated. Moreover, those condemned to segregation will be obliged to work, and their work will be remunerated and organised along the lines of free labour. The criminals will have pay and hours identical with those obtaining under Trade Union rules. Not all their pay, however, will go to them. One-third will be devoted to the person for having injured whom the delinquent is in prison; one-third to the State for the maintenance of the offender; and the other third to the prisoner himself or his family. The old type of solitary cell confinement is to be abolished, as are also the systems of ticket-of-leave and special police supervision on release from prison.—“Sunday Observer.”

Studdert-Kennedy on Revolution.

What would happen if men like Dr. Orchard and Studdert-Kennedy toured the country together as missionaries I don't know. A good deal of fog would be dispersed! Let me give you, as nearly verbatim as possible, one or two things which Mr. Studdert-Kennedy said at St. Paul's. They are typical of the whole course—and of the preacher. “The Revolution is our modern name for the kingdom of God. The cry is Prepare! Get ready, for the great Revolution is at hand! In a hundred different languages that word is being whispered throughout the world. It is running like fire through the veins of India, it has run through Russia, it is running through Egypt and America. Who are the real enemies of the Revolution? They are the officials and the Scribes who crucify Christ, the people who live in a rut, the comfortable people who, shut off from the sorrows of the world, do not understand why it should be changed, the people who are longing to get back to ‘normal conditions’—to get back, in fact to where we were in 1914, when Christ was crucified!

“Yes,” exclaimed Mr. Studdert-Kennedy, “we saw Christ crucified in Flanders, driven, scourged and tortured, through the fields of war. The question is, will He rise again? If bloodshed and sorrow and misery come in this country it will not be the revolutionaries who are to blame; it will be the reactionaries who sit on the safety valve who will bring things to the boiling point. No, the whole world may not be brought to a consciousness of a vast opportunity, but the question is whether there will be a remnant large enough to save the apathetic multitude. Let the Church awake and rouse up from passing everlasting resolutions and doing nothing. No longer are we called to think only of our own salvation in the world to come. We have to proclaim a real message of brotherhood.

“The world is one! As I came along in the train at sixty miles an hour this morning with ‘The Times’ upon my knee, and I saw an aeroplane shoot across the sky, God called to me loudly, ‘I tell you the world is one! I made it one! You must pour the spirit of unity into it whatever it costs you!’”—“The Challenge.”

Not Russian Gold.

Money continues to pour into the Prince of Wales' Fund for the Boy Scouts. On Monday last the “Daily Telegraph” reported that £28,000 had been collected. This is a seventh of the total amount required. There is little doubt as to the purpose for which this money is subscribed. The current issue of “The Army and Navy Gazette” says:—

“The aim now is to double the strength of the Boy Scouts, so that at least half a million of lads from 10 to 17 may be drawn into the movement. Not only do they learn to be self-reliant and to take care of themselves in the open, but they learn many other lessons equally valuable to the soldier. They are, in fact, one of the feeders of the Territorials.”

When it is a question of “feeding the Territorials” there appears to be no difficulty in securing funds.

American Witticisms.

“Public Opinion” again quotes a series of incisive sayings from the contemporary American Press. The following are samples:

“If they heed not Sinai, how shall they obey Geneva?”
“Nashville Banner.”

“England and Ireland are more widely separated by blood than by water.”—“Norfolk Virginian-Pilot.”

“The quickest way to Americanise aliens is to begin now by feeding the hungry kids over there.”—“Buffalo News.”

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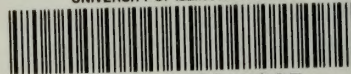
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